

Pozzo Di Borgo

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of Arena and Bonaparte, "che non era della dignità del popolo Corso di occuparsi delle due famiglie Bonaparte ed Arena, onde le abbandona ai loro rimorsi ed alla publica infamia"—that it was beneath the dignity of the Corsican nation to occupy itself with the persons named, and left them rather to the visitings of their own consciences and to public disgrace. The resolutions were signed by 1,200 persons. All thoughts of reconciliation, or an amicable adjustment with the French government, of course, vanished on the publication of the Corsican manifesto, and nothing remained for the bold mountaineers but to assert their independence, sword in hand, but the great superiority of the French resources damped the most sanguine hopes of the brave adherents to the cause. It is true that the leaders of the insurrection were closely connected and in alliance with the English, who had taken possession of Toulon; but, on the other hand, that port itself was hotly invested by the French, under the command of the very Bonaparte whose name the insurgents had devoted to public infamy.

Calculating the obvious probabilities, it seemed all but certain, that the besiegers must succeed in forcing the English to evacuate the place. In that case the victorious legions of France could easily ensure a continuance of their triumphal career by overrunning the mountains of Corsica. What had the rural denizens to oppose against their invaders' battle array? Not a tithe of their foes' mere numerical strength. How then were they to combat the additional odds, supplied by perfect discipline and flushed with recent conquest? At this critical moment, however, an English fleet appeared before Ajaccio, bearing offers of protection and aid; provided Corsica would place itself under the supremacy of Great Britain. Paoli, commissioned by his countrymen, went on board, to treat with the welcome admiral, whilst a general assembly was summoned, and accordingly met on the 10th of June, 1794. A sketch of the proposed new constitution, based on the principles of the *Magna Charta* of England, was laid before the national convocation. The most important points of that constitution embraced the formation of two Chambers of Representatives, a Council of State, and a Vice-king, with responsible ministers. Paoli proposed Pozzo di Borgo as President of the State Council, and presented him in the following terms: "I will answer for him. He is a man as well qualified to guard the interests of a nation, as capable of protecting a mountain herd, and knows how to repel aggression by the argument of arms." The Council of State was entrusted with the most momentous affairs of government, and Pozzo di Borgo eminently signalized himself, by the skill and varied talents he displayed in

effecting the arduous task of re-organizing the entire administration of the country. The judicial code presented a singular mixture of Corsican and English laws, but admirably adapted to circumstances, and including even the most humble interests of a pastoral nation. That record remains a peculiar historical monument of the time and country, only to be understood and appreciated by those who have visited Corsica, and studied the character, manners, and customs of the people. The Anglo-Corsican government existed only two years. England was too remotely situated to supply, on all occasions, full and timely protection. The few regiments transferred from Gibraltar were found insufficient to enforce due submission and peaceful order among the inhabitants of the towns adhering to the French ascendancy.

Insubordination, animated as it was by the constant prosperity of the Gallic arms, gained fresh strength every day, and threatened to crush the scanty forces of Paoli. At length it became evident that the tri-coloured standard would soon be raised even on the towers of Ajaccio.

Pozzo di Borgo did not wait to witness the catastrophe. He embarked in an English man-of-war, which bore him to Elba, thence to Naples, and thence again to Elba. In the course of his visits to that island he became well acquainted with its localities, particularly the small territory of Porto Ferrajo, whither he afterwards advised the allied powers to exile his antagonist countryman, Napoleon. The frigate "Minerva" subsequently conveyed Pozzo di Borgo to England, and he remained upwards of eighteen months in London, enjoying all the honours and distinctions justly due to the high abilities, and firm fidelity, displayed by him during the two years he held the reins of government in Corsica, under the guardianship of England. While sojourning in the metropolis he formed connections among the noble French emigrants, that ultimately led to his employment in some secret diplomatic missions, which progressively increased both in number and importance. The year 1798 saw him in Vienna; France had then experienced various reverses. The sway and the popularity of the Convention were equally at an end, and the reign of terror had sensibly diminished the enthusiastic spirit of patriotism throughout the nation.

Strong symptoms of a reaction in favour of royalty began to manifest themselves, and the white cockade was once more in fashion among the higher classes. Perhaps the people, collectively, did not desire a restoration, but they were wearied and dissatisfied with an unstable government, that gave them

vague measures and time-serving laws, ever shifting with each predominance of party.

The adverse foreign powers witnessed with exultation the spread of general discontent in France, especially when, at the same time, they had the satisfaction of knowing that Bonaparte, with the formidable remainder of that invincible army, which, led by him, had carried defeat and dismay through all Italy, and along the banks of the Rhine, was seeking glory in the deserts of far-distant Egypt.

At that period France had lost all her republican conquests, with the exception of a few points on the Alps. Suwarow was marching from victory to victory, and the fair partisans of the *fleur de lis* already waved their snowy handkerchiefs in anticipating salutation to the expected approach of that general, who, no doubt, was the only man among all the martial foes of France on whom the league and wrecked royalty itself, with the whole train of its excited adherents, founded their confident hopes. During the crisis in question, Pozzo di Borgo took a most active and important part in the diplomatic movements linked with the course of military action. At that time, in the flower of his age, for he numbered only thirty years, he was continually traversing Germany and Italy, to forward and sustain, by his cabinet intrigues, the warlike operations of the old Russian Field-Marshal. His labours were in vain. The overthrow given by General Massena, at Zurich, to the combined Russian and Austrian armies, at once destroyed the fragile web previously woven by fickle fortune. The allies were driven beyond the frontiers, the coalition was dissolved, and Pozzo di Borgo gained nothing by his indefatigable efforts beyond deserved credit for his zeal, and the confidence of the Austrian Cabinet at Vienna, where he afterwards fixed, for some time, his abode. In France, Bonaparte, that embodied meteor of the age, suddenly reappeared from Egypt, and having advanced his first stride towards supreme power, soon selected proper materials for a new frame of government, and cemented a firm central administration. Order, at least, if not liberty, returned with him to France. Bonaparte, in his rapid progress to greatness, certainly did not forget his old Corsican friends—he remembered—but it was to banish them. The Arenas, whom the Assembly at Corte had consigned, with himself, to withering contempt, were partly exiled, and partly given over to martial courts, in order, as it should seem, to tear asunder the last ties that could bind him to a country which had stigmatized, as one of the most despicable of its sons, the man whom France emphatically termed *The Corsican*. With what sentiments Bonaparte might regard that

son of Corsica, whose name the nation had placed in proud brightness, beside the darkness of his own, can only be conjectured; but the ruler of France knew him as a determined foe, who, to the utmost, had exerted himself in combining the continental powers against his sway; whilst the restless negotiator, no doubt, felt his hatred increase against the aspiring First Consul, when he saw him dictating to Europe the peace of Amiens.

After the flames of war were again lighted, Pozzo di Borgo entered into the service of Russia, as an avowed and public diplomatic agent. In pursuing that vocation he only obeyed the impulse given him by nature, which had endowed him with an acuteness of intellect, and a facility of manner, that, at once, enabled him to penetrate the characters of others, and adapt his own precisely to the purpose in hand. These peculiar gifts of mind were now matured by experience and the study of mankind, and the expertness evinced in his first essays for the interests of Russia, raised his name high in the political world, and opened to him the path of his future brilliant career. The Emperor of Russia conferred on him the title of State Counsellor, and when a new coalition was forming against the audacious soldier who had presumed to crown himself Emperor of the French without obtaining the suffrages of the foreign Cabinets, Pozzo di Borgo was despatched to Vienna, specially, to consolidate a closer alliance between his adopted sovereign and the other potentates who entertained similar views. The ambassador, however, did not long remain in Germany, for only a few months elapsed before he repaired to Italy to represent, as Commissioner of the Crown, his royal master in the military operations which the combined troops of Russia, England, and Naples, were to commence in southern Italy. But scarcely had the respective quotas united themselves at Naples, when they were compelled to separate, for the conqueror at Austerlitz imposed the peace of Presburg, and Austria seceded from the coalition.

Pozzo di Borgo returned to Vienna, and thence to St. Petersburg, where fresh military preparations were in progress.

Prussia would have shown itself wiser, had it joined the confederates during the rapid advances of the French in Moravia; when its cooperation previous to the battle of Austerlitz might have produced opposite results to that memorable victory, and the consequent close of the campaign.

When at length Prussia added itself to the league, its troops were associated with the Russians, who were led by their Emperor himself, attended by Pozzo di Borgo, now created a count, and attached to the imperial person by his appointment as *Colonel de la suite*. After the battle of Jena, the diplomatic

Colonel visited Vienna for the fourth time; expressly commissioned to arouse Austria from the political lethargy into which she had fallen since the peace of Presburg. But Austria was not to be easily moved; sad experience had taught her that peace could scarcely be bought too dear from such an opponent as Napoleon.

When Alexander found that his subtle agent was evidently wasting his time and talents in vain efforts to accomplish his mission, he commanded his removal to the Dardanelles, that in conjunction with the British ambassador, he might treat with Turkey. The Count landed at Tenedos, whence, on the rupture of the negotiations, Admiral Sintawin received him on board his own ship. There, the sword superseded the pen, and the Colonel took so active a part in the naval engagement which ensued between the Russians and the Turks, that his conduct gained for him his first military decoration.

The period now arrived that saw Napoleon at the summit of his glory. The sanguinary battles between Russia and France were terminated by the peace of Tilsit, where the two Emperors frequently held amicable and personal intercourse, and the admiration which the young Czar had previously felt for the wonderful talents of Napoleon, began to assume an appearance of friendship, and indeed open devotedness to an allowed and indisputable superiority, that astonished and even disaffected the old Russian patriots, who regarded the admission of such feelings and sentiments as a sort of suicidal treason, dishonourable to the country, and offensive to themselves. The Colonel-Count saw clearly, that the warm intimacy existing and increasing between the monarchs, would soon render his continuance in the Russian service unpleasant and perhaps dangerous.

At St. Petersburg, he solicited and received a long audience from the Emperor Alexander, when he frankly delivered his opinions relative to the alliance of Russia with France, and on the necessity of his own removal. The Emperor kindly endeavoured to retain him, by an assurance that the treaty contained nothing that could authorize the dismissal of his best servant.

“Far from serving,” answered Pozzo di Borgo, “my presence can now only tend to injure your Majesty’s interests. Bonaparte is not the man to forget early antipathies, and sooner or later, he will seize some opportunity to demand possession of my person—a demand that your Majesty’s just and generous nature will, assuredly, not permit you to comply with. Thus I should probably become the cause of a collision between the two countries—a disaster which it is my duty to prevent; though,” added he, “I greatly doubt the durability of the present concord between your Majesty and Napoleon. I believe that time will

prove his insatiable ambition incapable of repose, whilst a single conquest remains to be achieved. You have now Persia and Turkey harassing your rear, with Napoleon ready, on the first pretext, to assail your front. As soon as possible, free your arms from the entanglement at your back, that they may be at liberty for your final, and, I trust, successful, struggle, with France. I shall never cease to serve your Majesty in my heart; and my heart forebodes, that before the lapse of many years, events will recall me in person to more strenuous duties."

Having obtained a gracious discharge, the Count, in 1808, was once more at Vienna, when a new quarrel took place betwixt Austria and France. History hardly presents a parallel to the severe and reiterated contests between those countries. After a series of defeats, prostrate Austria gains breathing time, by submitting to all the sacrifices demanded from her by France. Next year, invigorated and undismayed, she again takes the field, is again vanquished, and again heavy sacrifices are exacted. All her deprivations, however, do not prevent her, after each purchased respite, from renewing the combat, again and again, until, utterly exhausted by dismemberment and loss of blood, she unwillingly drops the sword from her powerless grasp. Pozzo di Borgo so energetically employed his diplomatic skill and influence throughout the campaign of 1809, that, after the succeeding treaty of peace had been ratified, Napoleon did him the honour to desire that his ever assiduous countryman, who had taken such pains in his affairs, should be placed under his special charge, that he might properly reward the Count's unwearied toils. The emperor of Austria declined compliance, but Pozzo di Borgo, perfectly aware that his royal visitor eminently possessed a long arm and a strong hand, in cases where he wished to obtain the attendance of any reluctant visitant, modestly withdrew from the sphere of imperial hospitality, and quitted Germany for Constantinople. The political exile subsequently travelled through Syria, and after visiting Smyrna and Malta, sailed from the latter place to England, and reached its metropolis in October 1810.

The British Government welcomed the Count as a valuable acquisition. At a time when there existed but slender ties, and difficult communication between England and the continent of Europe, the cabinet of St. James's could learn more important facts, in a few hours, from the statesman who had conducted so many public and private negotiations of the first magnitude, than they could obtain in as many months through uncertain correspondence and doubtful information. The Marquis of Wellesley had frequent interviews with Pozzo di Borgo, and the Count pointed out, the vulnerable part in Napoleon's over-

grown power, through which its vitality might be most advantageously assailed. Most truly had he foretold to Alexander in 1807, that the peace of Tilsit would prove merely a truce of arms. In fact, the political soothsayer required no supernatural second sight.

As deeply versed in the personal character of his great countryman as he was fully initiated into all the various mysteries of cabinet intrigue, his keen and practised eye pierced far beyond surfaces, glanced at once from measures to motives, and thus enabled him to play the prophet with every probability in favour of his prediction.

In 1812, the war between France and Russia broke out anew, with exterminating fury. The myriads of Gaul passed the Niemen, and spreading devastation in their progress, carried all before them, with fire and sword, until old imperial Moscow became a prey to the self avenging flames whose embers lighted the funeral torches of the invading host.

Di Borgo remained in London, and resuming his official functions, as the accredited agent of the Russian Emperor, successfully negotiated a renewed alliance with Britain. He was thus left at liberty to carry his active duty to the feet of Alexander, but in that point the oracle proved fallacious. Imperative policy then forbade his return.

At that momentous crisis, the Muscovite monarch found himself compelled to sacrifice his own predilections and judgment to the national pride and prejudices of his people. The patriotic spirit of his rugged and discontented nobles, would only be aroused to the preservation of Russia, by the restitution of what they deemed their ancient and inalienable rights—the entire command and executive power in every department of the state, whether civil or military. The danger was far too pressing to permit hesitation, and all the high offices of the empire, previously held by the more civilized and better educated European foreigners, were transferred by the constrained autocrat to native hands.

Pozzo di Borgo was not recalled by Alexander until after the retreat of the grand army, and then he included Stockholm in his route, that he might sound Bernadotte on the subject of his joining the allied sovereigns in their resolves against Napoleon.

After an interim of five eventful and stormy years, the Count again found himself before the Russian Emperor. They met at Calisz.

The mighty legions of Napoleon had disappeared beneath the ice of the Beresina, and Alexander mourned, rather than

rejoiced over the unparalleled reverses of his former friend. The mental impressions of Tilsit were still vividly fixed in the tablet of his memory. He still saw in the crowned soldier, half deified in the Parisian cathedral of Notre Dame, the personified Mars of the age. "My arms have not vanquished him," said he to his Corsican confidant: "by the will of the Almighty, by the protecting genius of Russia, the spirit of our ancestors, has he been conquered. Let us remain satisfied with the victory vouchsafed. It is enough. Let us not tempt a retributive destiny by persecuting him." The wily statesman, far from being moved by the pious and merciful sentiments of Alexander, on the contrary, endeavoured to convince him that a more worldly policy was absolutely indispensable to secure his own preservation.

"Generosity," answered he, "would be here totally misapplied. The opportunity which fortune now offers, may never again occur. The secret societies of Germany are in full activity. Disaffection is on the increase, even in France itself. Never were, nor ever will be, nations and potentates in such a perfect harmony of designs and concentration of means to a certain end. The allied powers must profit by the enthusiasm attendant on recent success before its influence evaporates. The fallen Colossus must be wholly destroyed, or you, in your turn, incur the danger of annihilation from him, if he is allowed time to recover confidence, and renovate his now paralyzed powers."

Alexander's heart might waver; but the Emperor was either convinced or persuaded, and once resolved on the complete destruction of Napoleon's despotic domination, he put in motion, without delay, all the necessary means and available expedients to effect that determination. The co-operation of Moreau was requisite for the purpose of inflaming party spirit in France; the defection of Prince Eugene and Murat, to divide and diminish the forces of Napoleon; and the alliance of Bernadotte, to obtain the assistance of his military genius, and his 20,000 soldiers. Nothing was neglected to gain these auxiliaries over to the confederacy. Moreau was promised the presidency of the future French republic; Murat and Eugene, the sovereignty of Italy, which was to be divided between them; while Bernadotte was secretly flattered with vague hopes of seating himself on the throne of France, when vacated by its present possessor. To the known skill of Pozzo di Borgo was assigned the difficult task of winning the accession of the crown prince of Sweden; who coquetted with the cause, without decisively declaring himself. In the meantime the battles of Lutzen and Bautzen forced the Russian army to retreat as far as Upper Silesia,—occurrences, which, of course, tended to increase Bernadotte's irresolution.

Aware of the consequences that might attend an irretrievable step, especially if taken at a moment when the arms of Napoleon were again turning the tide of victory, he lingered with his army at Stralsund, and there watched the progress of events. To Stralsund the ever prompt Di Borgo hastened, and at length succeeded in inducing the prince to commence open and active operations, by accompanying him to the military congress held at Trachenberg. There met the three most inveterate enemies of Napoleon, to "talk of precious mischief" and exult in their anticipated triumph over the immeshed and disabled lion. Moreau hated in Napoleon the first consul; Bernadotte, the emperor; and Pozzo di Borgo, the Corsican, the consul, and the emperor, in the man. At this rendezvous it was resolved to carry the war to the gates of the French capital, and to attack Napoleon in the very heart of both his *power* and his *weakness*. The congress held at Prague was a mere pretext for a cessation of arms, an interval of repose, which all the belligerent parties very much required, though none would acknowledge the necessity. The allied powers, at that time, instead of being solicitous to conclude a lasting pacification in the north of Germany, entertained no such intention, or if they had any passing thoughts of making peace, it was on the shores of the Rhine that they purposed to *dictate* the terms.

Their favourable prospects were improving every hour. Fresh ranks were daily added to their armies, by bands of German youthful volunteers, whose ardour in the cause of liberty was now echoed by the whole nation, without distinction of age or sex; while the minor masses of Napoleon suffered continual decrease from desertion, caused by augmenting fatigues, and dismay: so much so, that their emperor could no longer rely on the devoted energy they formerly evinced under his command, when they regarded his call to battle as the assured and unfailing trumpet voice of victory. One hope still remained for Napoleon. The support of Austria might yet turn the scale in his favour; but his own imprudence extinguished the flattering gleam. In a confidential interview with Metternich, that minister promised to obtain for him the co-operation of Austria, under certain conditions, stipulating for his private interests. Napoleon, unaccustomed to hear the language of demand from any lips except his own, exclaimed, "How much does England give you to play this part?" The offended minister bowed in silence; but not low enough to raise the small hat Napoleon had dropped in the heat of the conversation. A few days after this interview, Austria joined the hostile alliance. The allied monarchs were waiting with the utmost anxiety, at Prague, the

decision of the Austrian court. It was eleven o'clock in the evening, and one mansion contained, in a lower apartment, Nesselrode, Pozzo di Borgo, and Hardenberg; whilst, in the chamber above, were the sovereigns of Russia and Prussia; when the assembled parties were surprised by the arrival of a special courier with the following laconic epistle to Nesselrode:— "Austria is resolved and puts her troops at the disposal of the allied powers." Their satisfaction may be easily imagined.

As the prospects of Napoleon became obscured, those of Pozzo di Borgo brightened. He received a general's appointment; a rank he particularly coveted, as it enabled him to contribute to the downfall of his countryman, as well in the field, as in the cabinet; and in his military capacity he joined Bernadotte, who, with 90,000 men, Swedes, Russians, and Prussians, was then covering Berlin.

The setting star of Napoleon's fortune yet shot forth a few brilliant scintillations. The defence of Dresden was an almost miraculous trait of warlike skill. The allied forces were repulsed with dreadful loss, and Moreau was killed. But that splendid achievement was followed by gross errors. The daring of the French became undisciplined, and degenerated into culpable rashness. The different corps, instead of acting in formidable conjunction dispersed themselves in separate warfare, and the consequence was, that the whole force under Vendamme was cut off, and destroyed or taken, while Bernadotte and Di Borgo compelled the other straggling divisions to a precipitate and disorderly retreat. Napoleon then took up his position on the Elbe. We will pass, without comment, the three contested days on the battle field of Leipsic; their results are well known.

The allied powers were victorious on all points, and their vanguards, though they had already established themselves on the Rhine, soon began to move, though rather slowly and warily, towards France.

Bernadotte marched towards Holstein, to invade Denmark, and thence turned to Holland, whilst Pozzo di Borgo proceeded to Frankfort to assist in superintending the course of the ^{main} design. From Frankfort the allied powers began to examine the moral, physical, and political condition of France, before they hazarded the decisive blow. They found that the vast and complicated engine of administration still moved unimpeded throughout the country with perfect order and facility, in obedience to the potent impulse originally given to it by the unrivalled genius of Napoleon. The senate had voted as many new laws as were demanded from them. The prefects of the

departments furnished their several contingents with exactness and promptitude. In short, all the various springs of the executive authority yet worked in as complete concord as if the hand of their great architect personally commanded them with pristine vigour. But—"there an end." The enthusiastic patriotism (if the glory of dying on the field of battle, for the gratification of the self-aggrandizing views of Napoleon, deserved the title) that had so long animated the million, was extinguished, and all the former artifices successfully used by the government to revive and arouse the national spirit, by official pamphlets, songs, and dramatic representations, fell far short of the mark. Conscription, deprivation, and consequent weariness of war, had palsied the energies of the people, and all panted for rest.

The members of the Regency were growing irresolute, or timid, while some far-sighted politicians, such as Talleyrand and others, were ready to give up a cause which they perceived was more than half lost. In a word, all the internal evidences appeared to favour an invasion. But were the allies in entire accordance with each other on its propriety, necessity, and utility? Were they all alike interested in the consequences? Would it be wise in Austria, who had now recovered all her former possessions, to precipitate the utter ruin of her Emperor's son-in-law? Could she behold with indifference the strength of Prussia increased at the expense of France, when the preservation of the latter's just weight in the scale of nations was essentially necessary to the balance of power and equilibrium of Europe? Did not even England, the bitterest foe of Napoleon, already begin to cast uneasy glances on the growing power of Russia?

All these clashing difficulties were fully felt and debated in the conferences at Frankfort; and, as the greatest obstacles were expected to arise from the English government, Pozzo di Borgo was dispatched thither to meet and surmount them. He arrived in London in the beginning of January 1814, bearing a mission of a very delicate nature, most certainly; since it consisted in convincing the Prince Regent and his cabinet of the moderate wishes, and unambitious views of the Russian Emperor; and farther to obtain the appointment of Lord Castlereagh, then foreign minister, to the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns, to join their councils.

On this occasion Pozzo di Borgo was very differently received than when he appeared as a refugee, seeking an asylum, or merely as a man whose opinion was worth consulting on certain topics. He now came in the character of a high and distinguished envoy, openly commissioned to treat with his equals, on the part of the allied monarchs. In the course of his first

cussions with Castlereagh, the latter intimated to him the expediency of restoring the Bourbons to the throne of France. "You know, my Lord," replied the Corsican, "that the sovereigns whom I represent are unwilling to pledge themselves to any procedure strictly involving distant views. Let us first determine on the removal of Napoleon; an object too obvious not to be contemplated by the king of Prussia and the emperor of Russia. When we have effected his abdication, it will be early enough to think who shall be his successor!" Pozzo di Borgo, nevertheless, visited the French princes, and when the Count of Artois told him that it was his intention to place himself in the head-quarters of the allied kings, he interrupted him by saying, "By no means. Do not take so premature a step! a step that might materially injure our cause, but could not benefit yours. Many difficulties are yet to be overcome. Let Napoleon be safely disposed of, and the cry of 'Bourbon' will then do the rest."

His mission prospered. At a dinner party, given in honour of the agent of Russia, by Lord Castlereagh, his lordship, on proposing the final toast, said to his guest, "Well, my dear Pozzo, all is settled; I accompany you, and am the bearer of an autograph letter from the Prince Regent to your Emperor. We shall all act in concert." Two days after, they embarked for the continent, and at the end of three weeks reached the head-quarters of the allies, in Baden. As the proceedings of the confederated powers were now completely arranged, the invasion was rendered inevitable. England had never recognized Napoleon's imperial title; he passed, in all official and parliamentary transactions, either by the appellation of the *common foe*, or was simply termed the chief of the French government. Pozzo di Borgo, therefore, found in Castlereagh a ready prepared and easily guided assistant, in promoting his own plans relative to the fate of Napoleon. The English minister, who was entrusted with full powers, based all his diplomatic propositions on the principle that "France,—the conservation of whose national integrity, unimpaired, was indispensable to the equally indispensable, equipoise of European power,—should be reduced to its ancient dominion." This maxim, admitted to its full extent, at once abolished the imperial dignity, and annulled the acquired rights of Napoleon; thus removing him, and opening an opportune door for the restoration of the Bourbons, though the concluding inference was not entrusted to the conveyance of a whisper, either public or private. The allied powers, profiting by the sagacious counsels of Pozzo di Borgo, seconded by Bernadotte, now distinctly separated, in their various public addresses

and manifestos, the interests of France from those of Napoleon. All the proclamations issued by Schwarzenberg, and the different commanding generals who had crossed the Rhine, were composed in that spirit, and aimed at establishing the distinction. In assuring to the nation its inviolable independence and a free constitution, they wholly detached from France the person and act of Napoleon, and assumed his isolation as a necessary and self-evident position. During the entire campaign of 1814, Pozzo di Borgo remained in close attendance on the person of the Russian emperor, and when overtures for peace were made by Napoleon, at Chatillon, the diplomatist, who was already engaged in negotiations with Talleyrand and other influential men, strongly urged that, instead of granting any truce, "the armies should march *en masse*, and without loss of time, upon Paris." It is certain, notwithstanding, that the allied sovereigns might have acceded to Napoleon's wishes, and opened a treaty, if he had accepted the preliminary conditions proposed by them; but Caulaincourt receiving too late the instructions of Napoleon to give his consent to the articles in question, Pozzo di Borgo had employed the interim in totally changing the pacific inclination of the Russian Emperor. "Napoleon, or your Majesty must fall," he argued: "if you now grant him peace, you undo all that has been done. You give him time to regain all his former energies. You replace in his hands all the weapons he lost, whilst wielding them against yourself; and before the expiration of another year, you might, perhaps, find him again heading his legions on the road to your capital; and, taught prudence by experience, attended with better success."

Soon after, the allied sovereigns fixed their union still more firmly by the convention of Chaumont, and the war re-opened with increased vigour. The main army, according to the counsel of Pozzo di Borgo, directed its march against Paris, and the result was that the Emperor, accompanied by his counsellor, was soon seen in the French capital.

We pass over the details concerning the occupation of Paris. The cause of Napoleon became desperate; he was abandoned by all, except a few devoted soldiers who were determined to die for him, though their deaths could not avert his fall. All parties, whether Royalists or Republicans, in short, the whole harassed and exhausted mass of the people, turned from him to look for peace; and the sentiments of that general alienation publicly avowed and disseminated by the Provisional Administration, to which body Pozzo di Borgo was attached as commissioner from the Russian monarch, no doubt hastened the overthrow of the

tottering idol. The voice of the Parisian authorities found a quick and cheerful echo in the bosom of the Corsican commissioner, who did not fail to use it in the furtherance of his own unalterable purposes.

Several military men of high rank endeavoured to induce Alexander to treat with the Regency instead of the Government; and it is not improbable that the Emperor, who still harboured some friendly feelings towards Napoleon, would have given full way to those emotions, had not Pozzo di Borgo been at hand to restrain them, by representing to the irresolute potentate, that "the Regency is, in fact, only another term for Napoleon himself, who is clearly rejected by the nation. Peace, with *him*, however hard and binding the conditions may appear at the time he accepts them—peace never remains with him, unbroken, after he is prepared for a renewal of hostilities. He whose heart sincerely desires the tranquillity of Europe must insist on the abrogation of the imperial power, and the removal of Napoleon." This critical conference lasted two whole hours, and the Corsican did not quit Alexander without exacting from him a promise, that no negotiation should be entered into with either Napoleon or his family. No sooner had he obtained that assurance than he hastened to the provisional ministers, and, addressing Talleyrand, cried, in the fulness of his joy, "My dear prince, not only have I slain Napoleon politically, but I have just thrown the last shovelling of earth over his imperial corse!" Thus the Corsican mountaineer had the heartfelt satisfaction of finding that the goal, to reach which he had devoted the best years of his life, and braced every mental and bodily nerve, was, at last, fairly in sight. He attained it: *his* voice rang the knell to departing greatness—*his* hand dug the political grave of the envied Emperor!!! What an extraordinary destiny attended the chequered fortunes of those two men. Born near the same spot, and nearly at the same time, for there was but one year's difference in their ages, they both quitted their native isle friendless, in the broad worldly sense of the word, and almost destitute of aught, save their talents, and a stock of hatred equally shared between them. The first adventurer fought his way to empire, and proudly placed on his own head the most lustrous diadem in Europe; but forgot, in his elevation, that kings should ever steep the contests of private life in the waters of oblivion; and employed the plenitude of his power to crush an individual, then, comparatively, a worm. Failing to destroy, he yet forced him to become an exile, wandering from land to land, until the fugitive, gliding serpent-like through each vicissitude still nearer to his prey, finally wove the net that brought his mighty foe to

earth, dashed the crown from his brow, and crippled for ever his political and glorious career. Up to that moment the master passion of revenge had concentrated in Pozzo di Borgo every ardent effort of his mind, and the most fervent aspirations of his soul. He could now, like the merchant senator commemorated by Lord Byron in his "*Two Foscari*," have turned to his ledger, and written against the deadly debt long due to him, "*pagato*"—paid. The senate having proclaimed the abdication of Napoleon, and the recall of the Bourbon dynasty, Pozzo di Borgo was appointed by the allied sovereigns to acknowledge, in their names, at London, the accession of the Prince of Artois to the throne of the Louis's. This commission was entrusted to its bearer, not only as a special mark of honour from his employers, but still more on account of the delicate management required in certain circumstances connected with its ostensible cause, which they well knew the subtle and persuasive powers of the Corsican were best calculated to bring to a prosperous issue, by his faculties of cogent argument and eloquent reasoning.

He was deputed to lay before Louis XVIII the undisguised state and feelings of the nation, in all its political and moral phases, and thus to prepare the "desired" king for the adoption of a form of government according with the liberal ideas of the day. The monarchs were perfectly aware that the ultra-royalists would spare neither exertion nor influence, direct or indirect, to induce the new sovereign to revive the offensive aristocratical absurdities of former ages, and thus, perhaps, produce a collision between the government and the governed, that might prompt the multitude to repent the change in their political faith, and return to the worship of their cast-off golden image.

To guard against this danger was the true nature of Pozzo di Borgo's present employment in an embassy of ceremony to the Count of Artois. At Calais he hired a vessel, and hurried immediately on board, where a singular meeting awaited him, affording another instance of the remarkable instability of the political principles and fortunes of statesmen. On entering the cabin a stranger begged his permission to accompany him to England, whither, he said, he was proceeding to meet Louis XVIII. "May I then ask who you are?" queried Pozzo di Borgo. "I am the Duke Laroche-foucauld Liancourt" was the answer. The astonishment of the questioner may be conceived, when he found that his companion was a nobleman who had not only injured Monsieur in the constitutional assembly, but had since aggravated the offence by returning to him, from the northern states of America, the insignia of the different orders received from the Count of Artois on various occasions; an

insult that haughty prince was the last man in the world to forget. The diplomatist treated him with great politeness, and the Duke, previous to his expected presentation, took great care to decorate himself anew with similar orders to those he had so heroically despised in his fit of yankee republicanism. The new French King, however, refused to see him, while he received Pozzo di Borgo as a friend and benefactor. On their journey to the French capital the ambassador had both the desire and opportunity to accomplish his task, and its product was the declaration of St. Ouen, the foundation of the subsequent charter, which, despite its defects and inefficiencies, was a vast concession to liberty, considering it was given at a period immediately succeeding the despotism of Napoleon, and was indebted for its legitimate existence in France to an invasion by foreign potentates, equally despotic. Pozzo di Borgo, after remaining some time in Paris, as the representative of Russia, was summoned to the great diplomatic conference held at Vienna. Thence, he frequently turned a doubtful and unquiet look towards Elba; and, at that distance, scanned, in imagination, every movement of the illustrious prisoner. With presaging eyes, he fancied he beheld him bursting his temporary bonds, and, in the Assembly, vehemently pressed for his removal to some more remote and secure corner of the globe. Whilst the congregated statesmen were debating on the expediency of his proposition, they were suddenly called from their speculations by the intelligence of Napoleon's disembarkation in France. Pozzo di Borgo was the only member of the Congress whose amazement did not ruffle his self-possession; he was prepared for such an event; his evil bodings had already reproached him for recommending a mere cage of rushes to retain the still untamed though captive lion. His cool comment on the fearful news was, "I know Napoleon—he will march on Paris. Our work is before us. Not a moment is to be lost. He must be faced by every attainable force, and the last fragments of his power and popularity buried in the dust of irremediable defeat." His exhortation found willing hearers, and the allied powers advanced, without delay, in consolidated masses. Napoleon tried every effort, but in vain, to divide Russia and Austria, or either, from the coalition. Goaded by disappointment, he was provoked so far as to send to the Russian Emperor a copy of the secret treaty, formed in March 1815, between France, England, and Austria, against Russia; but the only effect produced by the revelation was the violent aversion to Talleyrand, it engendered, in the mind of Alexander; an antipathy that afterwards impeded some important negotiations, and in more than one instance broke off

the treaty. Pozzo di Borgo now roused all his faculties and inexhaustible activity, to aid him in the final struggle with his still formidable adversary, and was placed by his sovereign as the agent of Russia, in the Anglo-Prussian army, forming the vanguard of the allies. Napoleon, once more like his former self, darted with the swiftness of lightning on the frontiers of Belgium, long before his approach was expected. It is notorious that Wellington only learnt the fact whilst amusing himself at a splendid ball in the palace of Lacken. The British army was instantly in motion, and a courier despatched to Bulow to hasten his march. The French made their first successful attack on the Prussians, under Blucher; and Wellington was, in consequence, forced to retire as far as the mountain of St. Jean, where he fixed his position. There Pozzo di Borgo found him rather anxious and restless. "How long do you calculate you could maintain this post?" asked the former. "I do not rely much on the Belgians," replied the general; but I have with me a dozen regiments, English and Scotch, resting on this hills; I could defend myself the whole day, but Bulow must be here before five o'clock in the afternoon."

• The vanguard of Bulow's corps, in reality, showed itself at three o'clock, and the announcement doubly animated the unflinching courage of the English, who withstood the repeated attacks of Napoleon with an unshaken pertinacity that decided the battle, though they were but indifferently supported by the Belgians.

Waterloo was won, and Napoleon had quitted his last martial field. Was Pozzo di Borgo content? By no means; there were circumstances attending the victory, that, to him, allayed the triumph. The Russians had not taken any share in that glorious and decisive action; indeed, at that moment, they were scarcely on the frontiers of Germany. In this posture of affairs, Wellington and Blucher might decide the fate of France without consulting either Russia or Austria. The shrewd Corsican slept not. He selected a young Russian officer, serving in the Prussian army, and told him in confidence, "Alexander must be informed of this victory within eight and forty hours; no matter how many horses are killed in the time, your future fortune may depend on it." Though wounded himself, he immediately followed Wellington to Paris, and resumed his portfolio, as Russian Ambassador at the Court of the Tuilleries, where he found, as his unerring sagacity had anticipated, that the star of Russia already "paled its ineffectual fires" before the ascendant victors, and that he, as a minor satellite, was no longer treated by Louis XVIII with the same personal distinction as in 1814. The occupation

of the French capital by the two laureled generals had rendered them all powerful. The Cabinet of Talleyrand was formed under the auspices of Wellington, and both those statesmen had previously given their support to the secret alliance, which, as already mentioned, had been disclosed by Napoleon, to Alexander.

In the subsequent political arrangements, Russia would most assuredly have played a very secondary part, if the arrival of Alexander, with 250,000 bayonets, had not entirely changed the aspect of the Parisian horizon. The disgust of the Russian Emperor to the former ambassador of Napoleon at the Court of Vienna (Talleyrand), was so invincible, that it was with difficulty he could be induced to receive even any preliminary proposals emanating from that minister. Nevertheless, France itself actually stood greatly in need of the interposition of Alexander, to protect it, in some degree, from its other friends, England, Prussia, and Germany, who were inclined to make a profitable use of their recent conquest, and drain, most exorbitantly, the veins of the bleeding country. The first official notes of Castlereagh demanded for England no less than the cession of a series of fortresses along the Belgian frontier, from Calais down to Maubeuge; while the Germans modestly asked Alsace and Lorraine.

Thus embarrassed by claimants, Talleyrand turned to the Russian Emperor, and endeavoured to win his protection for France, by tempting his ambassador with an elevated post in the French administration. He offered to Pozzo di Borgo not only the ministry of the interior, but obtained for him from Louis XVIII the dignity of a peer of the realm.

All these ventures, however, were wrecked at the time, on the unconquerable distaste of Alexander to Talleyrand; and the Emperor insisted, in the first place, that the foreign portfolio should be entrusted to a man of his own choice, and with whom he could treat in mutual confidence. He named the Duke of Richelieu,—designated him as the best Frenchman, and a most sincere and honest man. Talleyrand was obliged to yield, and a new cabinet was constructed under the presidency of Richelieu. From that hour the Russian ascendancy soared above all competition, and from its delegated throne controlled all public affairs. Alexander assumed the character of a mediator, perhaps umpire, in all the political transactions of that period, and exercised his powers very favourably for France, whose national integrity, situated as it is in the centre of Europe, the Russian cabinet deemed most essential to the interests of their own country, in case of a collision with other sovereignties. The influence of

Pozzo di Borgo naturally increased with; that of his liege lord, nor was France any loser by either. The general treaty of peace, harsh and oppressive as its provisions proved, might have been much more so, had its terms been dictated by England and Prussia only. There is extant a letter of Richelieu, relative to the subject, which reflects great credit on that minister's patriotism and heart. It is dated November 21, 1815, and says—

“All is completed. More dead than alive I yesterday affixed my signature to the cruel treaty. True, I had sworn not to dishonour my name, and so told the king, but that unhappy prince conjured me, with tears in his eyes, not to forsake him. From that instant all hesitation was at an end. I feel confident that no man would have acted otherwise in my place, and that the salvation of France, which was succumbing under the yoke hardened upon her, required the sacrifice. The liberation of our country, I am assured, will commence to-morrow, and be gradually accomplished.—RICHELIEU.”

By this dictated treaty, France resigned a few possessions on the frontiers, and was to continue occupied by foreign troops until it paid the last instalment of the 700 millions of francs, due to the allied powers for the vast expenses incurred by them in the war of liberation; but, after all, it preserved itself distinct and undivided, retained Alsace and Lorraine, and maintained its rank as a mighty and extensive kingdom. Alexander, on quitting Paris, gave instructions to Pozzo di Borgo to support the French government in all the true interests of their country. But the court royalist party soon began to abuse the rights recovered for them abroad. The purity of the royal white standard was sullied by its partizans. In the parliament the Bourbonites and Republicans embraced the most opposite, and each the most *ultra*, views; on the one hand threatening the introduction of unmitigated despotism; on the other, publishing the advent of democracy, if not of anarchical “order-orderless.” At this conjuncture, it was the pen of Pozzo di Borgo that drew up, with the approbation of De Cazes or Richelieu, the ordinance of the 5th of September, and even laid it before Louis XVIII. This ordinance seasonably reconducted the Restoration into the prudent path of moderate measures. The salutary results that crowned the counsels of Pozzo di Borgo could not fail to establish the wisdom of his political views, and, at the same time, necessarily extend the sphere of his influence, which he continued to exert for the welfare of France. His intercession, principally, prevailed on Alexander and Wellington to relieve the nation from several rigorous stipulations in the late treaty, concerning the heavy contributions, and the occupation of the territory by

foreign forces. On this point, it must be confessed that rumour has not scrupled to attribute his services on the occasion to motives not wholly disinterested; and date the origin of his present immense fortune, and large possessions, from the success of his negotiations at that period.

Whether this particular scandal be true or false, all the world knows that *gratifications* to ambassadorial agents are neither uncommon, nor, in the circles where they circulate, considered as iniquitous, and that they even form a legal chapter in the budget of constitutional countries, under the euphonious title of "diplomatic gifts;" to say nothing of the kindred items of *secret service money*. After the congress of *Aix la Chapelle*, where the full emancipation of France was effected, Alexander became visibly alarmed at the indications of democracy which manifested themselves throughout Europe. During his short sojourn in Paris, on the close of the congress, he frequently conversed with Louis XVIII on the wide-spread disturbances and tumultuous eruptions, especially in the German universities; and the instructions he gave to Pozzo di Borgo, before his departure, were of a nature to repress, rather than raise the liberal party. Hardly had the Emperor left Paris, when a new cabinet was formed under the presidency of Desolles. Pozzo di Borgo refrained from attacking, publicly, the principles of the new ministry, until liberalism became associated with assassination, and the Duke de Berri fell by the dagger of Louvel. Then, unable to control his indignation, he strongly expressed his sentiments, with a feeling that was supported by the whole diplomatic body. Alexander had not deceived himself in his apprehensions. The spirit of revolution extended its visitations, and under different shapes, and characteristic modifications, passed through the whole of Europe. In Germany, Republican agitations were carried on by the students of the universities, that led to the assassination of Kotzebue. In Russia, dissatisfaction broke out in the Imperial military guards. The same spirit showed itself in England among the working classes; and in France, in the grammar schools. Naples, Piedmont, and Spain, had already forced upon their kings new constitutions and other liberal novelties, and there was scarcely a state or province where the people did not remind their governors, in rather *forcible* terms, of the liberal promises held out to them during the impending perils of war. These appearances, however, of a general revolution, were speedily banished by the wand of power, and the evanescent semblances served only to call forth more oppressive and coercive spells from the menaced monarchs.

At the sight of danger the holy alliance renewed its ties of

friendship, some of which time had begun to loosen. In France, the administration of the liberal Richelieu passed from him into the tyrannous hands of Corbière and Villèle, and Pozzo di Borgo was forced, by the stern will of his Emperor, to give his support, not only to that cabinet, but to the invasion of Piedmont, by the Austrians, and the asserted urgency of a French expedition into Spain, the results of the congresses of Troppau, Laybach, and Verona. Ferdinand VII had been reseated on his throne, and Alexander, who certainly possessed a just claim on the gratitude of that prince, accordingly, took good means to tax it for his own advantage. England need not be told that it was ever the aim and ambition of Russia to attain influence and weight in the south of Europe, at the expense of Great Britain; and to forward those ends, Pozzo di Borgo was despatched to Madrid to pave the way for the cabinet of Zea, who had been gained to the Russian interests during his long residence at St. Petersburg as the consul-general for Spain. The ambassador fulfilled his instructions to the letter. Ferdinand dismissed his confessor, Saez, and the chosen of the Czar came in his place. Thus commenced the close alliance of the two courts, whose harmony was only interrupted by the death of Ferdinand, and the re-action which followed it. Pozzo di Borgo returned to Paris at the time when the Restoration began to indulge in *serious* follies.

The military promenade of the Duke of Angouleme across the Pyrenees, had mentally intoxicated the cabinet, which no longer believed in the existence of any danger, and began to harass the nation with unpopular laws, apparently uncalled for, except by the sheer wanton exuberance of power. At this period the influence of the Russian Ambassador had totally vanished, and all Pozzo di Borgo could do, or did, was to observe, shrug his shoulders, and indulge himself in forming a sort of drawing-room opposition. He was heard one day, in the course of discussion on the diminution of the public rent, to observe, "The King of France is resolved to be the richest prince of Europe, but I fear he will have to live on his accumulated wealth in exile. I greatly apprehend the approach of some terrible catastrophe, for never were civil rights assailed with impunity."

After the death of Alexander, his brother Nicholas succeeded, not only to the throne, but to the opinions and sympathies of his predecessor. Nesselrode remained at the head of the cabinet, and Pozzo di Borgo continued ambassador in Paris. Two years afterwards, when Charles X formed the government of Martignac, Pozzo di Borgo exerted himself to bring into the

ministry Count de la Ferronaye, then French Ambassador at St. Petersburg. It was then of great consequence to Russia to have in the foreign department, at Paris, a high official devoted to her interests. By the convention of the 6th of July, 1827, the independence of Greece was resolved on. Russia had deeply wounded both the pride and importance of the Porte, and the investment of Wallachia and Moldavia soon produced an open breach between the two nations. The Russian Ambassador quitted Constantinople, and the war, which became inevitable, might have led to very momentous results for Russia, had Great Britain declared for Turkey, and embraced her cause with zealous earnestness.

The instructions Pozzo di Borgo received on the occasion from Nesselrode, were framed to induce the French government to co-operate with Russia in the east; or, at all events, should the ministry evince a stubborn indisposition to take an active share in the war, then to prevail on them to guarantee an armed neutrality, and thus keep, in case of need, an effective check on both England and Austria. To recompense France for conditions so advantageous to Russia, the latter detailed plans of procuring for her ally, from Holland and Prussia, the cession of the provinces bordering the Rhine. Either these visions appeared to the French cabinet mere castles in the air, or from some other causes, the negotiations melted away, in fair words, momentary projects and nugatory offers. In the meantime, the march of the Russian hordes was not signalized by either its rapidity of progress, or accompanying success. The situation of Pozzo di Borgo, therefore, in Paris, became uneasy and critical. All reports on the subject spoke only of the alleged defeats sustained by the Russian army; but the Emperor's ambassador never for a moment wavered in his confident opinion that the enterprise would terminate prosperously; and he repeatedly exclaimed, "Patience, my friends, patience! The road may be difficult and dangerous, but be assured, we shall find our way to Constantinople!" At the end of twelve months the Russian vanguard appeared before the gates of the Grand Signior's city!

Again a change took place in the councils of France, and the cabinet was remodelled under the presidency of Prince Polignac, who was devoted, with heart, head, and hand, to the court of St. James's. Pozzo di Borgo, with his accustomed power of political augury, early foresaw the approach of those tragical scenes which were really presented in July 1830. Previous to that epoch, he despatched courier after courier to his own court, plainly prognosticating the pending and unavoidable *dénouement* of the

acting royal and ministerial drama. His missives spoke with such a profound certainty of the advancing disasters, that the Russian Emperor communicated his apprehensions to Mortemart, then the French Ambassador at St. Petersburg, and abruptly told him, "Your king is committing great follies. Very well! He is certainly at liberty to do as he pleases in his own dominions at present; but so much the worse for him, hereafter, if misfortune follows his persistence in error. Tell him that the foreign powers will not support him. The torch of discord shall not be lighted throughout Europe, to save obstinate blindness from the consequences of a deserved fall!" The ordinances which led to the concluding explosion and *Finis* did not reach the knowledge of Pozzo di Borgo until the 25th of July, late in the evening, at a private party, and as a piece of private news; but when they appeared on the succeeding day, in the *Moniteur*, imbued with all the insolence and venom of despotism, and he found that the ministers were devoid of even the precautionary prudence of backing their bravados with an armed and ready soldiery, he could not restrain his amazement at their mingled presumption and weakness. "How!" exclaimed he, "you undertake a strife with the nation without troops? Without being prepared to fortify the bridges? Without a single preliminary measure that may enable you to enforce your decrees, or to defend yourselves?" "All is quiet," was the reply. "Quiet! Yes! to-day, the sky is serene; to-morrow, its repose may be broken by the thunder of musketry; and the next morning, I shall, perhaps, be obliged to demand my passport." All the diplomatists were thrown into the wildest confusion. None of them, up to the 28th of July, had received any official communication from Polignac. The ambassadors were left in the dark, to decide on their choice in this dilemma.

They therefore assembled at the Hotel of Pozzo di Borgo, to determine their wisest course. The Russian Ambassador was of opinion, that the passing events had not yet assumed a sufficiently conclusive character to justify any act that might commit the sovereigns, whom their ambassadors represented. He advised them to await the issue of the struggle, without taking any public official step, unless the government should be shaken in its legitimate foundations. They unanimously assented, and agreed to adhere to his recommendation, at least whilst Charles X. refrained from addressing to them any formal state document, imperatively requiring as solemn a reply. The couriers were charged with despatches to their respective courts, importuning for clear instructions at this singular crisis, and generally blaming the last acts of the royal government, as so

far justifying the revolution. On the 29th of July, Talleyrand stated, in a circular communication to the several foreign diplomatists, the motives which had influenced the Duke of Orleans to accept the lieutenancy of the kingdom. The Duke, he said, was actuated by stern necessity, in his receipt of a provisional regency, to maintain the integrity of government, and preserve the legitimate rights of the Bourbons—himself boasting that name: thus raising a bulwark against revolutionary violence, and at the same time allaying the storm. At this period too, strong efforts were made to obtain from Charles X and his son a public and ostensibly voluntary abdication. The Orleans manœuvre was so dexterously dressed, and bore so fair an appearance, that the foreign diplomatists saw no reason for demanding their passports. Indeed, they found themselves treated with far more deference and respect by the new government, than previously by the favourites of St. Cloud. Pozzo di Borgo approved of the court expedient, which he declared *well-managed*. But when the *Lieutenant* of France was proclaimed *King* of the French, the Russian ambassador's continuance at, or departure from, Paris, became a question of consequence. The ayes prevailed, and he was persuaded to wait for instructions from his court, while Louis Philippe wrote an autograph epistle to Nicholas, in which he described himself as having been compelled by *lamentable* events to ascend the vacant throne of his ancestors. The cold reply given by Nicholas to the apologetic letter, evidently showed his disapproval of the entire transaction. The Belgian revolution, which immediately followed that of the French, of course, served to aggravate, in the mind of Nicholas, the example of *la jeune France*; and a plan of offensive operations was already sketched out in St. Petersburg, by which the Polish army was to form the vanguard of the great host, intended to chastise Louis Philippe. Pozzo di Borgo had even received instructions to hold himself in readiness to quit Paris at a day's notice. But as fortune willed, the Polish insurrection broke out furiously at Warsaw, and the Russian emperor directed his ambassador to stay where he was, and, by temporizing, prevent any intervention on the part of France.

This proved one of the most trying labours ever committed to the Corsican's art throughout his long diplomatic life. The Polish cause had awakened the sympathy of all generous minds, and especially in France, where the popular classes of Paris were excited to such a degree, as to threaten the government with a new rising. The fermented indignation of the people at length actually began to vent itself in open acts of violence against the representative of the autocrat. A turbulent multitude assembled

one evening before his hotel, with loud cries of "Vive les Polonais! A bas les Russes!" which were accompanied by showers of stones, shattering the windows. In this exigence, the whole of his retinue surrounded Pozzo di Borgo, and entreated him to send for his passports, and secure his safety; his reply was—"The situation of the Emperor is difficult enough already; it must not be rendered more so by an untimely rupture with France. This commotion is daring, but not dangerous, and satisfaction will be tendered for the insult. A vulgar riot is not an act of state. We are accredited, not to the *canaille*, but to the constitutional authority." Next day the Minister of the Interior paid him a visit, with every apology on the part of the government; and soon after a guard of safety was stationed before the ambassadorial hotel. Could the notes issued from the French cabinet on the Polish question, in passing through various hands and processes, have assumed the mild manner of friendly remonstrance, rather than the bearing of hostile threats? It is certain that they seemed not to affect the Corsican arch-politician with any emotion, beyond the most soothing sentiments. On all points he was prepared with an answer. "Let us first," he blandly said, "give time to my court to restore peaceful order in Poland. Then we establish a regular intercourse on the details of the subject, and our negotiations will be easy." They were. No sooner had the innumerable masses of Nicholas effectually quelled the Polish patriots, than Pozzo di Borgo's diplomatic style became equally brief and lucid; he declared that "His master, the emperor, would never permit any foreign government to interfere in the public or private management of his states, and that none but himself could claim a right to decide on the destiny of his subjects." This note remained unanswered, but the tender mercies of the emperor towards his subjected Poles, speak in a voice that may yet be heard!

Strong and tenacious in his aversion to the Royalty sprung from July, Nicholas now instructed Pozzo di Borgo to indicate imperial estrangement, by a coldness approaching to disrespect. He was to absent himself from court, and on particular occasions, when the members of the diplomatic corps usually tendered their personal congratulations at the Royal Chateau, he was charged to plead indisposition, and seek the benefit of country air.

In this case, duty and inclination were rather at variance, and Pozzo di Borgo was so much attached to the Parisian circles, that he tried his utmost to effect a good understanding between the two courts. In all his official reports, he placed the proceedings of the *quasi-legitimate* government in the best possible

light, and indeed carried his favourable exposition of French affairs to such an extent, that he drew on himself the suspicions of his court, which no longer either required or wished a continuance of his tranquil views and conciliatory agency. Petty diplomatic aspirants, therefore, were secretly dispatched from St. Petersburg, to watch the movements of the Corsican, and discover the foreign policy of France.

New difficulties, however, soon arose, that rendered the farther exercise of Pozzo di Borgo's flexible talents indispensably necessary in their present field. War was on the point of recommencing betwixt Russia and the Porte. The alliance formed by the subtle Talleyrand between France and England, might become troublesome to the designs of Russia. The ambassador was consequently released from his political seclusion, and permitted to shine again at court, thus tacitly intimating to Louis Philippe that the Emperor was now sufficiently satisfied with his conduct to include him in the confidential orb of cotemporary sovereigns.

Pozzo di Borgo was even authorized to mention the possible union of a princess nearly related to the Emperor, with an hereditary prince of France. As it was always a darling project at the Tuilleries to intermarry the sovereign's sons into the royal families of Europe, there can be no doubt that such a proposal highly flattered the younger line of the Bourbons; and the Russian despot was in consequence allowed to carry his ambitious views into the East, without incurring an inquisitive gaze from the French cabinet, who purposely closed their eyes, and covertly aided the aggressions of Russia by their negligence and supineness. How, indeed, could they intermeddle with a friendly Emperor, who was presently to be bound to France by kindred ties? But when the mutual volume of politics was subsequently reopened at the article "marriage," Pozzo di Borgo having, in the meanwhile, maturely weighed the proprieties, gave his judgment, that a parity of national interests should ever constitute the chief ingredient in an alliance between governments, matrimonial unions forming but an inferior knot in the mighty fastenings of society. He, nevertheless, did not doubt that Russia would always feel honoured by proposals of intermarriages with princes of the ancient race of the Bourbons. The King of the Barricades had already grown too unpopular with his own nation, to alienate so potent a power as Russia by any show of resentment, and Louis Philippe found it advisable to pocket the affront, and ally himself, afterwards, with the family of Nicholas (through the house of Wurtemberg) despite the Emperor's dissent.

After the conclusion of the Oriental war, Pozzo di Borgo was

commissioned to visit London, and ascertain the precise state of affairs in the cabinet of St. James's. Having prevented France from taking any share in opposing the strides of Russia, he was now to sound the depths of the Tory party in England, and learn whether there was any likelihood of their regaining power; and though the resident and accredited ambassador of Russia was then Prince Lieven, (or, as the wicked world buzzed, the *Princess* Lieven) yet more consequence was attached by the court of St. Petersburg to the services of the wily Corsican, whom it was difficult to deceive, than to the easy and too honest German. Pozzo di Borgo neither visited nor associated but very slightly with any of the Whig statesmen; he principally limited his conferences to his Grace of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen, who were the leading organs of Toryism on all foreign questions. The two veteran champions (in war and diplomacy) of the great alliance against "the common foe," Wellington and Pozzo di Borgo, in their first interviews recalled to memory, after an interval of eighteen years, many interesting events and personal anecdotes, which naturally enough led to a revival of those old companionable feelings of friendship, on which, perhaps, the tooth of time had somewhat preyed.

Hopes were, at that period, entertained by the Tories of the Duke of Wellington's recall to the supreme councils; but those dreams were soon broken; for a few months later, the quadruple alliance was formed, by which France became more closely united with the Whig ministry, and the ministry itself more popular and powerful. Conscious that the views and opinions of the Whig party were inimical to those encroachments on the rights of other nations, inseparable from their ambitious aims of unceasing aggrandizement for their own, the Russian cabinet now found it more than ever necessary to place as ambassador at the British court an agent fully capable of penetrating and counteracting, by plausible subtlety and pliant skill, the plans of the English government for crossing their wide-spread schemes. It was scarcely possible to find a man better qualified for the task than he whose diplomatic generalship had hitherto never been foiled in the service of his adopted land. How far his manœuvres have succeeded even with matter-of-fact John Bull, may be judged from the inactivity of the ministry, though yet termed Whigs, in their opposition to any of the various masked intrigues carried on by restless Russia. His appointment to the embassy of England was accepted with great reluctance; debilitated by age and illness, Pozzo di Borgo cherished the hope of closing his earthly career in Paris; in whose lively salons alone he appears to recover all his youthful energies, and displays talents of the first order.

In familiar intercourse, his language, which is at first reserved and cold, gradually becomes more animated, eloquent, and even oratorical. He then exhibits all the vivid fancy peculiar to the natives of the south, and the Corsican accent in conversation adds effect to his wit, and keen satire. But those who wish to open his heart, and elicit his sentiments as a man, divested of his diplomatic habits, have only to introduce the recollection of his parental mountains, and lead him back to *Corte*; he will then relate all the history of Paoli and the general convention of the pastoral people; his gestures then become animated, and his eye flashes forth the olden rays of boyish patriotism. In short, you no longer see in him the worldly diplomatist, but the national mountaineer. His wit is neither so easy nor so caustic as that of Talleyrand, but more genuine and dignified. Altogether, his disposition is of a more serious cast; he never sports with the principles he professes, but acts up to them in their full extent, as a self-imposed and solemn duty. His peculiar skill does not lie in attacking or refuting the opinions of others, but in giving them imperceptibly a direction favorable to his own views.

His memory though inexhaustible, is nevertheless no magazine of anecdotes, like that of the Bishop of Autun. It may be called a reservoir of annals. Indeed, his mind is so completely stored with memoirs, that they flow from his lips, as it were, with every respiration. He is the breathing history of his age, and may be most advantageously consulted on all political points connected with it, for he is one of the few living men who have witnessed the entire career of Napoleon, and every event linked with his fortunes. He, too, has viewed the mighty scenes with an eye and in a spirit very different from the general biographers of that mundane prodigy, who, in the chronicles of the universe, still is, and ever will be, until the final crush of worlds, "himself alone!"

Ann. II. — I. *Die Religion der Römer nach den Quellen dargestellt von F. A. Hartung. The Religion of the Romans sketched from its Sources.* By F. A. Hartung. 2 vols. 8vo. Erlangen, 1836.

2. R. H. Klausen, *Phil. Dns. in universitate Fridericia Wilhelmina Rhenana Professoris publici, de Carmine Fratrum Arvalium liber ad patrem Theoph. Ern. Klausen cett. solennia expleti per quinquaginta annos muneris celebrantem.* 8vo. Bonnæ. 1836.

3. *Rudimenta Linguae Umbricæ ex Inscriptionibus antiquis enodata.* Scripsit Dr. G. F. Grotefend, Lycæi Hannoverani Director. IV. Particulas. 4to. Hannoveræ. 1835-1837.
4. *De Morum in Virgilii Æneide habitu.* Scripsit Dr. Laurentius Lersch. 8vo. Bonnæ. 1836.
5. *De Originibus historiæ Romanæ seu de antiquissimis curminibus historicis, de legibus regis atque de commentariis regum scripsit* Christianus Petersen, Ph. Dr. et Philologiæ classicæ Prof. publ. in Gymnasio Hamburgensium academico. 4to. Hamburgi. 1835.
6. *Jus Pontificium der Römer.* Von K. D. Hüllmann. 8vo. Bonn. 1836.
7. *Über Begriff und Wesen der römischen Omen und über dessen Beziehung zum Privatrechte.* Von Joh. Fallati, Doctor der Rechte. *On the Notion and Nature of the Roman Omen, and its reference to law.* By F. Fallati, Doctor in law. 8vo. Tübingen. 1836.
8. *Grundlinien zur Geschichte der Verfalls der römischen Staatsreligion bis auf die Zeit des August.* Eine litterarhistorische Abhandlung, von Dr. Leopold Krahner. *Historical Outline of the Decline of the Public Religion of Rome down to the time of Augustus. A Treatise for Literary History, by Dr. L. Krahner.* (A Programme of the Principal Latin School at Halle, published by Dr. M. Schmidt, Rector of the same, 16th March 1837.) 4to. Halle. 1837.

WE have introduced to the notice of our readers a number of books written, on subjects intimately connected, in the same country, and almost during the same year. We can, however, assert that they were composed without any intercourse of the authors, who did not even know the intention of their fellow writers. The second only has referred to the first in some notes added after it had been completed, and it is itself mentioned in the last part of the third. They all have arisen out of the want generally felt of satisfactory treatises on the subject. But they do not all follow the same method. In the first, an attempt has been made to describe the whole religious system of ancient Rome. The testimonies which the writers, and particularly the poets of Rome, furnish upon the matter, are declared to be of a very different value, because the writer believes the genuine Roman character to have been destroyed during the war of Hannibal, and to have been almost forgotten in the age of Varro, Virgil, and Ovid. Therefore, he pays very little attention to those notices, which he thinks unsuitable to the general character of the system: nor does he, if different accounts of the same object are given, usually examine whether they can be united with each other. He rather considers most of the accounts to be

only the result of mistakes and unsuccessful attempts to explain ceremonies, the real meaning of which had been lost. The principles of the second work are directly opposed to this and to the common prejudice, that Roman poetry is hardly any thing more than a translation of Greek ideas into Latin verse. It is founded upon the observation, that a more diligent enquiry shows, in Virgil, Propertius, and Ovid, in Catullus, Lucretius, and even in Horace, a multitude of peculiar opinions, that either are perfectly unknown to the Greeks, or, at least, are delivered in a certain mode of reasoning which differs most distinctly from that of any Greek author, and of course will be discovered to be indigenous to Italy, and especially to Latium. Accordingly, the attempt is made to unravel these peculiar ideas, to separate them from the Greek, and to restore the dignity of real poets to the most eminent writers of the age of Augustus, by discovering in their works the traces of popular feeling and prejudice, upon which poetry ought always to be founded. The influence of the Greek religion is acknowledged to have changed many native opinions, but not to have utterly destroyed their Roman or Italian character. The most ancient inhabitants of Italy belonged to the same family of nations which is found in Greece and on the western coast of Asia minor. Among these, the various tribes who lived near the sea more particularly resembled each other: those who dwelt in the mountains were distinguished by a peculiar character. Both in Greece and Italy these mountaineers occupied the lower part of the country, and subdued the inhabitants. This revolution in Greece is called the migration of the Heraclidæ and the transformation of the Pelasgi into the Hellenes: in Italy we observe the same in the history of the Tyrrheni, Siculi and Dauni, who were overpowered by the aborigines, by the Osci and Ausones.¹ Although by these events Italy and Greece received new and, in many respects, distinct characters, there was yet preserved enough of their original features by which their relationship could be recognized. It was this relationship that prevented the civilization of Italy from gaining its perfection until it had united to itself that of Greece, which had been developed at an earlier period, and which saved the peculiar character of the Roman religion from destruction, when it adopted the legends and fables of the Greeks. The gods of Greece were too nearly akin to the gods of Italy to be excluded from the sympathies and the devotion of the Romans: the conception of Apollo, in itself so beautiful, was yet not so foreign to the

(1) See Niebuhr's *Roman History*, vol. i. p. 69, 71, seq. 87, seq. *Hallische Allgemeine Encyclopädie von Ersch und Gruber, fortgesetzt von Meier und Kuntz*,—Art. Osker.

inhabitants of Latium as to be rejected by them, although they had not been accustomed to contemplate and worship the deity in the same form: the conception of *Hermes* was so elegant and refined, so full of life and poetical ornament, that they gladly adopted the fables respecting him, in order to embellish their native *Mercury*, the offspring of a much less vigorous fancy. However, in introducing the legends and opinions of Greek poetry, the Romans did by no means forget their own. It is curious to observe how the distinguished poets in the age of *Cæsar* and *Augustus* are governed by native opinion in receiving and treating those, which they admire in the sublime works of *Homer*, *Pindar*, and *Sophocles*. These national ideas, these popular prejudices, though much more injured by philosophical and rhetorical reasoning, which came to Rome together with Greek poetry, do not totally disappear before the flame of youthful vigour dies away in the poetry of Italy. It could not but die, when, in the disgusting time of *Elagabalus*, Italy was overwhelmed by the hideous confusion of Asiatic superstitions; when the habit of speaking and writing Latin was lost in Latium itself; and when the sickly cant of Greek phrases was the only method by which a fashionable Roman could give utterance to opinions generally perverse.

Accordingly, the right way of discovering the true character of the Roman religion, the real meaning of particular opinions and ceremonies, will not be by choosing one among different reports, but by endeavouring to unite them under their common point of view. This is the means by which the author of the work we speak of seeks to discover the meaning of the ceremonies performed by the *Fratres Arvales*, as well as of the verses which they sung in the temple of their goddess. These verses belong to a very early period of Roman history; though in their present form they seem not to have been written prior to the age of *Sylla*. Most of the words are easy to be understood; some others are doubtful, though all are not far removed from the Latin language of that time, which is familiar to us.

The inquiry into the ancient forms of the Latin tongue can not be conducted except by comparing it with the other languages of Italy. A young German scholar, *Dr. Henop*, has recently published a treatise on the dialect of the *Sabines* (*de lingua Sabina*, Altonæ, 1837).

We expect an excellent work, on the language of the *Osci*, from a professor at Berlin. A considerable number of the monuments written on that of the *Umbri* has been explained by *M. Grotefend* in the work which stands third in our list. These monuments are of the highest importance, because they themselves contain prayers and invocations to Italian gods. No one

can peruse these treatises and not confess that many single words and grammatical forms of the Umbric language have been really discovered by M. Grotefend.

In the treatise which stands fourth at the head of our article, an attempt is made to point out the Roman customs and ceremonies which are exhibited by Virgil. Its motto is taken from Statius, who thus praises the Empëror Septimius:—

Non sermo Pœnus, non habitus tibi :
Externa non pœns : Italus, Italus.

Abundance of matter of the same kind might be added to that which has been collected here.

The commentaries of the Roman kings, which form a part of the fifth work, and which we owe to Dr. Petersen, known by his learned inquiries into the system of the Stoics, are important for the history of the Roman religion, because all the sacred laws and ceremonies of the Pontiffs were derived from those of Numa. No religion of antiquity can be justly explained, but by comparing and illustrating together the fables and ceremonies which belong to it. It was, therefore, even in this respect, a useful undertaking to collect and interpret the various testimonials concerning the latter; although the design of the author is rather to inquire into the sources of our knowledge of political history. In distinguishing the institutions derived from the several Roman kings, he goes so far as to ascribe historical existence even to Romulus (whose name he conjectures to have been a surname of more than one Roman king) and to Numa. M. Hartung, on the contrary, believes not only the names of Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Martius, but even that of Tarquin to be merely allegorical. Historical criticism, as it advances, may confirm many parts of Roman history which have been suspected, while, on the other hand, there is no doubt that many illustrious individuals, who really existed, have, in poetical ages, and in times of a lively religious feeling, received a symbolic character by being treated in popular tales and songs; yet both writers seem to have exceeded the dangerous limits of liberal and sober reasoning. This fault is by no means frequent in the inquiries of Dr. Petersen. The benefits which we have received from his researches on the books of the Pontiffs, will be enhanced by comparing them with those of Dr. Hüllmann respecting their authority in political and judicial affairs.

The seventh treatise contains an inquiry into the origin and proper sense of the word omen, which is shewn to be the term for every profane word, turned by a hearer to a prognostic of future events; and on the authority ascribed to such a prognostic in Roman laws and judicial sentences. As all these were most

closely connected with religion, the subject is well chosen. The enquiry demonstrates no ordinary degree of diligence and sagacity, though we think it would have been still more advantageous in explaining the character of the Roman religion to refer less to a certain system of modern philosophy, which, however excellent in itself, will always prove dangerous when applied to historical and philological researches.

The systems of Ennius, of the supreme pontiff Qu. Mucius Scaevola, and of M. Terentius Varro, concerning the Roman theology, are developed in the eighth treatise on our list. The author acknowledges a political belief in public religion to have coexisted with the attempt to explain its doctrines in a historical or philosophical manner, undertaken by individuals in the last centuries of the Roman republic. He shows, how both are united in the mind of Ennius without destroying each other; how philosophical reasoning begins to encroach upon public faith; and how Scaevola seeks to re-establish the doctrines of the latter, by separating it entirely from the religion of poets and philosophers. This was a vain attempt, because the national feeling and character had fallen more and more into decay. Varro proves the deities of public faith, if justly considered, to answer entirely to the religious wants of individuals, even in the age of cultivated and refined philosophy.

We think that the religious system of the ancients will be most forcibly illustrated by investigating a particular branch of it. We will therefore insert our researches on a most interesting subject of Roman mythology.

THE PARCÆ, OR FATA.—There can scarcely be found an article of Roman religion, the history of which shows so evidently its general tendency, as that of the Parcæ. The poets of the classical age have all celebrated them in their songs. Beings, supposed to govern fate, have been worshipped in ancient times, but they were not looked upon with any particular devotion: nor were they then introduced into fables or mythology. All the importance ascribed to the notion of fate was founded upon the idea of its being established by the great gods, the conception of which is to be derived from contemplating the qualities of god in a sensible and anthropomorphical form. In Greece the original notion of fate was different: the sisters, who were employed in allotting it, were as much adored in temples as they were celebrated in fable, though far less than many other allegorical persons. These opinions and legends were received by the Roman poets, who made use of them in adorning the corresponding figures, which they found in their own country. By uniting these different elements, and by enlivening those which they borrowed from the Greeks with other domestic ideas of kindred Roman deities, they raised the figures of their weird sisters to a

degree of activity and personal individuality to which they never attained in Greece.² Nor would they have obtained it in Roman literature, had not the interest which the Romans took in the gods of olden tradition, been long gradually on the decline.

The beings, which in Greece ruled the decrees of fate, were merely allegorical. Whatever existed, the Greeks supposed to have had a share in what is produced by Earth, the general mother of all. They imagined that every element, every force, even every quality and every portion of it, to have been animated by a soul, the character of which corresponded exactly to the nature of the matter. Such a soul was attributed even to time.³ The same was believed respecting the destiny of each being. Such a destiny was called *μοῖρα*: the same name was given to the soul which animated it. Every one had his *Moirai*: the number of these souls was not less than that of the destinies themselves. But every multitude of infinite variety is considered according to the fundamental proportion of the triple number; as three Muses, three Hores, three Graces, three Furies, three *Moirai*, are supposed; the names of which are taken from their qualities, that are to be ascribed to the portion of every body. In each there is an internal connexion, to which is referred whatever happens to the person: this connexion, when considered like spinning or weaving leads to the name of Clotho. In the same share there is a certain peculiarity observed in regarding how its single events are brought together by chance: this peculiarity is named Lachesis, the proper expression for obtaining a lot. It depends not on the will of man, either to avoid any of these chances or to obtain what is not suitable for the internal connexion of his share: this unavoidableness of destiny gives rise to the name of Atropos.

These beings watch over the individual destinies of gods, men, and beasts, even of plants and stones: they watch their boundaries: they are merely active in the boundaries themselves, without any free will and arbitrary choice. Therefore, even participles of the passive gender may be employed as their general names: the personified *Moirai* (and *Aisa*) very often is called the Attributed, *Pepromene*, *Heimarmene*: because she is nothing but the spirit, which is active in the attributed destiny. The attributing origin

(2) The name of the weird sisters, as well as of the weird elves, the weird lady of the woods (Percy's reliques, 3-220), contains the very root, which is found in the Anglo-Saxon *wyrd*, the old German *wurt*, *wêwurt*, *wurth*, *wurdh*, the Scandinavian *urdhr* and *verdhandi*, terms for destiny and its deities.—See Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 228, sq.

(3) Pind. Ol. II. 17, (ed. Bueckh.): *Χρόνος ὁ πάντων πάτερ*. Eurip. *Heracl.* 898: *πολλὰ γὰρ τίκειτ' Μοῖρα τελευσιδῶταιρ' Αἰὼν τε Κρόνου παῖς*. *Æsch. Eum.* 286 (ed. Forson): *Χρόνος καθαιρεῖ πάντα γηράσκων ὁμοῦ*. *Soph. Electr.* 179: *Χρόνος γὰρ εὐμαρὴς θεός*.

of all is Earth, their general mother, by which every body is furnished with materials: any arbitrary act of attributing can be practised only by the Olympian gods, whose father and king is Jupiter, the only free being.⁴

If these spirits of destiny already allotted to creatures are spoken of as allotting, this rhetorical phrase is the same, as when we say, summer-ripens fruit, although they are not matured by any personal activity of summer, but by the united efficacy of physical forces, which become conjoined during the time of summer. The difference between philosophical and mythological reasoning is this, that the first ascribes only to coincidence, what the last derives sometimes from this coincidence, and sometimes from a personal power, the whole existence of which is contained in regulating this coincidence. It is, therefore, often doubtful in Greek authors, whether *μοῖρα* or *Μοῖρα* should be written. It is the same with *ἄρη?* *ἔρις*, nay, with almost every philosophical notion. Language itself personifies them by attributing an activity to them, which mythology really believes to exist, but which philosophy maintains to be merely allegorical. But even in mythology there is always a wide difference between the actions of such beings, the strength of which is to be found only in coincidence of matter, and of such, in which it is to be derived from a free act of volition.

We attribute activity even to the pronounced word: in Greece it was believed to be animated by a spirit. No rumour related by many persons can “be entirely lost: even this is a deity,” as we read in Hesiod.⁵ The spirits of curses are difficult to be overpowered;⁶ they are invoked to consider the domestic affairs;⁷ they sit before the cursed man's eye;⁸ they have a peculiar residence under the earth.⁹ Most of these terms may be understood figuratively, but in the last a real personality is distinctly indicated; they are identified entirely with the Furies, and introduced on the stage by Æschylus. If words uttered by men were thus gifted with being, those spoken by the gods must have been so in a higher degree.

(4) Æsch. Trom. 50: Ἐλευθερός γὰρ οὗτις ἐστὶ πλὴν Διός. Cf. Eum. 650.

(5) Hesiod. Opp. 761: Φήμη δ' οὗτις πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἥτινα πολλοὶ
λαοὶ Φημίζωσι· θεὸς νύ τις ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτή.

(6) Æsch. Chæph. 649: ὦ δυσπάλαιστε τῶνδε δωματῶν ἀρά,
ὦς πόλλ' ἐπαπῆς κάκποδων εὐ κείμενα,
τόξοις πρόσωθεν εὐσκόποις χειρουργή.

(7) Æsch. Chæph. 386: Ἴδετε πολυκρατεῖς ἀραὶ κειμένων
Ἰδεσθ' Ἀτρεΐδαν τὰ λοιπὰ ἀμηχάνως
ἔχοντα καὶ δωματῶν Ἀτίμα.

(8) Æsch. Theb. 695: Φίλου γὰρ ἐχθρὰ μοι πατρός, τέλει ἀρὰ
Ζηροῖς ἀκλειστοῖς ὄμμασιν προσιζάνει.

(9) Æsch. Eum. 417: Ἀραὶ δ' ἐν οἴκοις γῆς ὑπὰ κεκλήμεθα.

Likewise in the Roman religion, fate is what the gods have spoken: for the gods pronounce what they would signify, not like men, who have one thought concealed in their mind, while another is on their lips.¹⁰ Every single god establishes his fata: the term is frequently explained by will:¹¹ but fate is more particularly the decree of Jupiter and the council of the gods.¹² In the Greek theology, it is said the lips of Zeus know not how to speak false words, he fulfils his every word.¹³ Here the anger of Zeus is introduced as a watching and avenging demon.¹⁴ The words of men and their curses wander about as fiends. Thus, according to Roman ideas, the sentences pronounced by Jupiter are animated: the character of the spirits which act in them, corresponds to the nature of the sentences themselves, exactly as that of an elementary spirit answers to that of the element. Though considered as female beings, they are called Fata in the neuter gender.¹⁵ Fata are adored like other divine beings, that

(10) Serv. Virg. *Æn.* vii. 50: Nam dii id fantur quod sentiunt, non ut homines, de quibus lectum est aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in lingua promptum habere.

(11) Serv. Virg. *Æn.* i. 36: Fatis Junonis iniquæ, id est voluntate; ib. iv. 614: (fata Jovis), fata dicta, id est Jovis voluntas, ergo participium est, non nomen. Cf. ib. i. 303; iv. 110; viii. 292; vii. 57: (fata divum) fato autem dicit voluntate. Such a pronounced will we have in Horace, *Carm.* iii. 13, 17: Gratum elocta consilantibus Junone divis. . . bellicosas fata Quiritibus Hæc lege dico. In Claudian, (*Rapt. Pros.* ii. 306) Pluto says to Proserpina: Sit fatum quodeunque volēs. Nonius Marcell. vi. 42, p. 455 (ed. Mercer): Actum, sicut communiter intelligitur, significationem decreti habet; a doctis tamen indaganter invenimus positum esse pro voluntate.

(12) Isidor. Orig. viii. 11, 90: Fatum dicunt quicquid dii fantur, quicquid Jupiter fatitur. Serv. Virg. *Æn.* xii. 808: Juno sciens fatum esse quicquid dixerit Jupiter. Cf. ib. x. 628: vox enim Jovis fatum est.

(13) *Æsch.* Trom. 1032: ψευδγορεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταται στόμα τὸ Δίον, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ἔπος τελεῖ.

(14) *Æsch.* Suppl. 646: Δίον ἐπιδόμενοι πράκτορά τε σκοπόν
Δυσπολήμηνον δν οὔτις δόμος ἔχει
Ἐπ' ὁρόφων μαινοντα· βαρὺν δ' ἐφίξει.

The poet says, concerning the same matter, v. 385—

Μένει τοι Ζηνὸς ἱκταῖον κότος
Δυσπαρελκτοῖς παθόντος οἴκτος.

(15) Fatis tribus Varro ap. Gell. Noct. Att. iii. 16. Procop. Bell. Gotth. i. 25, p. 122, 12 (ed. Bonn.): ἔχει δὲ (δ' Ἰανὸς) τὸν νεὼν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου δλίγων ὑπερβάντι τὰ τρία Φῦτα· οὗτω γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς Μοῖρας νένομικασι καλεῖν. Stat. Theb. viii. 26: Fata serunt animas et eodem pollice damnant. (The thumb alludes to the business of spinning, attributed in later times to the Roman Fata, as well as to the Greek moirai: Cf. not. 13. In the present note, we shall cite only those passages in which the Fata are evidently spoken of as persons.) Stat. Silv. v. 1, 145: Invenere viam liventia Fata. Martial. vii. 47, 8: raptos Fatis reddidit ipse colos. Auson. Grith. 19: tria Fata. Apulei. Metam. xi. vers. fin.: Fatorum inextricabiliter contorta fila. Apulei. de Mund. vers. fin.: sed tria Fata sunt. Isidor. Orig. viii. 11, 92: tria autem Fata fingunt. Fronton. Nepot. amiss. p. 218 (Mai): poetæ autem colus et fila Fatis assignant. Marcian. Capell. i. 15, 6: Fata vero ex altera (the thirteenth among the sixteen spheres of heaven) postulatur. Fulgent. Myth. i. 7: tria Fata, quarum prima Clotho. Latin. Pacat. Panegy. xviii. 4: illi deo feruntur assistere Fata cum tabulis. Albric. Deorum Imag. 10.

were believed to possess physical or spiritual force. We may frequently doubt whether these Fata be considered as persons or as things,¹⁶ because an action may be attributed in a figurative sense even to the mere word. Nor is it in such a case of any importance, for the context, whether they be thought persons or not; it may be only of interest in order to understand the poet's view, and the true sense of the poetical term.

To attribute this establishing power to the word, is an opinion which we scarcely shall find so countenanced in any action of antiquity, if we except the creating power ascribed to the word of God in Genesis. The Romans believe no act, no ceremony, to be available, unless the proper words of it be pronounced in the proper moment. Without these, the offering of victims can be of no use, nor the will of the gods be discovered. The prayers of the Vestals can keep slaves, who endeavour to run away, within the city:¹⁷ and prayers and certain forms of words can not only move the mercy of the gods and change their resolutions, but even draw them down from their celestial seats, and force them to reveal what is required.¹⁸ Even in ordaining fate, the

Parca: seu Fata. Orell. Inscr. 1777: *debita cum Fatis venerit hora tribus.* Or. ib. 1771: *Fatis Qu. Fabius Nysus ex voto.* Or. ib. 1772: *Fatis Octavia Sperata votum solvit libero munere.* Or. ib. 2432: *Fatis Cæcilius ferox filius.* Or. ib. 4579: *Fatis male indicantibus.* We read upon coins struck for Dioclesian and Maximian: *Fatis victricibus.* Cf. Eckhel Doctr. Num. viii. p. 6. Welcker. Zeitschrift für alle Kunst, p. 233. Modern writers frequently make use of the form *Fatæ*. For this we do not know any authority. It is not against the genius of the language; for we find *Fatus suus*, *Fatus malus* (Orell. Inscr. 2613, 4748): however, if it were in use at all, it was in a late age. The Italian word *Fate*, which is found in the tale of the Three Fairies, *tre fate*, who dwell in a cavern, and make presents to children who come down, may be derived from the plural *Fata* itself. Afterwards, when the plural *Fate* existed, a singular *Fata* may have been formed from this. The French *Fée*, the Spanish *Fida* and *Fada*, the German *Fei*, come from the same.—See Grimm Deutsche Mythologie, p. 232. Diez Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen, p. 13. The form *Fatus* can be nothing but the *dæmon*, which acts in allotted fate, or allots it himself. It corresponds to *δαίμων*, which frequently is used for *μοῖρα*: for instance, Pind. Pyth. v. 114: *Διός, τοι μέγας νόος κυβερνᾷ δαίμων' ἀνδρῶν φίλων.*

(16) As in Horace, Carm. iv. 2, 38: *fata donavere bonique divi*; ib. 13, 22: *Cinara: breves Annos fata dederunt.* Propert. iv. 7, 51: *fatorum nulli revolvibile carmen.* In all these, and many other passages, it would be more proper to consider the term as the name of deities, and to write *Fata*, than to take it for fate and established law, as is usually done.

(17) Plin. Hist. Nat. xxviii. 33.

(18) Ovid. Fast. iii. 323: *quæ carmina dicunt Quaque trahant superis sedibus arte Jovem, Scire nefas homini.* Then the poet, mentioning the ceremonies of Jupiter Elicius, describes how Jupiter was drawn down to earth and to conference with Numa, who requires certain remedies against lightning:—

— da certa piamina, dixit,
Fulminis, altorum rexque pater deum,
Si tua contigimus manibus donaria puris;
Hoc quoque, quod petitur, si pia lingua rogat.

This he obtains from Jove (annuit oranti); nay, by a skilful interpretation of the law

word of man is of the greatest importance. A favourable omen will not insure the promised benefit to him to whom the gods have sent it, unless it be received by his word. A human head, which had been found in the foundations of the Capitol, was a sign of Rome's destiny to be the capital of the world. This meaning being unknown to the Romans, they sent to Olenus Calenus, the most famous Etruscan soothsayer, who endeavoured to transfer the use of the omen to his own country. He delineated with his staff the image of a temple on the ground before him, and said: "Do you say this, men of Rome? Here there shall be the temple of Jupiter the most high: here we have found the head." By these words, he would have transferred the fate to Etruria, had not the ambassadors, admonished by his child, answered: "Not here, but in Rome, we say the head was found."¹⁹

The three Fata, which were worshipped in Latium, are the spirits, who live in the words of the gods. It is a mere rhetorical figure, to introduce the spirit of the word pronounced as pronouncing it.²⁰ As the Grecian Moira distributes destiny under the government of Zeus, according to his laws and orders; so the Roman Fatum adjudges particular fates according to the words of Jove. Divine law is established by the will and word of Zeus: the goddess Themis, who is the spirit of this law, pronounces her sentence under his authority and according to it.

Themis adjudges by words,²¹ and so do the Fata. Moira is represented by the Greeks as deeply meditating, distributing, determining, seizing, flattering, concealing, forging or whetting

pronounced by the god, with his own words he substitutes symbolic sacrifices for the bloody one which the god would have required:—

Cardē caput, dixit. Cui rex, paribimus, inquit,
Cædenda est hortis eruta cepa meis.
Addidit hic: hominis, summos, ait ille, capillos.
Postulat hic animam: cui Numa, piscis, ait.
Risit et, his, inquit, facito mea tela procuris,
O vir colloquio non abigende meo.

(19) Plin. Hist. xxviii. 2, 4. Other examples, see in Fallati Begriff des Omens, p. 26, sq.

(20) Examples of such figures are quoted, not. 16.

(21) Pind. Isthm. vii. 31: *εἶπεν εὐβουλος ἐν μέσοισι (θεοῖς) Θέμης*. In Greece the Moirai are introduced singing by Plato Rep. x. p. 617, d. Hygin, f. 171: cum natus esset Meleager, subito in regia apparuerunt Parcæ Clotho, Lachesis, Atropos. Cui fata ita cecinerunt. Clotho dicit eum generosum futurum, Lachesis fortem: Atropos titiōnem ardentem aspexit in foco et ait: tamdiu hic vivit, quamdiu hic titio consumptus non fuerit. Cf. ib. 174: huc Parcæ venerunt et Meleagro fata cecinerunt. See not. 117. Hygin. Astron. ii. 15, med.: illo tempore Parcæ feruntur cecinisse fata, quæ perfici natura voluit rerum: dixerunt enim, quicumque Thetidis fuisset maritus, ejus filium fore laude clariorem. Cf. not. 107. All this quite resembles the fatal sisters of the Scandinavian tribes, and the fairies of French and German stories. See Grimm Deutsche Mythologie, p. 231, seq.

the sword of vengeance; often as spinning or weaving, because they consider destiny as determined, allotted, imminent, overpowering. Among these various emblems of her activity, she is sometimes seen speaking, but this is an accidental emblem; while with the Romans it is the essential, the peculiar employ of the Fata.

Instead of the fates allotted to men, the names of the gods allotting them are oftentimes expressed. Thus we find men's fates waging war against each other, the fates of the Greeks against those of Troy;²² or against those of the gods, the fates of the Trojans against those of Juno.²³ The fates of single men may be personified as well as the orders of single gods, which in such a case are thought to be the servants of the latter.²⁴ Personified fates of single men refer quite to these. Thus the notion of a divine sentence begins to be obscured, the notion of fate begins to be thought rather as substantial and independent. However even those fates, which accompany or cause the wanderings of men,²⁵ are frequently called ordinances of the gods.²⁶

We have seen the peculiarity of fate, which in Greece is expressed by the name of Lachesis, the spirit of allotting and obtaining, derived in Roman mythology from the power of the divine word. Fate's permanent strength and firmness, which is called Atropos in Greek, is here represented by the act of writing. In the last day of the first week after the birth of a child, the parents invoked Fata Scribunda,²⁷—the destinies, that are to be written down,—the spirits which they believed to act in those decrees which the gods are about to adjudge to the child by their words, and to establish by writing. Originally this act of writing was attributed to Jupiter himself, who ordains fate by the

(22) Ovid. Heroid. i. 28: illi (Achivi) victa suis Troia fata canunt. Virg. Æn. xii. 149: nunc juvenem imparibus video concurrere fatis.

lb. 725: Jupiter ipse duas æquato examine lances

Susinet et fata imponit diversa deorum.

Therefore the deity of fate herself holds the scale, Pers. Sat. v. 48.

Nostra vel æquali suspendit tempora libra

Pæcæ tenax veri.

(23) Virg. Æn. vii. 293: fatis contraria nostris fata Phrygum.

(24) Auson. Parental. in Æmil. Arbor. 22: dictasti Fatis verba motanda meis.

(25) Horat. Epod. 7, 17: acerba fata Romanos agunt. Ovid. Fast. iv. 73: fatis agitatus Halesus. Virg. Æn. v. 709: quo fata trahunt retrahuntque, sequamur.

(26) When Æneas is called Fato profugus, there is added: multum ille et terris jactatus et alto vi superum. Both are joined yet nearer. Virg. Æn. vii. 239:

Sed nos fata deum vestras exquirere terras

Imperiis egere suis.

(27) Tertullian. de Anima, c. 39: in partu Lucinæ et Dianæ esulatus: per totam hebdomadam Junoni mensa proponitur: ultima die Fata Scribunda advocantur: prima etiam constitutio infantis super terram Statinæ deæ sacrum est.

same act,²⁹ as Zeus does by swearing or by nodding. Usually, however, the spirits of fate are introduced writing what Jupiter commands, as we have before seen them speaking. Thus this opinion is peculiar to Italy, nor is it forgotten even in the latest period of Roman literature. The Etruscan deities of fate are usually represented with a pencil and a small bottle, as are the *Parcæ*, on Italian monuments;³⁰ the goddess of fate is seen writing in Roman sculptures;³¹ Ovid describes the archives of the world formed of brass and iron, erected in the house of the fatal sisters, never to be destroyed, containing all destinies written in steel.³² To this opinion Martial alludes as to one well known;³³ rhetoricians of later time make the *Fata* writers of Jupiter;³⁴ in Claudian, one of the sisters writes what is spoken by Jupiter; the second arranges what has been written:³⁵ other authors believed one of the sisters to speak, the second to write, the third to weave.³⁶ This distribution of offices, however, was not the original one, but introduced by the classical poets, who adopted the Greek idea: in ancient times, and in domestic poetry, both the offices of adjudging and of writing were ascribed to the same deities: a difference of name and of function was derived from other opinions.

Each divinity decrees his own fates; those of mortals are allotted to them: the number of destinies would, therefore, seem to be infinite. But notwithstanding this variety of lots, the general manner in which they are allotted by the gods and borne by men, is not immeasurable. In Rome, as well as in Greece, the triple number was considered as a fundamental proportion of

(29) Seneca de Provid. c. 5, 6: et ipse omnium conditor ac rector scripsit quidem fata sed sequitur: semper parat, semel jussit.

(30) See Müller Handbuch der Archæologie de Kunst, § 398, 1.

(31) Mus. Capitol. iv. 29. Mus. Pio Clement. iv. 34. Mülln Gallerie Mythol. xcii. Nr. 382. Welcker Zeitschrift für alte Kunst, p. 210, sqq. 216, 218.

(32) Ovid. Met. xv. 388:—

intres licet ipsa Sororum
Tecta trium, cernes, illic molimine vasto
Ex ære et solido rerum tabularia ferro,
Quæ neque contursum cœli neque fulminis iram
Nec metuunt ulla tuta atque æterna ruinas.
Invenies illic inclusa adamante perenni
Fata tui generis.

Jupiter reads them: legi ipse animoque notavi.

(33) Martial. x. 44, 6: omnis scribitur hora tibi.

(34) Latin. Pacat. Panegy. Theodos. 18, 4.

(35) Claudian. Bell. Gildon. 202: Jupiter alto cœpit solio, voces adamante notabat Atropos et Lachesis jungebat stamina dictis.

(36) Serv. Virg. Æn. i. 22: una enim loquitur, altera scribit, tertia fila deducit. Recollecting all these authorities, we think it unnecessary to refer to Egyptian opinions, as has been done by Müller (Denkmäler der alten Kunst, p. 54.) At least such an Egyptian opinion was not without a corresponding one in Rome.

variety. We know there were three principal flamines, the Dialis, Martialis, Quirinalis; three tribes of the Patricians, Ramnes, Tities, Luceres; a triple distribution of the same into tribes, curiæ, gentes; three orders of soldiers in full arms—*hastati*, *principes*, *triarii*; a triple subdivision of the *triarii*;³⁶ the third part of the conquered territory was confiscated;³⁷ every matter, which was to be treated by the plebeians, was promulgated in *trinundinum*; the guests of a banquet were placed in *triclinia*; the auspices required the *tripudium*; there were three supreme gods of the Capitol. But in the conception of this number, the Romans differed from the Greeks. With these, we observe the same dignity ascribed to every one of the Furies, the *Moirai*, the *Hores*; one is as powerful and as sacred as the other; or if one be superior, the two others belong to different attributes: as when Zeus, Apollo, and Athene, are associated, Apollo belongs to the piercing and irresistible, Athene to the judging, intellectual faculty of their father. Among the Romans it was customary, if three were associated, to unite or to prefer two of them, and to subdue or to oppose the third. Among the military orders there were two of *antesignani* (*antepitani*); among the patrician tribes there were two superior; the Luceres form the tribe of the *gentes minores*;³⁸ among the gods of the Capitol, Jupiter and Juno are adorned with the same majesty; Minerva is united to them in inferior honour. They imagined two deities of fate for birth, and a third for death.

The names of the first sisters are taken from the time of the child's ripening in the womb of the mother; *Nona* and *Decima*: for the tenth month was acknowledged as the legal time of birth.³⁹ Authors differ respecting the name of the third: Varro has called her *Parca*; *Cæsellius Vindex*, a writer of the age of *Tiberius*, *Morta*.⁴⁰ The etymological and philosophical explanations of Varro are deservedly little esteemed: but, wherever he deduces his remarks, not from reasoning but from learning, they are, especially in Roman antiquity, both credible and entitled to the greatest weight. In deriving *Parca* from *parere*, he undoubtedly has offended against the just laws of etymology, which had not then been distinctly established; a labour reserved for modern times, in which all the languages of the same family have been accurately examined and compared; yet, even now,

(36) See Niebuhr Roman History, i. p. 531; iii. p. 117, sq.

(37) See the same work, i. p. 462.

(38) See the same work, i. p. 338.

(39) Propert. ii. 2, 38. Pompon. apud Nonium, p. 40, *Verminari*.

(40) Gell. N. A. iii. 16.

these laws are frequently violated by those scholars who yield to the guidance of fancy in this broad path of conjecture. Nor is there any doubt as to the origin of Varro's error; for, observing *Nona* and *Decima* to be named from birth, he referred *Parca* to the same; he endeavoured to derive one idea from the three words, which he found in ancient songs or legends. If he had not adopted these names as he found them combined in the ancient religion,—if he had sought only for three goddesses governing birth, whom he might have united to answer to the number of the Grecian *Moirai*,—there is no doubt he would have added *Partula* to the elder sisters, whom we find associated with them in some old prayers mentioned by Tertullian.⁴¹ It is quite impossible that Varro, in speaking of the birth-governing deities, could have been ignorant of, or could have forgotten, *Partula* and her established ceremonies. We must therefore reject the opinion of M. Hartung, by which he maintains the number of three *Fata* to have been introduced into the Roman religion by Varro himself. Our readers may judge, how natural and familiar the triple number of the *Fata* was to the Romans, when we remind them, that it is mentioned not only by Varro and Cæsellius Vindex, by Apuleius, Ausonius, Fulgentius, and Isidorus, but is also found in a public temple, and in a multitude of private inscriptions.⁴²

But in the difference between Varro and Cæsellius, who agree in mentioning the triple number, and yet seem to contradict one another as to the name of the third sister, there might be found the strongest argument for proving either a mistake or an arbitrary introduction of a foreign opinion. It will not appear so on examining the meaning of both names. *Morta* had been applied by Livius Andronicus, in translating the *Odyssey*, to express the notion of *Μοῖρα θανάτου*, the lot of death.⁴³ By Cæsellius, it was derived from *mors* and *mori*. This derivation seems to be evident of itself, and is ascertained by the form *mortalis*: it did not, however, please Gellius, by whom in other places Cæsellius has been justly blamed. Gellius chose rather to identify it with the Greek *μορφή*, which he believed to have been literally translated by Andronicus into Latin in the very sense of *Moirai*. But it is in the highest degree improbable that Andronicus, even if he had wished to preserve a Greek

(41) Tertullian. de Anim. c. 36.

(42) See not. 15.

(43) By Hermann (Elem. doct. metric. p. 620) the verse of Livius Andronicus has been truly said to have been borrowed from Homer, *Od.* ii. 99:

——— εἰς ὅτε κέν μιν
Μοῖρ' ὅλοη κατέλῃσι τανηλεγέος θανάτου.

form, should have rejected the usual form *Moiræ*, and have preferred one that was unusual, and which, if used in this meaning, would require explanation, even by a Greek reader. Nay it is more than improbable considering that it was the constant custom of Andronicus to introduce Roman instead of the Greek deities which he found in Homer,—*Camenæ* for *Muses*, *Moneta* for *Mnemosyne*,⁴⁴ not to mention such as *Saturni filii* for *Κρονίων*, *Mercurius* for *Hermes*, *filius Latones* for the son of Leto. Nor must we pay any attention to the opinion, that the word *Morta* might have been invented by Andronicus. We think it existed in popular and pontifical forms of words, not only in ancient times, but even in the age of Cæsellius, who knowing this deity to be one of the *Fatæ*, did not find it in any classical author save Andronicus. In the time of Gellius it may have been totally forgotten.

Parca, which is used for *Morta* by Varro, undoubtedly has the same sense. The most simple derivation is that from *parcus*;⁴⁵ allotting fate is considered as scant, limiting, restraining;⁴⁶

(44) Gell. N. A. xviii. 9: librum Livii Andronicus, qui inscriptus est 'Οδύσσεια, in quo erat primus versus:

Virum mihi, Camena, insue versutum.

Priscian vi. p. 679: Mercuriusque cumque eo filius Latonas; and: nam diva Monetas filia docuit; and ib. vii. p. 741: pater noster, Saturni filie. The old poet has been unjustly reproved by M. Hartung (i. 25, 3, not; ii. 69) for having used *Moneta* in a false sense. We shall find another opportunity for defending him against this charge.

(45) The word *parcus* springs from the same root with *parcere*, which unites the sense of being parsimonious with that of using mercy, like the English word to spare. See Plaut. Casin. ii. 8, 65: argento parci nolo. The ancient writers therefore falsely explain *Parcæ* as used *κατ' ἀντίφρασιν*, Donat. Art. Gramm. iii. 6, 2; Isidor. Orig. i. 36, 4; viii. 11, 93; Albric. Deor. Imag. 10; Serv. Virg. Æn. i. 26; Ecl. v. 45; Lyd. de Mers. iii. 45. M. Hartung (ii. 232) has tried a new path in deriving it from *pars*. Roman writers, indeed, mention destinies distributed by the deities of fate: Phædr. iii. 38, 19: *fatorum arbitrio partes sunt vobis datæ*. Ammian. Marcell. xiv. 11, extr.: *partitia fata*. Perhaps there may exist a relationship between *parcus* and *pars*, as there seems to be between *Mars*, *Mamers*, and *Marcus*, *Mamercus*. Every division is not accompanied by the notion of limiting: thus the notion of parsimony might arise from it. But this is uncertain; and undoubtedly the notion of distributing is not expressed by *parcus*. Then it is quite arbitrary to separate *Parca* from that word, which has entirely the same form, and to refer it to another, the meaning of which is a remote one. Nay, by identifying *pars* with *μέρος* and this with *μοῖρα*, M. Hartung overturns all the strict rules of etymology: nor will he bear out this hypothesis by declaring *πολύς* to be the same with *multus*, *bellus* will meltus (*melior*).

(46) In Scandinavian mythology also, two of the fatal sisters are generous; the third, the youngest, is parsimonious. Saxo Gramm. p. 234: *tertia vero protervioris ingenii invidentiorisque studii femina sororum indulgentiorum aspernata consensum eorumque donis officere cupiens*. The same is observed in German tales: the third sister tears asunder the rope which is twisted by the others. See Grimm Deutsche Mythologie, p. 231, 233, 234. It is an excellent remark of this writer, (p. 231): that it seems to be characteristic of fairy tales, to represent the benefits conferred by two fairies as injured by a third.

restrictive fate acts most vigorously in death.⁴⁷ This meaning was clearly understood by Propertius, when he wrote: *Optima mors, parca quæ, venit apta die*:⁴⁸ the best death is that which comes united with the scant day, the restrictive day, the day of the natural limits which are set to human life. If any day be called scant, no one can doubt of this term being applied to the day of restraint by a previous law. The niggard hand, which allots destiny, is also mentioned by Horace: *cui deus obtulit parca quod satis est manu*.

The Roman weird sisters accordingly watched the limits of every man's lot in the same manner as did those of Greece; but if the latter guarded both the limits of space and of time, the former looked rather to time only; they presided over birth and death, which are the two real limits of human life.⁴⁹ Birth was governed by two, the deity of the ninth month, which matures the child, and of the tenth, which brings it forth: death was ruled by the goddess of its day, usually named after its restrictive power, sometimes after death itself. The name of the restraining deity is transferred to her sisters also: as in Greece the *Moirai* are called *Cataclothes*,⁵⁰ a term derived from the name of the eldest sister, *Clotho*. The denomination *Parcæ*, indeed, was more fit for signifying the rulers of fate as personal beings, than that of *Fata*, the gender of which is neuter. However, even this is retained, together with *Parcæ*, and the last name itself properly means nothing but the spirits, which act in the restrictive decrees of the gods. Even if they be called rulers of fate, no arbitrary dominion, but only a ministerial power, is ascribed to them: for what is established by the *sorores dominæ fati*, remains under the superintendence and supreme influence of the gods:⁵¹ and their decrees and the destinies allotted by them, even when not personified, are represented as acting as well as the *Parcæ*.⁵²

(47) *Fatum* is frequently used for death. Orell. Inscr. 1123 and 4634: *fatum fecit*; ib. 4593: *fatis peractis*; ib. 4758 and 4777: *fatalis dies*. Cf. Consol. 357: *Fata manent omnes: omnis exspectat avarus Porcitor*.

(48) Propert. iii. 5, 18. The same is expressed by *Parcæum dies*, Virg. *Æn.* xii. 150. Cf. Horat. Carm. iii. 16, 44.

(49) The theory of the Stoics was the same with that of the Roman religion. See Serv. Virg. *Æn.* viii. 334: *secundum Stoicos locutus est, qui nasci et mori fatis dant, media omnia fortunæ*.

(50) Hom. Od. vii. 197.

Πείσεται ἅσα οἱ Αἴσα κατακλώθεις τε βαρῆαι
Γειρομένῃ νήσαντο λινῷ ὅτε μιν τέκε μήτηρ.

(51) Ovid. Trist. v. 3, 17.

An dominæ fati quicquid coocinere sorores
Omne sub arbitrio desinit esse dei?

(52) See not. 16.

In the old Roman religion the limitation of life by death, which depended on fate, was not derived from a general law of nature, as it was in Greece: on the contrary, it was placed entirely under the will of the gods, and might be altered and modified by their decrees. The development of nature is founded upon necessity, Roman fate upon personal will. By nature, as we read in Servius,⁵³ man ought to live ten times twelve years. This period was completed by Arganthonius, king of Gades, who began to reign in his fortieth year, and died after having governed for eighty years,⁵⁴ two-thirds of his life. Here we again observe the triple division. But such a happy lot is obtained only as an exception from general destiny. The lives of most men are not perfect, nor according to the will of the gods; they therefore have limited the period of life by fate. The mean proportion of the period of fate is that of ninety years (three times thrice ten years, as before four times thrice ten); or, according to others, of eighty-one (three times thrice three multiplied by three) years. The term of one hundred and twenty years for the law of nature, as well as that of ninety for the time of fate, was publicly acknowledged in Rome. To the eternal city itself, whose existence no one doubted was pleasing to the gods, an age of four times thrice ten periods was predicted by the twelve eagles, which appeared to Romulus: and after having passed one hundred and twenty years, the age of Arganthonius, there was no doubt but that it would reach twelve centuries.⁵⁵ For the individual Roman citizen, from whom life so perfect was not to be expected, the laws of the republic supposed the age of ninety years. Half of this time he was obliged to pass in military service, and the third part in the service of the *juniores*. Half of the age allotted by fate was appointed for the *juniores*, the duty of which ceased at forty-five years, when they received the name of *seniores*: the other half for those, who at sixty years became *senes*; accordingly the beginning was appointed at fifteen years, at the end of this, or during the sixteenth, the boy received the *toga virilis*;⁵⁶ then he daily viewed the military exercises in the Campus Martius and was exercised himself; at the end of the

(53) Serv. Vifg. Æn. iv. 653: *Fortuna, non natura nec fatum. Tribus enim humana vita continetur: natura, cui ultra centum et viginti solstitiales annos concessum non est; fato, cui nonaginta anni, hoc est tres Saturni cursus, exitium creant, nisi forte aliarum stellarum benignitas etiam tertium ejus operat cursum; fortuna, id est casu, qui ad omnia pertinet quæ extrinsecus sunt ut ad ruinam, incendia, naufragia, venena.* Cf. Varr. ap. Censorin. de Die Nat. 14. •

(54) See Herod. i. 163; Cic. Senect. 19; Plin. H. N. vii. 48, 19.

(55) Censorin. de Die Natal. 17, extr.

(56) See Tacitus Annal. xii. 41.

seventeenth year he entered the duties of the *juniores*. This period of two years was granted by a law passed by C. Gracchus,⁵⁷ in order to spare the flower of youth, which very often would have been broken, if actual service began, as severe duty required, at the end of the fifteenth year.

Even this period of ninety years, which fate decreed, was limited by chance, by diseases, and other events. This limitation was attributed to fortune. The difference of fortune and fate was never forgotten, though very often united to accomplish the same purpose.⁵⁸

We have seen the name of *Fata* expressing peculiarity, *Scribunda* firmness, *Parcæ* restraint. Every individual is thought to have his *Parca*; the *Parca* of one is better than that of another.⁵⁹ The *Parcæ* of men are distinguished from those of the gods.⁶⁰ Thus the name of *Parcæ*, which was properly applied to the lot of mortality, extended to the whole manner in which the lot of life has been fixed by divine order. This variety of individual situations being referred to the *Parcæ*, the original names of the sisters soon appear to be too inane, too external; they are supplied and replaced by the Grecian name; and accordingly the Greek conception of the spinning and weaving *Parcæ* is received to enrich and adorn the Italian.

The quality of the internal connexion of all the separate events, which happen to a man and belong to his lot, was not imagined by the Romans. Nor was it necessary, nor even suitable to the *fatum*, if this were nothing but a simple utterance of the divine will. The classic Roman poetry arose in the age when people endeavoured to emancipate themselves from the continual and ever present superintendence of their various gods. This emancipation was not easily accomplished; it was the work of centuries; and when gained, appeared to involve the destruction of all that which formed the peculiar grandeur of the Roman name. During this struggle of reason, the human mind, the more it turned to consider the nature of the world and all that it contained, the more it was led away from the worship of the gods, and from

(57) Plutarch. Cai. Gracch. 5.

(58) Manil. Astron. iv. 49: *hoc nisi fata darent, nunquam fortuna dedisset*. We find *Fata* *victricia* bearing the emblems of Fortune on coins. See Welcker *Zeitschrift für alte Kunst*, p. 233, not.; cf. not. 144.

(59) Ovid. Heroid. xi. 105: *nubite felices Parca meliore, sorores: for fato prosperiore*, Fast. iii. 614.

(60) Marcian. Capell. i. 12,* v. 12. Apollo says to Jupiter—
Te nunc parentem principemque maximum
Fatumque nostrum: quippe Parcarum chorus
Humana pensat, tuque sortem cœlitum.

Cf. Stat. Achill. i. 255: *humiles Parcas terrenaque fata*.

reasoning on their nature and will. This was left to the pontifices, who considered themselves in duty bound to maintain the ancient system of doctrines. In considering the nature of man, it was imperative to examine the chances of life, to collect them into a system, and to establish a law for arranging them. This was not done without a religious awe for the gods; formerly men imagined these events to have been decrees of their will; they endeavoured to discover the law on which these decrees depended. The notion of systematic order is easily confounded with that of necessity. Philosophy observes such an order to be maintained throughout the world; it discovers a certain series of causes and effects, kept together in unbroken connexion.⁶¹ The idea of the firmness of fate is now replaced by that of necessity, which is still believed to be established by the supreme will of the gods, or of the king of the gods;⁶² the weird sisters, in whose image the notion of harmony and concord in all decrees, now prevails over that of variety,⁶³ are still the servants of Jove, the executors of his will, though the blind law of nature is confounded with that of fate. But in proportion, as in the Greek and Roman literature, poetry was overpowered by philosophy, so it rejected the influence of personal gods, and founded itself more and more upon blind law, which was animated by the *Parcæ*, or rather merely personified in them.⁶⁴ The Roman poets had been taught philosophy as well as poetry; they had been accustomed at an early age to prefer philosophical reasoning to poetical intuition, to believe rather in the results discovered by the human understanding, than in the doctrine and character of the gods, handed down from their ancestors, who had been accustomed to yield to their imagination, when guided by religious feeling and enlightened by poetical genius. In classical poetry the *Parcæ* now appear independant of the gods, and even opposed to them.⁶⁵ Jupiter himself learns from their archives the course of future events, and fate is no more the word of the great gods, but the word of the *Parcæ*, who rule the world with independant, absolute, inexorable power.⁶⁶

(61) Augustin. *Civ. Dei* v. 8: *omnium connexionem seriemque causarum, qua fit omne quod fit, fati nomine appellant.*

(62) August. *ib.*: *ipsum causarum ordinem et quandam connexionem dei summi tribuunt voluntati et potestati.*

(63) Virg. *Ecl.* iv. 47: *concordes stabili fatorum numine Parcæ.* Ovid. *Met.* v. 532: *sic Parcarum fœdere cautum est.* Cf. not. 131. Thus *Met.* x. 353: *potentis Naturæ fœdus.*

(64) Hygin. *Astron.* ii. 15, med.: *Parcæ feruntur cecinisse fata, quæ perfici rerum voluit natura.*

(65) Ovid. *Met.* xv. 813. (not. 31.)

(66) Var. *Ling. Lat.* vi. 51: *ab hoc tempore, quod tum pueris constituerunt.*

The first trace of the introduction of Greek names into Italy is found in Etruria, on the back of a brazen *patera*, on which the fate of Meleager is represented. The hero, called Meleager, stands, with sad looks, near his beloved Atalanta (Atlenta), to whom he has adjudged the Calydonian prize; at the other side Toxeus is embraced by his sister Althæa; in the middle of all, Atropos (Ατρυπα) stands with the hammer and nail, which she is about to fix in the wall.⁶⁷ It is interesting to observe in a Greek fable ideas borrowed not from the Greek, but from the Italian and Etruscan religions. The goddess of fate appears merely as appointing death: nor does she allot it by the piece of burning wood, but by driving in the nail, which is peculiar to the Etruscan deity of fate, Nortia; the goddess of necessity, as she is described by Horace, carrying nails, wedges, and cramps. In poetry, Atropos is mentioned by Statius, Martial, Ausonius and Claudian⁶⁸; Lachesis by Ovid, Sabinus, Statius, Martial, Juvenal, Ausonius, Claudian, and by the philosopher Seneca⁶⁹; Clotho, by Ovid, Silius, Statius, Seneca the philosopher, in the tragedies of Seneca, and in some monuments.⁷⁰ These names being introduced by the observation of individual variety, a Clotho and Lachesis of single men⁷¹ are even named.

The art of weaving was too celebrated in the Greek deities of fate not to attract the attention of the Romans, and to introduce itself into their poetry. Wanting as the poets were without a domestic emblem of the internal connexion between the single chances, which belong to the same lot, they eagerly adopted this, but they did not paint the art of weaving with lines taken from Greek customs, but applied it to Roman manners and opinions. The Moirai are believed to 'spin flax';⁷² the Parcae are weaving

Parcae fando, dictum fatum et res fatalis. Serv. Virg. *Æn.* γ. 47: fata dicta a fando quia quæ Parcae dixerunt, hæc credebantur evenire mortalibus. The theorists distinguished fata conditionalia and denuntiatiua, Serv. Virg. *Æn.* iv. 696. The absolute power of the Parcae is most distinctly mentioned by Julius Firmicus Maternus (*Astron.* ii. 4), who refers them to the parts of the Zodiac: sunt autem infinitæ potestatis et licentiæ et quæ fata hominum sua auctoritate designant. Cf. not. 208.

(67) Inghirami Monum. Etruschi ii. 62, Cf. p. 539. Müller Denkmäler der alten Kunst, tab. lxi. Nr. 307. Cf. Horat. Carm. i. 35, 16.

(68) Stat. Silv. iii. 127, &c. &c.

(69) Ovid. Trist. v. 10, 45; Sabin. Epist. i. 71; Stat. Silv. iii. 5, 40; Theb. ii. 249.

(70) Ovid. Fast. vi. 737; ib. 243; Consol. Liv. 239; Sil. Ital. iv. 369; v. 404; Stat. Theb. iii. 556; Senec. Thyest. 618; Octav. 16; Senec. Apoloc.; Orell. Inscr. 4844.

(71) Silv. Ital. v. 404: Ille sibi longam Clotho turbamque nepotum Crediderat. Juven. ix. 135: at mea Clotho et Lachesis gaudent, si pascitur inguine venter.

(72) Hom. Od. vii. 197 (not. 50). Il. xx. 128: ἄσσα οἱ Αἴσα Γεινομένη ἐπέησε λίφ. The same Il. xxiv. 210. Theocrit. i. 139: τὰ γε μὰν λίνα πάντα λέλοιπει, ἔκ Μοιρῶν.

wool; the 'wool-weaving sisters' is a name peculiar to them.⁷³ The Romans attributed a sacred authority to wool;⁷⁴ work in wool was the only one pursued by the Roman ladies;⁷⁵ therefore in marriage a spindle, a distaff covered with wool, and a basket filled with wool, were carried behind the bride; in entering the house she adorned the door-posts with woollen bands,⁷⁶ as an emblem of taking possession of the house, and as an emblem of thrifty housekeeping; then she sat down on a wool-fleece,⁷⁷ which had been taken from the sheep sacrificed for marriage, and was spread over the chairs of the two betrothed persons.⁷⁸ Wool is the sign upon the apex of the flamen,⁷⁹ his coat, as well as those of the *fetialis* and *paterpatratus*, ought to be of wool, nor is any linen thread allowed in it.⁸⁰ For every sacred use, for every union, for every fastening and covering,⁸¹ wool only can be employed.

(73) *Lanificæ sorores* Martial. iv. 54, 5; vi. 58, 7; Juvenal. xii. 66.

(74) Plin. H. N. xxix. 2, 9: *Lanis auctoritatem veteres Romani etiam religiosam habuere, postea a nubentibus attingi iubentes.* For the woollen bands of the Vestals see Ovid. Fast. iii. 30. Cf. Prop. iv. 6, 6: *terque focum circa laneus orbis eat.*

(75) Plutarch. Romul. 15 and 19: *παντὸς ἔργου καὶ πάσης λατρείας πλὴν τालασίας ἀφειμνας.* Ascon. Cic. Milon. § 13, p. 43 (Orell., al. p. 151): *telas quas ex vetere more in atrio texebantur.* Liv. i. 57: *Lucretiam nocte sera deditam lanæ inter lucubrantès ancillas in medio ædium sedentem inveniunt.* Cf. Aurel. Vict. Vir. Illustr. 9, and Ovid. Fast. ii. 742, concerning the same:

Ante torum calathi lanaque mollis erat.

Ib. iii. 817: *Pallade placata lanam mollite, puellæ:*

Discite jam plenas exonerare colos.

Vitruv. vi. 10, 2: *cæci magni, in quibus matres familiarum cum lanificis habent sessionem.* Cf. Terent. Andr. i. 1, 47. Orell. Inscr. 4848: *domum servavit, lanam fecit;* ib. 4860: *eo majorem laudem omnium carissima mihi mater meruit, quod modestia, probitate, pudicitia, obsequio, lanificio, diligentia, fide par similisque ceteris probis feminis fuit;* ib. 4639: *Amymone Marci optima et pulcherrima, lanifica, pia, pudica, frugi, casta, domiseda.* Cic. Orat. ii. 68, 277; Lucret. v. 1355; Virg. Æn. vii. 805; viii. 409; Horat. Carm. iii. 15, 13; Tibull. i. 3, 86; ii. 1. 10; Ovid. Fast. iv. 773; Pont. iii. 8, 11; Medic. Fac. 14; Juven. ii. 54.

(76) Plin. N. H. xxix. 2, 9 (not 74). Lucan. ii. 355:

Infulaque in geminos discurrit candida postes.

Plutarch. Quæst. Rom. 31: *ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν θύραν περιστέφει τοῦ ἀνδρός.* Serv. Virg. Æn. iv. 458: *moris fuerat, ut nubentes puellæ, simul cum venissent ad limen mariti, postes, antequam ingrederentur, propter auspiciū castitatis ornarent laneis vittis.*

(77) Fest. p. 85: *In pælle lanata nova nupta considere solet vel propter morem vetustum; quia antiquitus homines pellibus erant induti vel quod testetur lanificii officium se præstituram viro.* Cf. Plutarch. Quæst. Rom. 31.

(78) Serv. Virg. Æn. iv. 374.

(79) Virg. Æn. viii. 664: *Lanigerosque apices.* Cf. Serv.: *flamines in capite pileum habebant, in quo erat brevis virga desuper habens lanæ aliquid.*

(80) Serv. Virg. Æn. xii. 120: *Fetialis et paterpatratus, per quos bella vel fœdera confirmabantur, nunquam utebantur vestibus lineis, adeo autem a Romano ritu alienum est ut, cum flaminica esset inventa tunicam laneam lino habuisse consutam, constitisset ob eam causam piaculum esse commissum.* Cf. Plin. H. N. xix. 2, 2: *M. Varro tradit, in Serranorum familia gentilicium esse feminas lineæ veste non uti.*

(81) The head of the Flamen never ought to be bared, nor any part of the body of the Flaminica. The wool-coat of the Flamen is mentioned, Serv. Virg. Æn. iv. 264. Cf. Ovid. Fast. ii. 21: *petunt a flamine lanas.*

We have seen the fleece in marriage to be the sign of the union of both the seats : by weaving wool for the cloth of her husband, the lady has produced the most necessary cover in the house itself.⁸² Matrimony is founded upon female economy much more than on any quality in man. Thus the wool-basket, calathus, calathiscus, talassius, became the sign of wedlock and matrimonial settlement ; serving talassius means the same as is expressed by the less courteous German proverb, "submitting to the slipper."⁸³ The spirit who was believed to act in this settlement bore the name of the Basket ; he was considered a companion of Quirinus, the deity of the settlement of Rome, the divine spirit of the city itself, and united to the same, when he, bearing the name of Romulus in mortal life, established Roman wedlock by carrying away the Sabinian women.⁸⁴ Accordingly the marriage of this Talassius was celebrated in nuptial songs, named after him, as having been the most happy one,⁸⁵ because all matrimonial happiness is founded on the regular and economical life of the lady. A fellow spirit of Quirinus is Sanchus, called also Dius Fidius, the divine spirit of human credibility ;⁸⁶ in whose chapel the wool, the spindle, and the distaff, of Gaia Cæcilia were kept. This was the genuine Latin name of the queen of Tarquinius Priscus.⁸⁷ She was praised for having been the most ingenious worker in wool, and worshipped as a model of all Roman women. Every bride, therefore, when brought to the doors of her bridegroom's house in nuptial procession, and being asked her name by the bridegroom himself, in adorning the posts with wool-fillets, declared herself to have received the name of the illustrious queen, by answering: If thou be Gaius I am Gaia.

(82) Wool served for common dress. Plaut. Mil. iii. 1, 93; Morat. Carm. iii. 16.
37. Ulpian. in Digest. xxxiii. 7, 12, 5: lanificas quæ rusticam familiam vestiunt.
Varr. L.L. v. 30: læna de lana multa.

(83) Fest. p. 152: Talassionem in nuptiis Varro ait signum esse lanificii: talassionem enim vocabant quasillum, qui alio modo appellabatur calathus (Cf. Ovid. Fast. ii. 742, not. 75. Catull. 64, 319: calathisci) vas utique ipsis lanificiis aptum. Cf. Plutarch. Romul. 15; Quæst. Rom. 21. Catull. 61, 134: lubet servire talassio. Martial. iii. 93, 25: talassionem tuum: matrimony with you. In nuptial songs allusions were heard to wool-baskets and work in wool: nec tua defuerunt verba, talasse, tibi, Martial. iii. 93, 23. Both Livy and Plutarch take the vox nuptialis talassio for the dative: to talassius, towards talassius. Undoubtedly it is justly explained by Catullus.

(84) Liv. i. 9. Serv. Virg. Æn. i. 655. Fest. p. 268. Plut. 11, cc. Pompei. 4.

(85) Fest. p. 268: at quidam historiarum scriptor Talassium ait nomine virum rapta virgine unicæ pulchritudinis: quod ei id conjugium fuerit felix, boni ominis gratia nunc reintegrari. Plutarch. Rom. 15: ἀφ' οὗ δὴ τὸν Ταλάσιον ἀκρι νῦν, ὡς Ἕλληνες τὸν Ὑμέναιον, ἐπῄδουσι Ῥωμαῖοι τοῖς γάμοις· καὶ γὰρ εὐτυχία φασὶ χρήσασθαι περὶ τὴν νυναικα τὸν Ταλάσιον.

(86) Klausen de Carmine fratrum arvalium, p. 66, not. 163.

(87) Plin. H. N. viii. 48, 74.

From this heroine of weaving, Catullus has transferred the business of working wool to the Parcæ, who, according to the Greek poets, were employed in spinning. The happiness of children depends upon the character of the parents, and domestic education under the eyes of the mother. We have seen wool to be the Roman emblem for both elements, union of characters and housekeeping. It is in unison with these opinions, to represent the Parcæ, who allot destiny, as weaving it of the sacred wool. Nor can there be found any better opportunity of introducing them to this occupation than in marriage, where the instruments of weaving are solemnly delivered. Catullus gives them into the hands of the Parcæ, the renowned spinners of Greece. Nor did he want an example of their being introduced in wedlock by Greek poets. Pindar mentions Themis, Aristophanes, Hera, as united with Jupiter by the Moirai. The Roman Parcæ originally governed birth and death. Accordingly, in marriage they do not weave the lot of the parents, but that of the child. But Catullus, while he represents them weaving, does not forget their genuine Roman office of adjudging by words. These words are elevated to song; while they work in wool, the Parcæ assign to the child its lot by singing.

This idea Catullus exhibits in his celebrated poem on the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. The Greek subject is treated quite according to the prejudices and the national opinions of an Italian poet: the whole nuptial arrangement is Roman. The wedding torches, by which Peleus is blessed,⁸⁸ are indispensable to a Roman marriage: the bride ought to bring with herself five torches of white pine-tree, kindled at her own hearth, and carried by a freeborn boy.⁸⁹ After the Thessalian crowd has dispersed, the deities appear, afterwards enter with Jove, and then the native divinities of Thessaly bring their gifts. From the top of Pelion Chiron approaches, carrying flowers of his forests twisted into wreaths.⁹¹ The nuptial wreaths in the wedlock of Manlius and Julia, Catullus himself mentions as made of sweet-smelling marjoram,⁹² a common flower of the forest. Chiron is followed by

(88) Pind. Hymn. fr. 2. Aristoph. Av. 1731: "Ἡρα ποτ' Ὀλυμπία τῶν ἡλιράτων θρόνων Ἀρχοντα θεοῖς μέγαν Μοῖραι ξυνεκοίμισαν Ἐν τοιῷδ' ὕμεναίφ. This mention of the moirai is evidently taken from a popular nuptial song. Cf. Æsch. Prom. 895.

(89) Catull. 64, 25: *tædis felicibus aucte*: ib. 303, "Thetidis tædas celebrare jugales.

(90) Nonius, p. 112, Fax.: Varro de vita pop. Rom. lib. ii: Quum a novâ nupta ignis in face afferretur foco ejus sumtus, quum fax ex pinu alba esset, ut eam puer ingenuus afferret. Cf. Plutarch. Quæst. Rom. 2. Rosini Antiqu. Rom. p. 456, sq. Catull. c. 61, 15: *pincam quate tædam*.

(91) Cat. 64, 27^o.

(92) Cat. 61, 6.

Peneos, who brings beeches, laurels, planetree, and poplars, with leaves and roots. These he plants round the seats established for the expected gods, so that the whole of the hall is decked out with foliage. Roman halls were adorned for marriage only with branches and leaves: but it was a custom peculiar to the Romans to plant trees within them. Their usual place was near the hearth, above which there was an aperture in the roof for letting out smoke, called impluvium;⁹³ the rain, which entered by it, was collected in the compluvium, the free and moist condition of which was fit for receiving plants.⁹⁴ These represented the continual growth of the family, as the fire burning on the hearth near them its perpetual life. The growth was promoted by the water of the compluvium: in marriage, water, brought from a pure well, was presented to the betrothed couple to be touched by them. This is the reason why Peneos is chosen to bring the trees. This is the principal river of Thessaly, famous in poetry, and, therefore, the poet thought it more fit for representing the nourishing waters of Thessaly, when the king of this country married, than the river Apidanus, though this flows near Pharsalus, which is considered by Catullus as the royal seat of Peleus.⁹⁵ Water was not presented alone, but together with fire. Water and fire are most indispensable requisites for all civilized life; by depriving a citizen of these the republic destroys his domestic life and drives him into banishment: by touching them the bridegroom and bride accomplish their marriage.⁹⁶ As the water is represented by Peneos, so fire in the poem of Catullus is represented by Prometheus, on whose hand a ring, the emblem of his chain, reminds him of his punishment,⁹⁷ and thereby of his deed. By stealing fire from the gods and giving it to mortals, Prometheus established social life among men, who before lay in subterranean caverns like ants, destitute of houses, and ignorant of the use of wood, and of the course of the year.⁹⁸ Generally the power of Vesta is worshipped in this fire upon the hearth, which keeps families together in the house, and citizens in the town. To the virgins of this goddess the care of the sacred fire of the republic is entrusted in Rome.⁹⁹

(93) Cat. 64, 289.

(94) Virg. *Æn.* ii. 512. Cf. vii. 59, and Serv. ib. Liv. xliii. 13: *palnam enatam impluvio*. Sueton. *Aug.* 92; Plin. *H. N.* xiv. 3.

(95) Cat. 64, 37.

(96) *Fest.* p. 3.

(97) Cat. 64, 296: *Extenuata gerens veteris vestigia pœnæ*.

(98) *Æsch.* *Prom.* 450. Settlement is ascribed to Vulcan, Hom. *Hymn.* xx. 3.

(99) Suid. *Νουμῆς τὰς Ἑστιάδας τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος ἐπιμελείαν ἔχειν ἐπέτρεψε*.

After these native spirits of the country and house, Jupiter enters with the Olympic gods; only Apollo and Diana refuse to meet at Peleus's marriage.¹⁰⁰ In this the poet opposes Homer, according to whom Apollo strikes the lyre at the wedding banquet, and also Æschylus, who introduces Apollo celebrating the life of Achilles.¹⁰¹ Catullus replaces him by the Parcæ, who sing and weave the lot of Achilles. When the gods sit down to the banquet, the Parcæ begin their voracious songs, shaking their limbs in feeble motion. Their trembling bodies are veiled to the feet by a white garment, with a purple border; bands white as snow encircle their immortal heads.¹⁰² Both the bands and the long white garment with the border (*stola* or *tunica cum instita*) form the honourable dress reserved for a Roman matron.¹⁰³ Their hands are engaged in the eternal work; the left holds the distaff, which is wrapped round with soft wool; the right forms the threads, drawing them lightly down with bended fingers, and turning the spindle upon the thumb, it moves it in a gentle whirl; while the tooth always smooths the work, and the woollen flocks, which projected in the thread, cling to the dry lips. At their feet the soft fleece of white wool is kept in a basket of twigs. Thus spinning the wool, they reveal, with a clear voice, in a divine song, fates which no age shall prove to have been false.¹⁰⁴ These fates are the birth and the events in the life of Achilles. Allotting these, they interrupt their song after each strophe, by addressing the running spindles, that lead the texture by which fates are guided ("sed vos quæ fata sequuntur currite

(100) Cat. 64, 300, sqq.

(101) Hom. Il. xxiv. 62. Æsch. Psychost. fr. 264.

(102) Cat. 64, 306:—

— interea infirmo quatientes corpora motu
Veridicos Parcæ coeperunt edere cantus.
His corpus tremulum complectens undique vestis,
Candida purpurea quam Tyro incinxerat ora:
Ambrosio niveæ residuebant vertice vittæ.

(103) Acon. Horat. Serm. 1. 2, 29.

(104) Cat. 64, 311.—

Æternæque manus carpebant rite laborem.
Læva colum molli lana retinebat amictum,
Dextera tum leviter decuens fila supinis
Formabat digitis: tum prono in pollice torquens
Libratum tereti versabat turbine fusam
Atque ita decerpens æquabat semper opus dens,
Lanceaque aridulis hærebant morsa labi illis,
Quæ prius in levi fuerant exstantia filo.
Ante pedes autem candentis mollia læne
Vellera virgati custodibant calathiscæ.
Hæc tum clariora pellentes vellera voce,
Talæa divino fuderunt carmine fata,
Carminis perfidæ quod post nulla arguet ætas.

ducentes subtemina currite fusi.") It is probable that such repeated summonses of the spindles were also heard in the nuptial songs of the Roman people: certainly the spindle was present during the song, and to summon it would have suited to the talassio.

Catullus, as well as Livius Andronicus, preserves the term *præfari* for the divine act of allotting fate.¹⁰⁶ In elevating the speech, which this word expressed, to song, he seems to have added a new embellishing feature to the painting. This was not done by arbitrary choice, for even this embellishment was taken from the domestic ideas of the Romans. The peculiar Latin term for a prescribed form of words is *carmen*.¹⁰⁶ Such a phrase, whether contained in verse or in prose, was pronounced with a solemn voice in settled time, and even with some degree of melody. To pronounce thus was called *canere*. These powerful songs or phrases, mighty enough to impose even on the will of the gods, and to ascertain the will of man, were believed to be animated by a spirit, called *Carmentis*. Carmentis, therefore, governed birth, and revealed the events which were about to happen to the child.¹⁰⁷ In Ovid we find her singing the future greatness of Rome at the day of the first Arcadian settlement on the Palatine hill, and the future divinity of Hercules, when he had given the first proof of his heroic strength on Italian ground. She was particularly worshipped by the matrons, and, like the woolbands,¹⁰⁸ was a peculiar honour of theirs. The arrangement of her service was derived from the establishment of the first Roman marriage, and the reception of the first matrons.¹⁰⁹ Thus, we

(105) Cat. 64, 383: Talia præfantes quondam felicia Pelei

Carmina divino cecinerunt ordine Paræ.

(106) Cf. not. 40. Forms of words used in public service are called carmina. Cic. Muren. 12, 26: prætor ne quid ipse sua sponte loqueretur, eo quoque carmen compositum est. Liv. i. 24, 26: lex horrendi carminis. See Petersen Orig. Hist. Rom. p. 9. Witchcraft is ascribed to song in Frag. xii. Lab. Phrases for invoking the gods in order to establish a certain issue, bear the name of carmina, Plin. H. N. xxviii. 2, 3: durat immenso exemplo Deciorum patris filique, quo se devovere, carmen. Every prescribed prayer (for instance, Cat. Re Rust. 131, 132, 134, 139, 141; Liv. i. 18) can be called so.

(107) Augustin. C. D. iv. 11: in deabus illis, quæ fata nascentibus canunt et vocantur Carmentes. Carmentis governing birth is mentioned, Gell. N. A. xiv. 16; Cf. Ovid. Fast. i. 618; Plutarch. Qu. R. 56; the same prophesying, Ovid. Fast. i. 474-583; ib. 635; Virg. Æn. viii. 339; Dion. Hal. i. 31, 40; Strab. v. p. 230; Plutarch. Qu. R. 56. M. Hartung, after having justly explained the name (ii. p. 99) ridicules the whole account of the influence of Carmentis upon birth,—merely because he does not understand how in this matter a goddess of song can have to discharge any office: though it is undoubted that Carmentis has been worshipped on this occasion.

(108) Serv. Virg. Æn. viii. 665.

(109) Plutarch. Romul. 21.

think it proved that Carmentis has been justly compared with Themis and with Moira,¹¹⁰ and that it was customary with the Romans to imagine deities allotting at wedlock the fate of children by songs, as this idea has been transferred to the Parcæ by Catullus.

Accordingly, in the more eminent of the Roman poets, word and song are the particular instruments whereby the Parcæ allot fate and arrange future events. The summons by which they address their spindles, is imitated in Virgil,¹¹¹ whether he follows Catullus or an ancient popular talassio. "True in song," is the title given to the Parcæ by Horace and Persius;¹¹² in Tibullus the song of the spinning Parcæ allots future victory in battle to Messala on his birthday;¹¹³ to Meleager in Ovid equal fate with the burning piece of wood;¹¹⁴ to twice-born Bacchus twice the course of his life.¹¹⁵ The fates of Roman heroes, who are to be received among the gods, are likewise sung by the Parcæ:¹¹⁶ in Claudian, the aged Lachesis sings the augury of Cybele and her Phrygian country.¹¹⁷ In other places the word *dicere* or *loqui* is applied: the Parcæ speak the law of mind in birth, and they determine the number of years by their word;¹¹⁸ to the Ibis they appoint continual tears by the same, pronounced by one of the sisters, according to which Clotho with an infected hand weaves a black texture, and allots to him by the words she at the same time speaks, future praise in a poem.¹¹⁹ The act of prophesying, which is ascribed sometimes to the Parcæ, differs from this act of allotting, but it flows from the same opinion. If they are called

(110) Dion. Hal. i. 31; Plut. Qu. R. 56; Romul. 21: τὴν δὲ Καρμένταν οἰονταὶ τινες Μοῖραν εἶναι κυρίαν ἀνθρώπων γενέσεως· διὸ καὶ τιμῶσιν αὐτὴν αἱ μητέρες.

(111) Virg. Æn. iv. 46: Talia secta, suis dixerunt, currite, fusis
Concordes stabili fatorum numine Parcæ.

(112) Hor. C. Secul. 25: vosque veraces cecinisse Parcæ
Qudd semel dictum stabilisque rerum
Terminus servat, bona jam peractis
Jungite fata.

Cf. not. 28. Hor. Carm. ii. 16, 39: Parca non mendax. Pers. Sat. v. 48: Parca tenax veri.

(113) Tibull. i. 7, 1: hunc cecinere diem Parcæ fatalia nentes
Stamina non ulli dissoluenda deo.

Tib. iv. 5, 3: te nascente novum Parcæ cecinere puellis Servitium.

(114) Ovid. Met. viii. 430.

(115) Ovid. Trist. v. 3, 25: scilicet hanc legem nentis fatalia Parcæ
Stamina bis genito bis cecinere tibi.

(116) Consol. Liv. 247.

(117) Claudian. in Eutrop. ii. 288.

(118) Ovid. xv. 81: sive ita nascenti legem dixere sorores
Nec data sunt vitæ fila severa meæ.

(119) Ovid. ib. 240, 246.

goddesses of the prophet,¹²⁰ this seems intended to express the prophet to have perceived their voice when they pronounced the word of allotment. This word, not a real prophecy, reveals the future events of Achilles' life at the wedlock of his parents. But now and then the *Parcæ*, who are gifted with prescience,¹²¹ are introduced as imparting revelations.¹²²

The power of the *Parcæ*, as it appears in Roman poetry during the time of the emperors, when the poetical conception of them was entirely completed by uniting Roman and Greek opinions in the manner we have indicated, is twofold: the one of granting, the other of restricting. Both these we shall examine in their single forms and features. A favourable fate is considered as a white or as a golden texture,¹²³ a vigorous constitution as strong¹²⁴ or brazen threads; unhappy fate is called black or dingy.

Accordingly the *Parcæ* themselves are called white, cheerful, joyful;¹²⁵ or, what indeed is much more frequent, aged and hoary,¹²⁷ scant and dark,¹²⁸ mournful, unkind, hostile, ungentle, dreadful, violent, bad, noxious, greedy,¹²⁹ harsh, inflexible.¹³⁰ The same names are given to their decrees and texture.¹³¹

(120) Stat. Theb. viii. 191, to Amphiaraus: tua numina. Achill. i. 498: quando *Parcarum* oscula recludes.

(121) Catull. 68, 85: Quod scibant *Parcæ* non longo tempore abesse si miles muros isset ad Iliacos.

(122) Ovid. Fast. iii. 802: *Parcarum* monitu. (n. 143).

(123) Juven. xii. 64: staminis albi Lanificæ. Stat. Silv. i. 4, 123: candentia fila. Cf. not. 128. Martial. vi. 3, 5: trahet aurea pollice fila. Petron. Satir. 29: tres *Parcæ* aurea pensa torquentes. See the interpreters to the same. Sidon. Apollin. v. 369: aurea concordēs traxerunt fila sorores; ib. 604: fulva volubilibus duxerunt secula pensis; ib. xv. 201: probat Atropos omen Fulvaque concordēs.

(124) Ovid. Pont. i. 8, 64: tibi nascenti Nerunt fatales fortia fila dem. Calpurn. Ecl. iv. 440: perpetuo cœlestia fila metallo (n. 200).

(125) Stat. Theb. iii. 241: sic fata mihi nigræque sororum Furavere colus. Ovid. Trist. v. 13, 24: non ita sunt fati stamina nigra mihi. Ovid. F. 6, 244: nebat et infecta stamina.

(126) Stat. Silv. iv. 3, 145: ib. i. 4, 123: lætæ sorores. Juven. xii. 64: *Parcæ* hilares. Stat. Silv. iv. 8, 18: alba Atropos.

(127) Catull. 64, 306: infirmo quatientes corpora motu; ib. 308: corpus tremulum. Ovid. Met. xv. 281: veterum sororum. Senec. Octav. 15: grandæva Clotho; Claudian. in Eutrop. ii. 288: Læchesis grandæva. Rapt. Pros. i. 49: *Parcarum* severam lanitiem.

(128) Stat. Silv. v. i. 145: liventia Fata. Cf. Senec. Thyest. 618. Martial. iv. 73, 6: tetricæ dem. Stat. Theb. vi. 369: nigræ sorores. Ovid. Trist. v. 3, 14: nubila *Parcæ*.

(129) Tibull. iii. 35, and Stat. Theb. v. 274: tristes sorores. Or iniquæ, Hor. Carm. ii. 6, 9; Val. Flacc. vi. 645; infesta, Auson. Parent. 13, 6; inimites, Stat. Theb. vii. 774; immanis Atropos, Inscr. ap. Grut. 692, 10; dira Læchesis, Stat. Theb. ii. 249; diræ, ib. vi. 916; sævæ, Val. Flacc. v. 532; Lucan. i. 113; Claud. Rapt. Pros. iii. 411; sævæ nimium gravesque, Stat. Silv. ii. 7, 90;—malæ, Martial. vi. 62, 3; nocentes, Stat. Theb. xi. 189, 462; avidæ, Stat. Theb. vi. 358; Senec.

We have seen precious gifts bestowed by the *Parcæ* on *Mesala*, on *Cerintus*, on the Roman heroes. As they give a two-fold life to *Bacchus*, they grant the same to *Eurydice*,¹²² a three-fold to *Geryon*;¹²³ they bring about the arrival of *Æneas* in *Latium* for the sake of *Venus*; they receive *Romulus* among the gods for the sake of *Mars*.¹²⁴ They promise great virtues and deeds to *Achilles*,¹²⁵ old age and honour to the offspring of *Meneceates*,¹²⁶ they prolong the life of *Statius* for his wife's sake,¹²⁷ they bestow a Greek spirit on *Horace*,¹²⁸ they cause the friendship of *Perseus* and *Cornutus* by weighing their days in corresponding scales; dangers are prevented by their admonitions.¹²⁹ In other cases they at least permit prosperous events, but not longer than for a certain term.¹³⁰

We have here seen ascribed to the *Parcæ* not only kindness, but even pity. The great gods had disappeared from the creed; they were replaced by the *Parcæ*. Human feeling requires a merciful deity; by longing after this the heart is led to ascribe feeling even to that power, whose very conception originated in quite an opposite principle; namely, the idea of the utter impos-

Herc. Oct. 1097. *Invida Lachesis*, *Auson. Parent.* 29, 5. Cf. *Mart.* ix. 77, 6; x. 53, 3. They deny divinity to *Kemus*, *Consol. Liv.* 243.

(130) *Duræ sorores*, *Sil. Pun.* i. 281; xiii. 74; *Stat. Silv.* ii. 3, 75; *Senec. Herc. fur.* 182; *dura Parca*, *Ovid. Pont.* iv. 15, 36; *Stat. Theb.* iii. 491; vi. 318; *dura Clotho*, *Stat. Theb.* iv. 369; *dura Lachesis*, *Ovid. Trist.* v. 10, 45; *immota Atropos*, *Stat. Theb.* i. 328; *ignara moveri*, *ib.* iii. 68; *ferrea Clotho*, *Stat. Theb.* iii. 556; *ferrea Lachesis*, *Claud. Bell. Get.* 54. *Nec flectere Parcas datur*, *Stat. Silv.* iii. 3, 186.

(131) *Ferrea decreta*, *Ovid. Met.* xv. 781; cf. *Silv. Ital.* ix. 475; *Claud. Rapt. Pros.* i. 53. *Certo sublimine Parcæ*, *Horat. Epod.* xiii. 15; *certo veniunt ordine Senec. Herc. fur.* 183; *pollice non certo fila severa trahunt*, *Consol. Liv.* 240. *Colos severas*, *Claud. Apon.* 87. *Dura sororum Licia*, *Stat. Silv.* v. 1, 156; *Achill.* i. 519; *pensa*, *Theb.* iii. 205; *stamina*, *Claud. Phœnic.* 109; *æna sororum stamina*, *Stat. Silv.* v. 3, 64. *Immobile filum*, *Silv. Ital.* vii. 478; cf. xvii. 361; *Parcarumque colos non revocabiles*, *Sen. Herc. fur.* 559; cf. *ib.* 182; *scis nulla revolvere Parcas stamina*, *Stat. Theb.* vii. 774; *Fatorum inextricabiliter contorta licia*, *Apulei. Metam.* xiii. v. fin. *Stamina non ulli dissoluenda deo*, *Tibull.* i. 7, 2.

(132) *Stat. Theb.* viii. 59: *iterataque pensa sororum*. *Senec. Herc. Oct.* 1088. *Cf. Valer. Flacc.* vi. 445: *datque alius sine lege colus (Medea)*. *Ovid. Fast.* vi. 757: *fila reneri* (when *Virbius* is called back into life).

(133) *Sil. Ital.* i. 281: *cui ponere finem*

Non posset mors una viro, duræque sorores

Tertia bis rupto torquerent stamina filo.

(134) *Virg. Æn.* v. 798 (not. 194). *Consol. Liv.* 243.

(135) *Catull.* 64, 340, 349.

(136) *Stat. Silv.* iv. 8, 18.

(137) *Stat. Silv.* iii. 5, 40: *exhausti Lachesis mihi tempora fati, Te tantum miserata, dedit.*

(138) *Horat. Carm.* ii. 16, 39; cf. *Propert.* ii. 1, 17.

(139) *Pers.* v. 48: *æquali suspendit tempora libra Parca* (not. 207). Cf. *Hor. Carm.* ii. 17, 16.

(140) *Ovid. Fast.* iii. 802.

(141) *Virg. Æn.* xii. 147. Cf. *ib.* iv. 651: *dum fata deusque sinebant*; and xi. 701: *dum fallere fata sinebant.*

sibility of the supreme law of nature ever yielding to extraneous influence. The *Parcæ*, if justly considered as the personified law of nature, cannot but be without mercy, without passion, without feeling. They by no means require to be worshipped, nor even to be spoken of with religious awe: they cannot be offended by any of those abusive and reproachful titles which we have seen given to them. It is much more suitable to the conception, which prevailed in the age we speak of, to extol their restrictive power, to ascribe to them an unkind and even malignant nature. The wishes of man are often opposed to the course of events: he sees these ever remain unchanged and uncontrolled by his will; he feels injured by this indifference to his wishes, which he is prone to ascribe to a hostile will. Thus we find men disgusted by the course of events, which is brought about and governed by the *Parcæ*:¹⁴² now because they are not able to hasten it, now because it does not tarry as they wished. Accordingly, both the slow and the quick *Parcæ* are objects of their lament.¹⁴³ But still more is their envy reproached. They prevent the warrior from returning to his home, they force Ovid to die under an inclement sky,¹⁴⁴ and keep Horace back from his favoured seat.¹⁴⁵ They only show to the world whatever is precious, but do not suffer it to remain;¹⁴⁶ they treat young people like aged men,¹⁴⁷ they injure even the statues of the gods,¹⁴⁸ they even put an end to the power of Rome,¹⁴⁹ they favour and promote the treacherous courtier;¹⁵⁰ knowledge both of past and future events is prevented by them.¹⁵¹

(142) Sic volvere *Parcas*, Virg. *Æn.* i. 22; Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* ii. 6. Sic *Atropos* urget, ib. i. 216. Seriem fatum pollice ducunt, ib. i. 53. Tu fatum ne quære tuum, cognoscere *Parcæ* me reticente dabunt, Lucan. vi. 809. *Parcarum acta*, Stat. *Silv.* v. 3, 174; Theb. ii. 249; iv. 780: leges, *Silv. Ital.* x. 644. Stat. *Silv.* iii. 3, 21: pigrasque putat properasse sorores. Mart. ix. 77, 6: invidit de tribus una soror Et festinatis incidit *Stamina* pensis. Juven. xiv. 28: grave tardas Expectare colus. *Silv. Ital.* iii. 96: impropere cui ducunt fila sorores. Stat. Theb. viii. 328: celeres neu præcipe *Parcas*; ib. 439: heu celeres *Parcæ*; *Silv.* ii. 1, 48: *Parcis* fragiles urgentibus annos. Cf. *Silv. Ital.* v. 75. Auson. *Parent.* 29, 5: nimium *Lachesis* properata. Prof. Burdig. 22, 16.

(143) Hor. *Epod.* 13, 15, to Achilles. *Silv. Ital.* iv. 369. Si fata negant reditus tristesque sorores, Tibull. iii. 3, 35.

(144) Ovid. *Pont.* iv. 15, 36.

(145) Hor. *Carm.* ii. 6, 9.

(146) Virg. *Æn.* vi. 870, concerning young Marcellus: ostendent terris hunc tantum fata neque ultra Esse sinent. Cf. Mart. ix. 77, 6 (not. 145). Senec. *Thyest.* 618: miscet hæc illis prohibetque *Clotho* Stare fortunam: rotat omne fatum. Auson. *Parent.* 13, 7; 29, 5. Prof. Burdig. 3, 5; 22, 16. Claudian. *Epigr.* 36: pulchris stare diu *Parcarum* lege negata. Claud. *Epist.* i. 31: secuit nascentia fata *Livor*.

(147) Mart. x. 53, 3.

(148) Mart. ix. 87, 8.

(149) Claudian. *Bell. Gildon.* 121.

(150) Claudian in *Rufin.* i. 176.

(151) Orell, *Inscr.* 4844: nec nostra velis cognoscere fata,

Sanguinea palla quæ texit provida *Clotho*.

Prohibent nam cetera *Parcæ* Seire.—Virg. *Æn.* iii. 379.

Their restrictive powers even in these poets, is observed particularly in death. The day of death is that of the *Parcæ*:¹⁵² Hannibal, when expecting the death of Fabius, hopes for their assistance.¹⁵³ They put man to death either by laying hold of him,¹⁵⁴ or by finishing his texture:¹⁵⁵ then they wind off the spindle;¹⁵⁶ the spindle of a dead man is empty.¹⁵⁷ The *Parca* is represented on a gem as finishing one distaff in order to go over to another, which lies near her full of wool.¹⁵⁸ In poets we find her weighing the pound of wool, which she determines for every single life.¹⁵⁹ Therefore there were some, who attributed mortality itself to the act of spinning, and maintained that life would be infinite, if the *Parcæ* were removed, and if Jupiter alone governed: they reproach Lachesis with emptying the world by her pounds.¹⁶⁰ But this is a singular idea; generally life is believed to consist in her pounds: she never adds anything to it,¹⁶¹ though her distaff be short.¹⁶² On the contrary the same appears to be too large to the unhappy creature who wishes for death.¹⁶³ Violent death is considered as breaking the thread before the wool is consumed:¹⁶⁴ *Amphiaraus*, being swallowed up by the earth, finds the *Parcæ* fully occupied weaving his texture, which now is suddenly torn asunder by them.¹⁶⁵ The usual manner of appointing death, is for one of the sisters to cut the thread,¹⁶⁶ when the wool is nearly consumed, or to break the

(152) See not. 48.

(153) *Sil. Ital.* viii. 6.(154) *Virg. Æn.* x. 415. *Lucan.* i. 113: *Parcarum Julia sæva Intercepta manu.* *Sil. Ital.* iv. 203: *Parcæ ad Manes traxere coma.*(155) *Virg. Æn.* x. 815: *extremaque Lauro Parcæ fila legunt.* *Martial.* i. 89, 9: *cum mihi supremos Lachesis perneverit annos*; *ib.* iv. 54, 9; 78, 3; ix. 77, 7. *Sil. Ital.* iv. 28: *ducentesque ultima fila Grandævos rapuere senes.* *Stat. Silv.* v. 1, 156. *Theb.* vi. 380. *Claudian.* in *Eutrop.* ii. 461.(156) *Ovid. Her.* xii. 3. *Martial:* iv. 54, 9; *Juven.* iii. 27.(157) *Ovid. Amor.* ii. 6, 46: *stabat vacua jam tibi Parca colo.* *Senec. Herc. Oct.* 1083: *consumptos colos.*(158) *Toelken Königlich Preussische Gemmensammlung No.* 1284.(159) *Pers.* v. 47.(160) *Stat. Silv.* v. i. 166: *quantæ poterant mortalibus annis**Accessisse moræ: si tu, pater, omne teneris**Arbitrium: cæco gemeret mors atra barathro**Longius et vacuum posuissent stamina Parcæ.**Theb.* iii. 642: *Lachesis putri vacuantem sæcula penso.* Cf. not. 200.(161) *Martial.* iv. 54, 9; x. 44, 6.(162) *Martial.* ix. 18, 2.(163) *Juven.* x. 250: *quantum de legibus ipse queratur Parcarum et nimio de stamine.* *Stat. Theb.* vii. 367: *fessum vitæ dimittite, Parcæ.*(164) *Juven.* xiv. 219: *morieris stamine nondum* *Abrupto.* Cf. *Claudian.* in *Rufin.* i. 157. *Sabin. Epist.* i. 71. *Sidon. Apoll.* xv. 167: *vitam Rumpere, quam cernas Parcarum vellere in ipso Nondum pernetam.*(165) *Stat. Theb.* vii. 11.(166) *Mart. iv.* 54, 10: *semper de tribus una secatur*; ix. 77, 7: *incidit stamina.*

thread,¹⁶⁷ or to break the distaff at its end.¹⁶⁸ Accordingly they are thought to become weary in great slaughters, as in the civil war of Cæsar.¹⁶⁹ The common opinion assigns this office to Atropos,¹⁷⁰ because death is the most unavoidable among all the lots of man. A monument from the Villa Palombara represents her holding the double knife in the middle of her sisters, according to that law of ancient art, which gave this place always to the most striking figure.¹⁷¹ The act of breaking the thread is ascribed also to Clotho,¹⁷² or to Lachesis:¹⁷³ but the last, who very often has the office of appointing death, usually does so by finishing the texture by unrolling it,¹⁷⁴ or she is introduced condemning,¹⁷⁵ hastening the last journey,¹⁷⁶ carrying away,¹⁷⁷ and exercising her right.¹⁷⁸

The breaking of the thread is performed also by other deities of death: by the Furies,¹⁷⁹ and by Mors. The decree depends particularly on Pluto: he takes the distaff away from the Parcæ with the intention of killing; and gives them back, if he be moved to spare.¹⁸⁰ The Parcæ do not only kill but hold also in death,¹⁸¹ they assist and serve Pluto,¹⁸² they mourn with him, if his authority be diminished; ¹⁸³ they dwell with him, ¹⁸⁴ they travel

(167) Lucan. vi. 700; Stat. Theb. 353; Claudian. Rapt. Pros. ii. 353; Orell. Inscr. 4844.

(168) Val. Flacc. vi. 645: divina supremus Rumpit iniqua colos.

(169) Lucan. iii. 19: vix operi junctæ dextra properante sorores

Sufficiunt, lassunt rumpentes stamina Parcæ.

(170) Stat. Silv. iii. 3, 127: florentesque manu scidit Atropos annos; ib. v. 2, 178. Inscr. ap. Gruter. 692, 10: C. Lælio c. f. decimo ætatis anno ab immani Atropo vita reciso. Int. ad Lactant. ii. 10, 20: Atropos occat. Alberic. Deor. Imag. 10. Fulgent. Myth. i. 7: Clotho præest nativitati, Atropos morti, Lachesis vitæ sorti quemadmodum quis vivere possit. Hygin. fab. 171.

(171) See Welcker Zeitschrift für alte Kunst, p. 199, sqq.

(172) Senec. Octav. 15: utinam ante manu Grandæva sua mea rupisset Stamina Clotho.

(173) Claud. Rapt. Pros. ii. 353.

(174) Martial. i. 89, 9: perneverit; ib. iv. 4, 9 (not. 160).

(175) Claudian. Apon. 93: letali stamine damnant.

(176) Auson. Prof. Burdig. 22, 16: supremum Lachesis ni celerasset iter.

(177) Auson. Prof. Burd. 3, 5: eripuit Lachesis.

(178) Claud. Bell. Get. 54.

(179) Stat. Theb. viii. 381: in miseros pensum omne soforum

Scinditur et Furiæ rapuerunt licia Parcis.

And ib. i. 632: Mors fila sororum Ense metit.

(180) Martial. vii. 47, 8: non tulit invidiam taciti regrator Averni

Et raptas Fatis reddidit ipse colos.

(181) Propert. iv. 11, 13.

(182) Stat. Silv. iii. 3, 186; v. 1, 259. Fulgent. Myth. i. 7: tria etiam ipsi Plutoni destinant Fata, quarum prima Clotho, secunda Lachesis, tertia Atropos. Senec. Herc. Octav. 22: vidi regentem fata.

(183) Ovid. Fast. vi. 757.

(184) Stat. Theb. viii. 13, 191.

for him,¹⁸⁸ they open and shut the tombs:¹⁸⁹ Pluto offers to his queen dominion over *Parcæ* and over fate.¹⁹⁰

We have seen the gods subject to the *Parcæ*, Jupiter learning future fate from their archives,¹⁹¹ Mars in vain imploring divinity for Remus,¹⁹² Venus doubting whether the *Parcæ* will grant her desire.¹⁹³ It is the common opinion that their decrees can be destroyed by nothing, not even by the power of any god.¹⁹⁴ This, however, can not be derived from the real Roman religion, where the *Parcæ* are merely the spirits of the word of Jupiter allotting destiny. Evident traces of these opinions of the ancient religion are preserved in the poets. Life is restored to Virbius by the son of Coronis against the will of Clotho,¹⁹⁵ and the same god of physicians is celebrated still in Martial for softening the pounds and the short distaffs of the *Parcæ* by gentle herbs:¹⁹⁶ the *Parcæ* are moved by Orpheus to repeat the texture;¹⁹⁷ Hercules forces them to prolong the same, he knows how to vanquish death and to break fate by his hand.¹⁹⁸ The gods bestow immortality by dissolving the pound of the *Parcæ*: an idea corresponding with that which we have observed in Statius.¹⁹⁹ The *Parcæ* have no right to injure the Phoenix.²⁰⁰ It is even granted to the goddess of Appuleius, to abolish the decrees of the *Parcæ*.²⁰¹

(185) Claud. Rapt. Pros. i. 56: cui nostra laborant Stamina. Stat. Theb. viii. 119: quum *Parcæ* tua iussa trahant.

(186) Consol. Liv. 73. Claudite iam, *Parcæ*, nimium reserata sepulcra.

(187) Claud. R. Pros. ii. 305. accipe Lethæo famulus cum gurgite *Parcæ*; sit fatum quodcumque voles. Cf. Stat. Theb. i. 111; Atropos hosce novat atque ipsa Proserpina cultus.

(188) See not. 31. Lactant. i. 2: esse fata, quibus dñi omnes et ipse Jupiter pareat: si *Parcarum* tanta vis est, ut plus possint, quam cœlites universi.

(189) See not. 132.

(190) Virg. Æn. v. 798: si dant ea mœnia *Parcæ*.

(191) Tibull. i. 7, 2 (not. 124). Ovid. Met. xv. 780 (not. 31). Consol. Liv. 234: non ullis vincere fata datur (to Mars). Cf. Hor. Carm. ii. 17, 16. Silv. Ital. v. 76: heu fati superi certasse minores; ib. 406; ix. 475! Pallas mitiget iras Nec speret fixas *Parcarum* flectere leges; ib. xiii. 837: nulli divum mutabile fatum. Mart. ix. 87, 9. Claud. R. Pros. iii. 910: sic numina fata volvitur et nullo Lachesis discrimine sævit?

(192) Ovid. Fast. vi. 757.

(193) Martial. ix. 18, 1: Latonæ venerande nepos, qui mitibus herbis

• *Parcarum* exoras pensa brevèscue colos.

Claudian. Aponi: 87: *Parcarumque* colos exoraturæ severas

Flumina laxatis emicueve jugis.

(194) Stat. Theb. viii. 59 (n. 125). Senec. Herc. Oct. 1083: consumtas iterum deus Supplet Eurydices colos.

(195) Stat. Silv. iii. 1, 171: *Parcarum* filia tenebo Extendamque opes: duram arto vincere mortem. Senec. Herc. Fur. 566: fatum rumpe manu; cf. ib. 811; Herc. Oct. 1022.

(196) Calpurn. Fel. fr. 139: mortale resolvit pentum et date perpetuo coelestis filia metallo. Cf. not. 164.

(197) Claudian. Phœn. 110: non stamina *Parcæ*

In te dura legunt: non jus habere nocendi.

(198) Appuleius. Metam xi. vera. 22.: dextram, qua Fatorum etiam inextinguibilibiter contorta retractos licia.

VOL. IV.—NO. VII.

As the conception of the Fata and Parcae in ancient religion particularly referred to the temporal limits of life, it is to be regarded as a just consequence of this opinion, when latter writers make them rulers of time. The Parcae count the years, appoint a certain period of time and complete it, appoint the last day and observe it;¹⁹⁹ they weigh time, drive the years and centuries on;²⁰⁰ it depends on them to give back the single days but they never do so.²⁰¹ Time is governed by the sun: the vault of heaven is its table. This was the reason for establishing astrological principles in the theory of fate. The number of ninety years which we have seen regarded, according to ancient custom, as the general space of time for the life of a Roman, was now referred to the course of the planet Saturn.²⁰² The lots imparted by destiny were believed to depend upon the degrees of the Zodiac; these degrees were considered as determining, nay, as being the fates of men: the lot of a person was presumed to be governed by the position of the stars at the hour of his nativity: that degree of the Zodiac, through which the sun passed in the same hour, was called the lot and fate of the person.²⁰³ Whoever approved this theory, could not but entirely forget the proper meaning of fate as the word of the gods: they understood by it only the word of the Parcae, the meaning of which they identified with that of the Greek *μοῖρα*: as all these opinions were entirely borrowed from Greek authors. However, they were not able to keep themselves entirely free from acknowledging an arbitrary power and will in the government of the world; but they now attributed this power, which is conceivable only in a

(199) Sabin. Epist. i. 171 (not. 121). Ovid. Amor. i. 3, 17: quos dederint annos mihi fila sororum. Virg. Æn. ix. 107: debita Parcæ tempora complerant. Martial. iv. 54, 5: observant, quem statuere diem. Cf. Stat. Silv. iv. 3, 145 (not. 129); iv. 56: longi cursum dabit Atropos ævi.

(200) Pers. v. 48 (not. 142). Stat. Silv. ii. 1, 148: Parcis fragiles urgentibus annos. Claud. Rapt. Pros. i. 53: longaque ferratis evolvunt secula pensis.

(201) Mart. x. 38, 19: ex illis tibi si diu rogatam Lucem redderet Atropos vel unam.

(202) See not. 53.

(203) This theory is expounded by Manilius Astron. ii. 149: hoc quoque fatum est legem perdisserè fati. Persius (v. 48) alludes to it, for the scale of his Parca is that of the zodiac. (Cf. Manil. ii. 241: æquantem tempora Libram). August. C.D. v. 6: qui vero non astrorum constitutionem, sicuti est cum quidque concepitur, vel nascitur vel inchoatur. Censorin. Die Nat. 8: quo tempore partus concepitur, sol in aliquo signo sit necesse, et in aliqua ejus particula, quem locum conceptionis proprie appellant. Sunt autem hæ particule in unoquoque signo tricenæ, totius vero zodiaci numero tricentæ et sexaginta. Hæ Græci *μοῖραι* cognominarunt: eo videlicet, quod deas fatales nuncupant *Μοῖραι*. Et eæ particule nobis velut fata sunt: nam qua potissimum oriente nascantur plurimum refert. Vitruv. ix. 7, 6: Antipater itemque Achinasolus, qui etiam non e nascentia sed ex conceptione genethliologiarum rationes explicatas reliquit.

personal god, to these degrees of the Zodiac.²⁰⁴ This opinion is, indeed, a most striking apostacy, both from the traditions of religion, and from the sober reasoning of common sense. We shall not, however, consider the inquiry into the real character of the Roman religion difficult, if we remember that those remarks, which declare the fates to be nothing but the words of the gods, date from the same time.²⁰⁵

Rhetoricians and grammarians paid their homage to the fashionable divinities, by inquiring into their different characters, and by distinguishing their offices. They were not satisfied with ascribing the beginning of human life to the first, the texture to the second, and the end to the third sister;²⁰⁶ and to call the first Clotho, the second Lachesis, and the third Atropos.²⁰⁷ Appuleius refers them totally to time: what is finished upon the spindle, represents past time, what is turned between the fingers, the present, and what is resting on the distaff, the future. The first is exhibited by Atropos, for the events of past time not even a god can undo: Lachesis, named from the term, signifies future events, because a god gives their term also to these: Clotho takes care of present time, warning men to treat every matter with earnestness. It is deserving of notice, that the mind, after having turned away from the indigenous god of the Romans, recurs again to the acknowledgment of a personal deity.

ART. III.—1. *England and America: a Comparison of the Social and Political State of both Nations.* 2 vols. 8vo. Bentley. 1833.

2. *Report from the Select Committee (of the House of Commons) on the Disposal of Lands in the Colonies: with Minutes of Evidence and Appendix.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, August 20th, 1836.

3. *The First Step to a Poor Law for Ireland.* By H. G. Ward, Esq. M.P. 1837.

4. *First Annual Report of the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 26th July, 1836.

(204) Firmic. Matern. Astron. ii. 4 (not. 66).

(205) See nott. 10, 11, 12.

(206) Lactant. ii. 10, 20: tres Parcas esse voluerunt, unam quæ vitam hominis ordiatur, alteramquæ contextat, tertiam quæ rumpat ac finiat.

(207) See not. 170.

5. *The New Zealanders.* Library of Entertaining Knowledge.
6. *The British Colonization of New Zealand: being an account of the principles, objects, and plans, of the New Zealand Association.* (Published for the New Zealand Association.) 32mo. 1837.

IN the ordinary progress of society, art must necessarily precede science. This is doubtless extremely unphilosophical, but it is nevertheless inevitable. Men find themselves compelled to act without waiting for the establishment of those principles on which their acts should be based. As experiment after experiment is tried, and, we may add, as blunder after blunder is committed, principles become established. A continuous process of correction goes on, until at length art ceases to be empirical and doubtful, every step becomes based on principle, and the field of science is made co-extensive with that of practice.

The history of colonization, and especially of British colonization, affords a species of running commentary on the doctrine just laid down. The ultimate establishment of most of our colonies took place only after repeated failures. The early history of a colony is a narration of long suffering and misery—of privation, disease, and death. The great republic of the West, whose fleets now cover the waters of the globe, once consisted of a few feeble communities, which for years after their first settlement, dragged on a painful and languishing existence. Three or four attempts were made to colonize Virginia before the final settlement took place; and of twenty thousand persons who landed there, together with the children who were born to them, only two thousand souls were to be found at the end of twenty years. In Carolina, Massachusetts, and in the other colonies, a similar mortality occurred. What could have been the cause of all this? Is such a waste of life inseparable from the planting of colonies, or, is it that the proper mode of colonizing was not then understood? We apprehend that the last question embodies the true solution of the difficulty, and that the remedy for the evils incidental to the old method of colonizing, will be found in those few and simple principles, which it is the business of this article to expound.*

The vast extent of territory in both hemispheres where English is now the mother-tongue, bears witness to the extent to which England has colonized;—the emigration returns annually laid before Parliament, exhibit the extent to which she is still colonizing. The emigration of the present century, however, proceeds from motives differing widely from those which operated

* We do not feel bound to insist on uniformity of theory, among our contributors, on so unsettled a subject as Political Economy.—Ed.

on the minds of our early-colonists. The leading motives to emigrate which formerly prevailed, were, a thirst for the precious metals, a desire to avoid religious and political persecution, a wish to convert the savages to the Christian religion, or a wild spirit of adventure. Emigration is now looked to as a means of improving the condition, *first* of those who emigrate, by the more profitable field of exertion which a "new country" affords; and *second*, of the mass of the people, by altering the ratio between land, labour and employment. It is in the light in which it has been viewed in modern times, that the subject is worthy of the minutest investigation.

It is not necessary that we should occupy much space in proving that nearly all classes of the community feel the difficulty either of obtaining a subsistence, or of maintaining their position. The humbler classes of the community are continually fighting against starvation—the middle class against a loss of station. The author of the book at the head of our list, calls the latter the "uneasy class;" and well has he named it. Farmers, manufacturers, merchants, tradesmen, clerks, schoolmasters, *employés* of all kinds, are engaged in a perpetual struggle for that class of subsistence which is deemed decent in their respective walks of life, and without which they sink in their own estimation and in that of others. We shall make one quotation from this acute and graphic describer, to stand as a type of his descriptions of others, of the uneasy class.

"What condition is more detestable than that of an English governess? In England, where poverty is a crime, governesses—young, beautiful, well-informed, virtuous, and from the contradiction between their poverty and their intrinsic merits, peculiarly susceptible, are generally treated as criminals, imprisoned, set to hard labour, cruelly mortified by the parents and visitors, worried by the children, insulted by the servants, and all for what?—For butler's wages. Yet take up any London newspaper, any day in the year, and you shall find in it a string of advertisements for the hateful situation of governess. There is an institution in England, of which the object is, to provide for decayed governesses by means of a small annual subscription from those who are not yet worn out, and the title of this benefit club is the 'Governesses' Mutual Assurance Society.' Last year, a newspaper which is read principally by the aristocracy—by Captain Hall's spending class—noticing the club in question, proposed that it should be called the 'Governesses' Mutual Impudence Society.' This blackguard joke was uttered to please whom?—the readers of the newspaper in which it appeared; a class who employ governesses, a class to whom in that very newspaper numerous advertisements for the situation of governess are continually addressed. An eminent English physician, whose wife had been a governess, states, that of the inmates of mad-

houses, the largest proportion consists of women who have been governesses. Yet for this dreadful and shabbily paid office of governess, there are, judging from the newspapers, more candidates in proportion to places than for any other disagreeable employment; not, however, that one observes any lack of candidates for other subordinate employments which require the common run of knowledge, or even superior knowledge. They talk much of the superabundance of labourers, meaning common workmen; but these are not more redundant than governesses, keepers of schools, and clerks of every description."—vol. i. p. 98.

Of the misery of the great bulk of the people, no one, we believe, entertains a doubt. There is scarcely ever a period at which some one section of the people is not in a state of dire distress. To-day it may be the weaver's turn, to-morrow that of the farm labourer; and at times scanty employment and dear food render distress almost universal.

If the distress were confined to the employed, and in no case extended to the employers of labour, the cause might be sought and would probably be found in some unequal division of the whole produce. That the condition of the labourer is greatly affected by the proportion of the whole produce which he is enabled to secure as wages, cannot be denied; but when we reflect that the class employing labour—the capitalist class, is not free from distress, we must look deeper for a cause than the existing ratio between labour and capital. We must look for it in some circumstance affecting the gross produce destined to be ultimately divided between the labourer and capitalist, in the shape of wages and profits. There are doubtless many circumstances which may affect the gross produce, such as excessive taxation, restrictions on trade, and so forth. These may be called accidental or removable. There is one which is essential to and inseparable from the progress of society; we mean the proportion which the fertile land in convenient situations bears to the capital and labour of the community.

This is so important an element in the condition of the community, and one so necessary to be understood before we can hope duly to appreciate those fundamental principles of colonization which we are about to enforce, that we must crave the reader's attention to a brief exposition of the phenomena which take place as population crowds upon territory.

So long as the population of a country is moderate, the food which is required for its subsistence is produced under the most favourable circumstances, that is, with a minimum outlay. That land only is cultivated which affords the largest return after replacing all outgoings. Generally speaking, the best soils in

the most favourable situations—market and manure both considered—are alone resorted to; and so long as no more food is required than these favourably circumstanced lands will yield, the condition of the people is at its maximum state of comfort.

The instant, however, the numbers of the community have increased to an extent to render the best circumstanced lands no longer adequate to the production of the required quantity of food, it becomes at once necessary to resort to lands which do not yield an equal return for a given outlay. The manner in which this is in practice brought about, is by an advance in the price of corn. This is the warning to extend cultivation. At first the advance may be too small to give it the necessary impulse. Sooner or later, however, the condition is fulfilled, and when it is, we may conceive three different ways in which the increased supply may be raised.

1. The producers of food may resort to land of somewhat inferior quality—land yielding let us suppose *one tenth* less than the land previously in cultivation.

2. They may resort to lands of equal quality, but situated at such a distance from the market, that the cost of conveyance thereto will be equivalent to the difference of fertility as above stated. That is, they will yield as much produce, but *one-tenth* will be expended in conveying such produce to market.

3. Instead of resorting to inferior soils, or to lands at a distance from the market, the producers may expend more capital and labour upon the lands already in cultivation. The condition of this course is that the increased expenditure consumes not more than *one-tenth* of the produce. *

Calling the produce resulting from a given quantity of land 100, the result of what we may call the second stage of cultivation would be only 90. The community, taken as a whole, becomes poorer by the process, not in the ratio indicated by the above numbers, but in some smaller ratio, determined by the proportion of food raised under the new circumstances. Thus suppose half the food required by the nation be raised under the most favourable circumstances, and the other half under either one of the circumstances above enumerated, the loss of the nation in the aggregate will be not *one-tenth*, but *one-twentieth* only. But although the nation, *as a whole*, would only lose *one-twentieth* on five per cent, an entirely new distribution would take place. Some, as we shall presently see, would gain by the necessities of the nation, and this gain by a few would of course enhance the loss suffered by the rest. This we shall at once explain.

The instant the demand for food raised the price, competition would commence for those lands which yielded their produce

with the minimum of labour and capital, or in other phrase, which gave forth a maximum of produce for a given outlay of labour and capital. The owners of what we have called the best circumstanced lands, would be enabled, by the force of competition, to appropriate to themselves the difference between the produce of the lands just brought into cultivation, and the produce of those already in cultivation. In the case supposed, this difference would be one-tenth of the whole produce, which difference would constitute what is properly called *rent*.

Now it is quite clear that this difference is not lost to the nation. It remains in the hands of one class of the community, namely, the owners of the land. But it must be equally obvious that it is a deduction from the gross amount of produce to be ultimately divided between the labourers and capitalists. Previous to the creation of rent by the growing necessities of the people, the labourers and capitalists would divide the whole produce between them, according to a principle of double competition of capitalist against capitalist, and labourer against labourer, which we need not farther allude to in this place. Supposing the division to be equal, the labouring class would get 50, and the capitalist class would get 50. After the creation of rent, however, these two classes would find less to share. They would share the whole produce of the lands taken into cultivation at the second stage, but from the best circumstanced lands they would be compelled to submit to a deduction of one-tenth. Thus for every 100 which they before shared, they would now divide only 90; and supposing the double competition to remain as before—supposing the ratio between labourers and capitalists to remain unchanged—both classes would be equally injured. In plain English, both wages and profits would fall. Hence we may assume as a general principle, that the moment population advances to a point to render a greater quantity of food necessary than the best circumstanced lands are adequate to furnish, both wages and profits will exhibit a continued tendency to decline.

The reasoning may be pursued to the case of a nation demanding more food than could be raised in lands of the first and second degree combined. In such a case, there would be a new creation of rent at every stage, and of course a diminished quantity of produce to be divided between the capitalists and the labourers. In supposing still that the ratio between these two classes remained unchanged, they would suffer equal deterioration of condition. Profits and wages would both fall at every stage.

But it may be urged that this reasoning applies only to agriculture. What becomes of wages and profits in all other employments? Are they affected by the diminished return to

agricultural industry? Clearly they are. In all employments, the rates of wages and profits have a perpetual tendency to conform with those which prevail in the production of food. This is the natural result of freedom of competition. If for a time the profits arising from the employment of capital in manufactures or trade were greater than what were employed in agriculture, capital would cease to flow towards the latter branch of industry, and would seek employment only in the former branches. This would go on until profits were equalized in all employments. The warning to apply capital and labour to one employment more than to another, is the price of the article produced, and so delicate a measure of the desirableness of a given channel of employment is price, that it generally produces its effects without any important disturbance.

Enough has been said to show, that the condition of both the capitalist and the labourer is subject to continued deterioration as society advances beyond a certain point. This deterioration is, of course, checked by all sorts of discoveries, such as improved processes of manufacture—modes of communication, and so forth. Nevertheless, it is susceptible of proof, that all other circumstances duly allowed for, *the limited extent of the field of production* is the most conspicuous cause of the continually declining condition of the community.

An enlargement of the field of production may take place by means of a free trade in corn and other articles, whilst a contraction thereof may be brought about by means of a corn-law similar to that of Great Britain.

Suppose, for instance, that the increase of population is such as to require the cultivation of land of the third degree, the produce of which is represented by the figure 80. Let us farther suppose a discovery to be made, that by employing the labour and capital necessary to produce these 80 quarters, in manufactures, and by carrying the said manufactures to a neighbouring country, and exchanging them for food, a quantity equal to that raised on land of the second degree might be obtained. What would be the result? Importation of corn, in exchange for manufactures exported, would commence. Instead of a return for labour and capital indicated by figure 80, the result would be a return represented by the figure 90. The threatened decline of wages and profits would be arrested, and rent would make no progress. This is equivalent to an extension of the field of production.

But, if the power of making laws to bind the community rested, as in England, in the land-owning class, they would be able to impose a prohibitory tax, so as to let matters take their course. In such a case, the field of production would not be

extended; lands of the third degree would be taken into cultivation; rents would make progress; and the deterioration of the condition of the labourers and capitalists would go on without check. This is the British corn-law, which operates as a limitation of the field of production.

The merit of stating clearly the doctrine of the dependence of the condition of the people, as a whole, on the extent of the field of production, is indisputably due to the author of *England and America*. This merit we are by no means disposed to undervalue. We hold it to be great, because it has cleared up the theory of colonization, and thereby removed an inculcable amount of honest opposition to the practice thereof. But in his ardour to make the most of his discovery, (for such we are justified in calling it), the author, we conceive, has imagined a difference with our great writers on political economy on the doctrine of rent, which really does not exist. Because Mr. Mill begins his chapter on rent with the proposition, "Land is of different degrees of fertility," he is accused of leaving other circumstances out of the account. This is scarcely justifiable. Mr. Mill's object was, to produce an elementary treatise on the science of political economy. It was therefore desirable that his statements should be as general, or, so to speak, as theoretical as possible. *Fertility*, therefore, is seized upon as the most conspicuous cause of rent likely to come under the observation of the readers whom Mr. Mill was addressing. In America, it may be, that *locality* is a cause in more constant operation. We, who have been in America, know that it is. Nevertheless, it would have been wrong in a writer on the elements of the science, to take, as his type, the case under the general law, which prevails in another country rather than in our own. All that Mr. Mill contends for is, that in every country "one portion of the capital employed pays no rent," and, that rent is, "the produce which is yielded by the more productive portions of capital over and above a quantity equal to that which constitutes the return of the least productive portion, and which must be received to afford his requisite profits, by the farmer."—*Elements*, page 39.

This statement is certainly sufficiently general to include any circumstance causing a difference in the return of capital employed on land. Had Mr. Mill written a course of the science, complete in all its details, we are quite sure he would have included every circumstance affecting rent, down even to a railroad or a chemical discovery.

In a note on rent, forming one of a series of logical definitions of politico-economical terms, at the end of Archbishop Whateley's logic, Mr. Senior, (for by him the notes in question are under-

stood to have been written), has generalized the expression, so as to meet all that the author of *England and America* could possibly include among the causes of rent. In an admirable essay on the subject, forming the note, "Rent" to Mr. McCulloch's edition of the *Wealth of Nations*, distance from market is carefully expatiated upon,—not as a difference between the writer of that note and the political economists, but rather as an amplification of a doctrine fully recognized by his predecessors, and already to be found in all his existing treatises.

In short, the author of *England and America*, appears to us to have left the doctrine of rent substantially where he found it. His contribution to the science—and a very important contribution we beg to assure him we deem it—consists in pointing out the part which the comparative extent of the field of production plays in determining the productiveness of capital and labour united; or, in other words, in determining the condition of both classes of producers.

The author's views, however, are so admirably put throughout, and, moreover, so aptly illustrated, that we are tempted to make rather a long extract, the more especially as it embodies nearly all the points under discussion. While resolving the difficulties connected with the questions of rent, profit, and wages, the author tells us, he had the good luck to fall asleep—good luck, because, during his sleep, he had a dream, "which explained why profits and wages *both together* are so low in England and so high in America."—p. 110.

To be brief, he dreams, that he is cast upon Robinson Crusoe's Island, and after "viewing his improvements," the following is the subject of their chat, over a "very respectable dinner of fish and roasted kid :"—

"*Dreamer.* 'Altogether, Mr. Crusoe, you seem quite at your ease.'

"*Robinson.* 'Why, yes, blessed be God ! but I have had my trials. It was a sore trial, when I was obliged to sow the seed that I would fain have eaten, and when I had no Friday to help me; but I have been very comfortable since I got before the world, with a good stock of seeds, tools, and goats: nay, since I lighted on Friday I have lived like a gentleman—quite at my ease, as you say.'

"*Dreamer.* 'You are a capitalist now, Robinson.'

"*Robinson.* 'Capitalist !—what's that ?'

"*Dreamer.* 'Why, seeds, tools, goats, are capital, and as you possess these, you are a capitalist: Friday works; you direct him, and give him a share of the produce: Friday is a labourer.'

"*Robinson.* 'A labourer ! Yes, he works :—a share ! He takes what he pleases.'

"*Dreamer.* 'Of course,—*high wages of labour*, eh ; and *high profits*

of stock also, or you would not be so much at your ease, Mr. Robinson Crusoe.'

"Robinson. 'I have forgotten some of my English. High wages of labour:—high profits of stock! What are they?'

"Dreamer. 'In this island, high wages mean, that you can let Friday take what he pleases, without stinting yourself; and high profits mean, that Friday takes what he pleases, without stinting you. Friday's labour, with the aid of your seeds, tools, and goats, produces plenty for both of you.'

"Robinson. 'Yes—but hark! man Friday! friend! down upon your knees! here's another earthquake!'

"And sure enough it was a terrible earthquake; for though it hurt none of us, and did not last above a minute, when we recovered ourselves, and passed from the cave through the enclosure, and over the outer fence, every part of the island was covered with water, except the rock which formed the cave, and about half an acre of land in front of us. Robinson and his man knelt again, and returned thanks to God for having preserved our lives; whilst I stood by, distressed to think of what would become of them with only that half acre of land. Crusoe's calmness and resignation were quite admirable. Rising, he embraced Friday, saying—'the Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away; blessed be the name of the Lord!' Poor Friday, however, began to cry, and I felt disposed to keep him company, when Robinson pointing to the enclosure, said—'We have plenty of food left for a year, seed, tools and goats; capital, sir, I think you called them?'

"'But what,' I asked, 'is the use of capital *without a field to employ it on?* Your goats will be starved, and, with no more than this little bit of land, you will be unable to use half your tools, or a quarter of your seed.'

"Robinson looked rather blank at this, but said,—We must do *with less*; there will be less for Friday, and less for me, but enough, I hope, to keep us alive.'

"'Low wages and low profits,' said I, 'but that is a shocking state to be in. Cannot you set Friday to make, with the things that are left from your wreck, instruments and ornaments for some neighbouring savages, who have more food than they know what to do with?'

"'Our neighbours,' answered Robinson, 'would make food of us if they could.'

"'Oh!' said I, 'I had forgotten *that restriction on trade.*' * * *

"After quizzing the economists, at the expense, however, of confounding *gross profits* and wages, with *proportional profits* and wages, so clearly distinguished in other parts of the work, the author justly concludes:

"The only way in which Robinson and his man could get back to high profits and high wages would be, *by getting back the land that they have lost.*"

Hitherto we have supposed with our author, that deterioration of condition is equally distributed,—that is, that profits

and wages decline together from the diminished whole, to be shared between capitalists and labourers. If, however, the due proportion between the former and the latter be altered, equality of division no longer prevails. If, for instance, the number of competitors for employment has increased in a greater ratio than capital, their competition will cause a reduction of wages, or, in other words, of the share of the whole produce, (a diminished whole by the supposition) to be divided. A diminution or division of capital would have the same effect. Thus, while the whole produce was represented by the figure 100, it might be, that capitalists received 50, and the labourers 50; but if when production fell to 90, the ratio between labour and capital were altered, competition might compel the labourers to accept 40, in which case the capitalists would still receive their 50. They would, in short, receive more than the proportion which they had been accustomed to receive. Profits and wages then are affected together, by the diminution of the whole produce to be divided; they are farther affected (but in opposite directions) by the proportion in which the produce is shared. The political economists have dwelled too exclusively on the latter circumstance; the author of *England and America*, has leaned perhaps a little too much to the former. The reader will do well to keep both in view.

We are now prepared to look a little more closely at our subject. What old countries especially require is land. Capital and labour they have in abundance—in excess. But what is meant by this constantly repeated assertion of the excess or redundancy of labour and capital, and especially of the former? All that can be meant is, that they are in excess, *as compared with land*. If we say labour is in excess, we may mean *as compared with capital*; but when we say capital is in excess, we cannot mean as compared with labour, because wages continue at a minimum rate. Speaking then of capital alone, or conjointly with labour, as being in excess, we can only refer to land.

Now in some countries there is as yet nothing but land; in others land is so abundant that it may be said practically to be without limit. These are called new countries. Of these countries the wants are labour and capital; sometimes we hear complaints of the want of the one, sometimes of the want of the other. As the capitalist has generally a louder voice than the labourer, or to speak more by the card, has better means of making his voice heard, the most constant cry is want of hands. If however hands be wanting, we may be quite sure capital will avoid the spot. Capital and labour are therefore the wants of "new countries."

Old countries, then, having what new countries want, and

wanting what new countries have; it follows that if an interchange can be brought about, both countries will be benefited. To bring about this interchange is the problem sought to be solved in all systems of colonization.

We need not remind the reader that in using the term interchange, we speak somewhat metaphorically. The land cannot be moved, it is true, but benefits arising from its use can. Mahomet, the reader will recollect, solved the difficulty by "going to the mountain." In like manner, labour and capital must be moved to the abundant field, and on such conditions as to benefit the country parting therewith. The benefit should be mutual, or the country not benefited will cry out. Moreover, if our system be so bad as to be injurious to both, it is quite clear we shall have friends no where.

Colonization, then, is the removal of a portion of the capital and labour of a country where both are in excess, to a country where either they do not exist, or are deficient.

Keeping the doctrine above laid down constantly in view,—we mean the doctrine of proportional wages and profits as well as gross wages and profits, the object to be sought must be to produce or retain in both the colonizing and the colonized country that due proportion between land, capital, and labour, which is likely to produce the maximum of comfort to all parties. If we send away labour only, there can be no successful establishment in the new country, for want of the co-operation of capital. If we send away capital only, it is powerless in the new country without labour, the labourers at home are injured by a reduction of proportional wages; and, if production be impaired, by a reduction of gross wages also. All our former systems of colonization proceeded on a plan to embody all possible evils. They promoted the transfer of both labour and capital, it is true, but they all interposed an insuperable barrier against the co-operation of labour and capital. They made the capitalist work alone, and the labourer work alone, and the result was always poverty and sometimes famine. Let us cite a recent case of colonization on wrong principles, from the Evidence of E. G. Wakefield, Esq., before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, the Report of which we have placed among the works at the head of this article:—

"590. *Chairman.*] What do you consider the most striking practical evil resulting from too great a profusion in granting land?—The most striking, because it happens to be the last, is the new settlement of Swan River in Western Australia.

"591. In what way is that the most striking!—That colony, which

was founded with a general hope in this country, amongst very intelligent persons of all descriptions, that it would be a most prosperous colony, has all but perished. It has not quite perished, but the population is a great deal less than the number of emigrants; it has been a diminishing population since its foundation. The greater part of the capital which was taken out (and that was very large) has disappeared altogether, and a great portion of the labourers taken out (and they were a very considerable number) have emigrated a second time to Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales. The many disasters which befel this colony (for some people did actually die of hunger,) and the destruction of the colony taken out to the Swan River, and the second emigration of the people who went out, appear to me to be accounted for at once by the manner in which land was granted. The first grant consisted of 500,000 acres to an individual, Mr. Peel. That grant was marked out upon the map in England—500,000 acres were taken round about the port or landing-place. It was quite impossible for Mr. Peel to cultivate 500,000 acres, or a hundredth part of the grant; but others were of course necessitated to go beyond his grant, in order to take their land. So that the first operation in that colony was to create a great desert, to mark out a large tract of land, and to say, 'this is a desert—no man shall come here; no man shall cultivate this land.' So far dispersion was produced, because upon the terms on which Mr. Peel obtained his land, land was given to the others. The Governor took another 100,000 acres, another person took 80,000 acres; and the dispersion was so great, that, at last, the settlers did not know where they were; that is, each settler knew that he was where he was, but he could not tell where any one else was; and, therefore, he did not know his own position. That was why some people died of hunger; for, though there was an ample supply of food at the governor's house, the settlers did not know where the governor was, and the governor did not know where the settlers were. Then, besides the evils resulting from dispersion, there occurred what I consider almost a greater one; which is, the separation of the people and the want of combinable labour. The labourers, on finding out that land could be obtained with the greatest facility, the labourers taken out under contracts, under engagements which assured them of very high wages if they would labour during a certain time for wages, immediately laughed at their masters. Mr. Peel carried altogether about three hundred persons, men, women, and children. Of those three hundred persons, about sixty were able labouring men. In six months after his arrival he had nobody even to make his bed for him, or to fetch him water from the river. He was obliged to make his own bed, and to fetch water for himself, and to light his own fire. All the labourers had left him. The capital, therefore, which he took out, viz. implements of husbandry, seeds and stock, especially stock, immediately perished; without shepherds to take care of the sheep, the sheep wandered and were lost; eaten by the native dogs; killed by the natives and by some of the other colonists, very likely by his own workmen; but they were destroyed; his seeds perished on the beach; his houses were of no use; his wooden houses

were there in frame, in pieces, but could not be put together, and were therefore quite useless and rotted on the beach. This was the case with the capitalists generally. The labourers, obtaining land very readily, and running about to fix upon locations for themselves, and to establish themselves independently, very soon separated themselves into isolated families, into what may be termed cotters, with a very large extent of land, something like the Irish cotters, but having, instead of a very small piece of land, a large extent of land. Every one was separated, and very soon fell into the greatest distress. Falling into the greatest distress, they returned to their masters, and insisted upon the fulfilment of the agreements upon which they had gone out; but then Mr Peel said, "all my capital is gone: you have ruined me by deserting me, by breaking your engagements, and you now insist upon my observing the engagements, when you yourselves have deprived me of the means of doing so." They wanted to hang him, and he ran away to a distance, where he secreted himself for a time, till they were carried off to Van Diemen's Land, where they obtained food, and where, by the way, land was not obtainable by any means with so great facility as at the Swan River."—p. 53-4.

The above extract clearly points out the vicious principle of all former methods of colonizing. Land was made as cheap as possible. It was given to whosoever might ask for it; with all sorts of conditions it is true, but which conditions never were fulfilled, simply because it was impossible they should be fulfilled. The most prominent and most common condition was that the settler should clear and cultivate a certain small proportion of his lot. In some few cases this was done; but how could it always be done, if the man with tools and seed could not prevail upon the man with hands only—the labourer, to work for him, whilst the latter could not prevail upon the former to grant the loan of his tools and seeds on any terms. "Oh! the capitalist should engage labourers on contract." To this the fate of Mr. Peel supplies an answer, but it had been answered by a thousand failures before Mr. Peel thought of colonizing the Swan River.

A very moderate degree of reflection should convince us that this must be the case wherever land is given away or sold for a price merely nominal. In old countries the possession of land is looked to as the highest object of ambition. It gives wealth, power, station, nearly every thing in short that is worth desiring. Hence the first desire of an industrious settler in a new country is to become an independent freeholder. High-wages are offered him, he scorns them, he will have land. He is reminded that he has no plough, not a bushel of seed, not a week's supply of provisions. No matter; he came out to be free, not a slave:—he will have land. Land accordingly he takes. It may happen that by

dint of much toil and hard privation, he does manage to extract some subsistence from the soil; but years must pass away before he can place himself and his family in a state of ease. His neighbours too, if neighbours they can be called, are much in the same state. They, like him, are isolated, and although they may on important occasions meet and assist each other, still, generally speaking, there is not much co-operation and combination amongst them.

The settler with capital is not much better off than the mere labourer. So much capital as he and his family can employ is efficient; the rest is lost for want of hands. Mr. Peel might have found use for one of his spades certainly—the rest, were they ninety-nine or nine hundred and ninety-nine, were useless. In short, to allow every man to take land is to sever the bundle of sticks; the remedy consists in requiring an uniform price per acre for all land without exception. How this remedy would work, so as constantly to secure the due proportion between people, capital, and land, we proceed to show.

A price for land must necessarily compel every man to labour for hire until he shall have saved a sufficient sum to enable him to possess himself of land; and thus a constant supply of labour will be afforded. This security of a supply of labour operates at once upon the capitalist. He is no longer deterred from colonizing by the dread of a fate similar to that of Mr. Peel and of many others. Once in the new country, with a conviction that labour will be forthcoming, he offers in the shape of wages far more than the labourer could possibly draw from the soil by his own unaided labour.

To fulfil the desired conditions of a due supply of both capital and labour, and at the same time to prevent dispersion, the price must be “sufficient, but not more than sufficient.” This “golden mean,” as Mr. Wakefield in his evidence calls it, will of course differ under different circumstances, and must be determined by trial. There is no difficulty in this. If the first price fixed be too low, two evils will take place. Labourers will cease, too early, to labour for hire; the co-operation of the capitalist and labourer, and the necessary combination of labour, will be thereby prevented; and land speculators will be induced to obtain land with a view to having the same in a desert state. * To such an extent has this latter evil gone in the Canadas, that nearly all the most eligible lands are out of the hands of government and in the hands of a parcel of jobbing officials. On the other hand, if the price be too high, all the evils incidental to old countries would be brought about. Labourers would be compelled to work for hire for an indefinite time, without hope of obtaining

the much desired land; they would therefore have but small inducement to leave their native country. Neither would capitalists have any motive to colonize; for, although the existing stock of labourers would be at their mercy, there would be no hope of a new supply. In short, too high a price would act as a tax on the land, and therefore as a limitation of the field of production. In other words, it would convert a new into an old country, by "confining the settlers within a space inconveniently narrow." This is of course supposing they would be so confined. If they would not, we should have the high price inoperative; that is, squatting without the pale of the settlement would take place, and all the evils of dispersion would arise from the system intended to prevent it. Here then we have a beacon on each side of us to warn us from too high as well as too low a price; and when no capitalist wanted a labourer, and no labourer wanted employment, when the moment a labourer could purchase more land than he himself could cultivate, that he also could find a labourer, then it might be safely affirmed that we had hit upon the *golden mean*.

"This golden mean obviates every species of bondage; by providing combinable labour; it renders industry very productive, and maintains both high wages and high profits; it makes the colony as attractive as possible both to capitalists and labourers; and not merely to those, but also, by bestowing on the colony the better attributes of an old society, to those who have a distaste to the primitive condition of new colonies heretofore."—*Colonization of New Zealand*, p. 15.

The resort of this first principle of colonization, namely, the sale of lands, necessarily carries with it this result—that a considerable sum of money is placed at the disposal of the colony. In the United States of America, where the price of land is considered to be below the "golden mean," where dispersion takes place to a considerable extent, a sum of twenty-four millions of dollars (£5,000,000 sterling) was received into the Treasury in 1836. As the revenue derivable from other sources paid the expenses of government, the land revenue was a surplus. In any colony where land is abundant, and where government is economically conducted, a similar result must occur. In South Australia, where the first year's expenses are limited to £5,000, the land fund must necessarily yield a large surplus. Such must, indeed, be the case in any colony established on the principles we are advocating. Hence we come to the question:—How does the new system of colonization propose to employ this fund?—We answer, in conveying labourers to the colony.

The principle of sale in itself supposes the transfer of capital to the colony; the employment of the purchase-money in the

manner indicated, provides for the transfer of the due proportion of labour. If no guarantee of a supply of labour were held out, capitalists would not buy land, no one would be found to bid the upset price. It is only by thus employing the land fund, that the "sufficient price" can be perpetually tested. If we could suppose the possibility of finding a set of capitalists who would continue to buy land without any such guarantee, who would, in short, submit to the squandering of their money by a set of colonial officials; the evil would be great to this country. Capital would here diminish, and the labourers would suffer from a diminution of proportional wages, as already explained. The preservation of the "golden mean" in the new country, acts advantageously in the old; it provides that there be no transfer of capital without a concurrent transmission of labour.

"These, then, are the two main features of the new system; that the disposal of waste or public land should be by sale only, and at a sufficient price for the objects in view; and that the purchase money of land should be employed as an emigration fund."—*Colonization of New Zealand*, p. 17.

The grand object to be attained in managing the expenditure of this fund, is to make the greatest possible impression, but in opposite directions, on the population of both the old and the new country. We have seen that in old countries, whilst both capitalists and labourers are continually suffering by the diminished return from the land, labourers are liable to a farther deterioration of condition by the tendency of their own numbers to increase faster than the means of employing them. In new countries, on the other hand, the converse state of things prevails. Whilst the productiveness of capital and labour must for a considerable time continue at its maximum, there is an additional tendency in labour to fly from its co-operation with capital;—the labouring class being rapidly converted into capitalists by the facility of saving. In other words, there is a perpetual tendency to an advance of proportional wages. The remedy is to accelerate the transfer of labour by means of selection as to age and sex, and so convey the greatest *germ of increase* at the least expense.

On all former systems of emigration, it was absurd to hope to make any impression on the population of Great Britain and Ireland. Taking the population at 24,000,000 the power of increase is not less than 800,000 annually. The actual increase, however, is only 180,000; and the only reason why the full power of increase does not operate is because the means of subsistence is limited. If any increase of marriages and births were to take place, there would be a corresponding increase of

mortality. The increasing means of subsistence will permit an annual increase of 180,000 and no more. If any sudden addition were made to the means, the power of increase would make fresh exertions up to at least 800,000, and perhaps even more. The average increase of population in America, by means of procreation alone, has been for a century equal to the maximum above stated. In the most favoured situations the increase has been equal to a proportion of 1,000,000 annually, for a population equal to that of the British isles.

With this power of increase, then, we should not make any effect on population by means of a promiscuous emigration, until we have gone beyond 620,000; for there would still remain a power of increase equal to the production of the number which the annual increase of our means of subsistence was adequate to support. To keep population stationary, at least 800,000 would require to be removed annually; and it was on account of the utter impossibility of doing this, that Mr. Wilmot Horton's scheme of emigration by families failed.

By selection, however, the attainment of the object comes at once within the limits of probability. Out of a given number of persons, the procreative power resides in a portion only of the whole number. We are not about to investigate the exact proportion,—that is the business of those who are busied in investigating the average expectation of life, and other features exhibited by our population. All we wish the reader to admit is that the procreative power resides in a portion of the population, and that, therefore, the removal of that portion will be as efficient, considered in reference both to the old and the new country, as the removal of the whole. But the economy of selection may be pushed farther than this, by removing the young couples which annually reached the age of puberty. The result would be that we should absolutely destroy the germ of increase in a small number of years. In twenty-five years the population would consist of persons above forty and under fifteen. Children would almost cease to be born, and in fifteen years more there would be only persons over fifty-five years of age; whilst the recipient country would exhibit a population in its maximum state of efficiency.

The voluntary emigration from this country has occasionally extended to an amount sufficient, if selected, to have produced the most marked effects on population. In 1832 the emigration to America was at least 110,000, to say nothing of that which took place to Australia, the Cape, and other colonies. This number consisted of persons of all ages, and of an undue proportion of males; it was, therefore, not more efficient than a selected emigration of 20,000 or 25,000. Had the emigration of 1832,

(at least 120,000 to all the colonies,) been selected, it would have been as efficient as a promiscuous emigration of between 700,000 and 800,000.

With regard to an excess of males the effects are most disastrous, not merely on population but on morality. The horrible results produced by this single error in the art of colonizing in New South Wales would scarcely be credited. These results are of a nature to preclude us from farther alluding to them. The effect of such disproportion on population, however, should be clearly understood. This we shall do in the words of a Canadian Newspaper, being an extract from a statistical account of the population of Upper Canada in 1832.

"Our present population," says the writer, "is 260,992, consisting of

Males	-	-	-	-	-	137,859
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Females	-	-	-	-	-	123,133
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Deficiency of Females	-	-	-	-	-	14,726
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Proportion of Males to Females	-	1119 to 1000
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The effect of this great deficiency must materially reduce the rate of increase below that which would be exhibited by an equal proportion of the sexes. Its injurious effect on the population is far greater than is indicated by the numbers, inasmuch as it promotes incontinence to an extent sufficient, we should say, to destroy the fecundity of as many more. To reduce the statement to figures: our population of 260,992, consisting of 137,859 males, and 123,133 females—that, is wanting 14,726 females—would only be as prolific as a population of 216,814 equally proportioned, instead of one of 246,266. In other words there would be perpetually 14,726 females and 29,452 males wholly inoperative in continuing the race."

Want of selection, united with dispersion, was the reason why the first 20,000 emigrants to Virginia were reduced to less than 2,000 in 20 years; and the population of New South Wales has hitherto been kept down by the same means. When we deal with live stock we do not act so absurdly. There we observe a careful selection, both as to age and sex. Imagine a New South Wales sheep breeder taking out three or four males to every female. Why he would be laughed to scorn for his absurdity; but let us hear the able author of the system on this point:—

"In any colony the immediate effect of selecting young couples for emigration would be to diminish very much the ordinary cost of adding to the population of the colony. The passage of young couples would not cost more than that of any other class, or of all classes mixed; but along with the young couples the colony would gain the greatest possible germ of future increase. The settlers of New South Wales, who in the course of a few years have made the colony to swarm with sheep, did not import lambs or old sheep; still less did they import a large proportion of rams. They have imported altogether a very small

number of sheep compared with the vast number now in the colony. Their object was the production in the colony of the greatest number of sheep by the importation of the least number, or, in other words, at the least cost; and this object they accomplished by selecting for importation those animals which, on account of their sex and age, were fit to produce the greatest number of young in the shortest time. If a like selection were made of the persons to be brought to a colony, with the purchase money of waste land, the land bought, it is evident, would become as valuable as it could ever become, much more quickly than if the emigrants should be a mixture of persons of all ages. In the former case not only would the emigrants be all of them of the most valuable class as labourers, but they would be of a class fit to produce the most rapid increase of people in the colony; to create, as soon as possible, in places now desert, a demand for food, for the raw materials of manufacturers, for accommodation land and for building ground. The buyer of new land, therefore, would have his purchase money laid out for him in the way best of all calculated to be of service to him." *England and America*, vol. ii. p. 213-214. * * * *

"By the proposed selection of emigrants, moreover, as the greatest quantity of relief from excessive numbers would be comprised in the removal of the least number of people, the maximum of good from emigration would be obtained not only with the minimum of cost, but, what is far more important, with the minimum of painful feeling. All that old people and children suffer more than other people, from a long voyage, would be avoided. Those only would remove who were already on the move to a new home; those only to whom on account of their youth and animal spirits separation from birth-place would be the least painful; those only who had just formed the dearest connexion; and one not to be severed but to be made happy by their removal. And thus the least degree of painful feeling would be suffered by the smallest possible number of people." *ib.* p. 230. * * * *

Each female would have a special protector from the moment of her departure from home. No man would have any excuse for dissolute habits. All the evils which have so often sprung from a disproportion between the sexes would be avoided. Every pair of emigrants would have the strongest motive for industry, steadiness, and thrift. In a colony thus peopled there would scarcely be any single men or single women; nearly the whole population would consist of married men and women, boys and girls, and children. For many years the proportion of children to grown up people would be greater than was ever known since Shem, Ham, and Japhet were surrounded by their little ones. The colony would be an immense nursery, and all being at ease, without being scattered, would afford the finest opportunity that ever occurred to see what may be done for society by universal education. That must be a narrow breast in which the last consideration does not raise some generous emotion."—*ib.*

We shall conclude this branch of the subject with a quotation

from the evidence of Mr. Wakefield, given before the Waste Lands Committee. In answer to a question from the Chairman, relative to selection, Mr. Wakefield says :—

"898. I once made a calculation by which it appeared to me, that if all the convicts who had been sent to New South Wales had been young persons, in an equal proportion of the sexes, just arrived at the age of maturity, the population of New South Wales would have been 500,000, instead of what it actually was when I made the calculation, 50,000. It appeared to me that the selection of emigrants would enable you in the course of a certain number of years (about 48 years was I think the term of my calculation) to place in the colony ten times as many people, with any given sum, as you could place there without any selection at all : or rather, perhaps, in that case, I ought to say with a bad selection, for in New South Wales the worst possible selection was made ; a large proportion of males, and women past the age of child-bearing, and when not so aged, yet in a situation where the great excess of males puts marriage of child-bearing altogether out of the question. That was the worst possible selection ; but the difference between the best and worst appeared to me to be as *ten to one*." * * * *

"899. (Mr. Roebuck.) 'Do not you think that there is a slight inadvertence of expression, 'you would be able to place in the colony a larger number of persons ?' do you not mean that you would be able to carry out the means of increasing the future population to a greater degree ?'—'I ought to have used the expression 'to establish in the colony ;' for the object is to establish the largest number in the colony by means of the removal of the smallest number.'"

We have dwelt at some length on the effect of the principle of selection, and on the neglect thereof, from the strong sense we entertain of its practical importance. We have now only to offer a few observations on what we shall call the time-saving feature of the plan.

Unless some mode of providing an immediate emigration fund be adopted, it is quite clear that the plan of colonization as a whole, could not be carried into effect. One part of the scheme would lag behind the other, and the whole might be wrecked with the means of relief within sight. By means of *anticipating the future sales of land*, however, or raising money by way of *loan on the security of future sales*, the whole effect of the system could be produced at once. In founding the colony of South Australia, both these plans have been adopted with complete success. Sales of land were made in London to emigrating capitalists, and the money so raised was expended in providing the means of sending out selected emigrants. The South Australian act authorized the Commissioners to raise £20,000 by way of loan, and that £35,000 should be raised by land sales before the colony should be established. The conditions of the act were

speedily fulfilled, and all accounts from the colony warrant us in affirming that the first application of the principles of colonization which form the "New British System," has been abundantly successful. A community, small it is true, but complete in all its parts, has been established (we use the word advisedly) in the desert. All the elements of civilization are there transplanted at once. A scientific institution—the growth of an advanced state of society—was formed in London before the first ship sailed. This society even commenced its sittings in London, carrying out with it not merely a stock of scientific instruments and the groundwork of a library, but even a record of its transactions. The first number of the South Australian newspaper was printed in London; the second, printed in the colony, has already been received. The science and literature of South Australia were too impatient in their character to wait for the establishment of the colony. They, like the other parts of the system, have found it necessary to work by *anticipation*.

We have now said all we think necessary on the principles of colonization. They are, we beg to remind the reader, three in number, namely—

1. That land be sold at a *sufficient price* to secure the due proportion between labour, capital, and land.
2. That the proceeds constitute an emigration fund.
3. That emigration be selected as to age and sex, so as to remove the greatest germ of increase at a given cost.

To enable these principles to be applied together, a fund must be raised by anticipation. This cannot be called a principle, but we have taken leave to designate it the "time-saving feature" of the plan—a term which best explains the nature of its operation. We now conclude this first portion of our task, by strongly recommending the reader to examine the works which we have placed at the head of this article. The first is worthy of perusal on many grounds, and the evidence of Mr. E. G. Wakefield in the second, contains the latest development of that gentleman's views of a system, the authorship of which will one day entitle him to the gratitude of unborn millions, of great and powerful nations.

Hitherto we have been engaged in discussing principles; we now come to the application of those principles to a particular case: our remaining pages will be devoted to the examination of the question as to the adaption of New Zealand as a fit and proper field for the application of the new system.

The especial feature which adapts a country for the purposes of colonization, is the abundance of land compared with population. This we shall presently see New Zealand eminently

possesses. When we say that land is the chief requisite, we of course mean land capable of yielding a better return to labour than the average of that under cultivation in the colonizing country. There is plenty of "land" in the Arctic region, in the African deserts, in Arabia Petræa, but it is not such land as men are wont to seek. What they want is neither the "sandy" nor the "rocky;" it is the "happy." They want land of considerable fertility, under a climate favourable to production.

The accounts which travellers give us, bear witness that New Zealand fulfils these conditions.

New Zealand comprises two islands, called North and South Island. The latter is the larger of the two, and if they were placed side by side, instead of end to end, they might have well been named Austral Britain. In dimensions they do not fall much short of our islands, and in *natural* fertility of soil, and especially in climate, they are superior, being seven or eight hundred miles nearer the equator than we are. They are the nearest land to our antipodes. This general statement will be easily understood if the reader will take the trouble to turn first to a map of the world, and then to the most authentic map of the country itself. The following extract from the work placed last on our list, will sufficiently bear out our statement.

"The islands of New Zealand are situated between the 34th and 48th degrees of south latitude,—and the 166th and 179th degrees of east longitude. They are the lands nearest to the antipodes of Great Britain;—a central point taken in Cook's Strait, which separates, and is about equidistant from the northern and southern extremities, of the two principal islands, being seven hundred miles from the antipodes of London, with the advantage of being to that extent nearer to the equator. * * * * *

"In shape it is an irregular and straggling oblong: and in detached position from the nearest continents, New Zealand bears some resemblance to the British Isles. It resembles them in other matters of greater importance. Like them, surrounded by the sea, it possesses the same means of ready communication and of rapid conveyance to all parts of its coasts; and the same facilities for an extensive trade, within its numerous bays and rivers. The temperature of the warmer latitudes in which it is placed, is influenced or regulated, as in Great Britain, by the refreshing and invigorating sea breezes, and the whole line of coast abounds with fish, in great variety and of great delicacy. * *

"By the latest, and, it is believed, the most accurate account, the area of the Northern Island is computed at forty thousand English square miles, while that of the Southern Island,—of which Stewart's Island may be considered an appendage,—is considerably more than one third larger. The extent of the two islands must be at least

ninety-five thousand English square miles, or above *sixty millions of square acres*.

“The face of the country presents many striking objects to arrest and engage attention. There is a range of vast mountains traversing the centre of the whole length of one island, and the greater part of the other;—bays and harbours are scattered in profusion along the shores of both islands;—and there is a continual succession of rivers and lakes, extensive forests, valleys, open country and plains, from one end of the islands to the other.

“The mountains of New Zealand stretch along the centre of the Southern Island, for its whole length, and along the better half of the Northern Island; and sloping gradually down towards the sea level, leave an immense extent of forest, plain, and pasture, on both sides of the mountain range, between it and the sea. A few of the smaller mountains are barren or clothed with fern; but by far the greater number are covered, up to the range of perpetual snow, by magnificent timber of enormous size, and of great variety of kinds.

“These mountains, from their vicinity to all parts of the island, and their great elevation, exercise a constant and most beneficial influence on the climate and vegetation. The clouds which collect on their lofty summits, descend and disperse in refreshing and never failing showers, over the whole extent of the country. Hence the luxuriance and rapidity of vegetation; the never-fading foliage of the trees, and the *equal temperature and salubrity of the climate throughout the whole year*. Innumerable streams descend from them, on both sides, supplied from the perpetual snows, on their summits, and collecting into deep and navigable rivers, fall into the sea, on both sides of the island, at a distance from their source, in some instances of two hundred, and in several of above a hundred miles. To the same cause may be ascribed the absence of droughts and hot winds, which constantly threaten, and too often blight, the crops and pastures of some parts of Australia. In fine, from all accounts that have been obtained, the climate of New Zealand would seem to combine the warmth of southern Italy with the refreshing moisture and bracing atmosphere of the English Channel.”—*British Colonization of New Zealand*, pp. 75-79.

From the above extract we learn that the islands contain at least 60,000,000 of square acres of land. What proportion is fit for cultivation is not stated; but as the vegetation is “luxuriant,” the foliage “never-failing,” and the mountains “magnificently timbered up to the very margin of perpetual snow,” we may fairly assume that New Zealand has not more than her due share of the rocky and the sandy.

Over this fine country is scattered a mere handful of people. In the work we are now making use of, we do not see the number stated, but various estimates of the population have been made, ranging from 100,000 to 150,000. To say that the

country is extensive enough for a population of a hundred times the larger number, is to speak far within the truth.

The native tribes of New Zealand are of course the masters of the soil. Now it is proposed by the New Zealand Association to obtain from the natives a sufficient breadth of land for the purpose of colonization; not as the majority of the early settlers in America effected a similar object—not by driving the natives, like noxious beasts, from the fairest spots—not by the united aid of ardent spirits and gunpowder—not by “extinguishing their titles” after the modern American fashion; but, in imitation of the high-minded and excellent Penn, by fair and honourable purchase, or by the voluntary concession of the natives. The proposal is to obtain from the native chiefs, not a right of sovereignty over the whole territory, but simply both a right of property and a right of sovereignty over a sufficient quantity of land for the purpose contemplated. That is, recognizing the sovereignty of the native tribes over so much of the territory as they may choose to retain, but taking care that over so much thereof as they may freely and voluntarily alienate, the sovereignty, as well as the property, is transferred. The views of the Association are thus expressed.

“ — In all our proceedings, the national independence of the New Zealanders, already acknowledged by the British Government in the appointment of a resident, and the recognition of a New Zealand flag, must be carefully respected, *and especially, that we should not attempt to convert any part of the country into British territory without their full, free, and perfectly understanding consent and approval.* This we should term a principle of the association, if it were not obviously a consequence of the principles before laid down.

“ But although property in land, and the sovereign rights of the chiefs, will be established by native institutions; and although the different tribes, in concert with and represented by their chiefs, are, not merely willing, but anxious to make cessions of territory for the purpose of British colonization, yet, from the want of any central native authority—in consequence of the complete independence upon each other of the several tribes—it is impossible that the whole territory as respects property in land, or the sovereignty of the whole territory as respects government, should be at once ceded to the British Crown. It is only by a gradual process, that the advantages of regular government can be extended to the whole of New Zealand.

“ The first step will be, to obtain from those tribes which are already disposed to part with their land and their sovereign rights, certain portions of territory, which would become part of her Majesty's foreign possessions. Here British settlements would be formed with regular government. And then it is proposed, that all persons residing within the British parts of New Zealand, should enjoy the rights and privi-

leges of the rest of her Majesty's subjects. The natives would part with land, which they scarcely know how to cultivate, and with a dominion which they are incapable of exercising beneficially; and in return, they would obtain, besides the price in money or goods actually paid for the lands ceded, all the rights of British subjects, with the advantages, not merely of protection against other British subjects, but also the fostering care of a power deliberately exerted with a view to placing them, as soon as possible, on terms of intellectual, moral, and social equality with the colonists."—*Br. Colonization of New Zealand*, p. 54.

Of the more than willingness—of the eager desire of the New Zealanders to divest themselves of a portion, both of their property in the soil, and their sovereignty, the work before us contains ample evidence. They, in fact, entertain exalted ideas of the powers possessed by Europeans, and, on all occasions, they evince a desire for an active intercourse with Great Britain, purely for the advantage which such intercourse carries with it. There is scarcely a year in which some New Zealanders do not travel to this country *to learn*; and the facility with which they practise various mechanical arts, is acknowledged by all who have written about them. The following extract from the "Library of Entertaining Knowledge," is long enough to require an apology from us:—our apology is, that it contains more in a given space, concerning the New Zealanders, than we have been able to meet with elsewhere.

"Of all the people constituting the great Polynesian family, the New Zealanders have, of late years, attracted the largest proportion of public attention. Their character exhibits, with remarkable boldness of relief, many both of the virtues and vices of the savage state. They present a striking contrast to the timid and luxurious Otaheitan, and the miserable outcast of Australia. The masculine independence they at once manifested in their first encounters with us, and the startling resistance they offered to our proud pre-eminence, served to stimulate the feelings of curiosity with which we are now accustomed to regard them. The interest which they thus excite, is probably created in a great degree, by the prevailing disposition in our minds to regard with anxious attention any display of human power. The New Zealanders are not a timid nor a feeble people: from the days of their first intercourse with Europeans, they gave blow for blow. They did not stand still to be slaughtered like the Peruvians by the Spaniards; but they tried the strength of the club against the flash of the musket. They have destroyed, sometimes treacherously, always cruelly, the people of many European vessels, from the days of their first discovery to our own times; but it would be difficult to say, that they had no justification in our aggressions, whether immediate or recollected; or, at any rate, that they did not strongly feel the necessity of self-defence on all such occasions.

"They are ignorant of some of the commonest arts; their clothing

is rude, their agriculture imperfect; they have no knowledge of metals; writing is unknown to them; and yet they exhibit the keenest sense of the value of those acquirements which render Europeans so greatly their superiors. Many of the natives have voluntarily undertaken a voyage to England, that they might see the wonders of civilization; and when they have looked upon our fertile fields, our machines for the abridgment of human labour, and our manufactories, they have begged to be sent back to their own country, with the means of imitating what their own progress enabled them to comprehend were blessings.

" Their passion is war; and they carry on that excitement in the most terrific way that the fierceness of man ever devised; they devour their slaughtered enemies. And yet, they feel that this rude warfare may be assisted by the art of destruction which civilized men employ, and they came to us for the musket and the sword, to invade or to repel the invader. All these, and many more features of their character, shew an intellectual vigour, which is the root of ultimate civilization. They are not insensible to the arts of cultivated life as the New Hollander is—or wholly bound in the chains of superstition, which controul the efforts of the docile Hindoo, and hold his mind in thralldom. They are neither apathetic as the Turk, who believes that nothing can change the destiny of himself or his nation, nor self-satisfied as the poor Tartar, who said—' Were I to boast, it would be of that wisdom I have received from God; for, as on the one hand, I yield to none in the conduct of war, so, on the other, I have my talent in writing, inferior, perhaps, only to them who inhabit the great cities of Persia or India. Of other nations unknown to me, I do not speak.'*

" The New Zealander knows his own power as a savage; but he also knows, that the people of European communities have a much more extensive and durable power, which he is desirous to share. He has his instruments of bone, but he asks for iron; he has his club, but he comes to us for a musket. Baubles he despises. He possesses the rude arts of savage nations in an eminent degree: he can carve elegantly in wood, and he is tattooed with a graceful minuteness, which is not devoid of symmetrical elegance. Yet he is not insensible to the value of the imitative arts of Europeans, and he takes delight in our sculptures and paintings. His own social habits are unrefined—his cookery is coarse—his articles of furniture are rude; yet he adapts himself at once to the usages of the best English society, and displays that ease and self-confidence, which are the peculiar marks of individual refinement. He exhibits little contradiction between his original condition of a cannibal at home, and his assumed air of a gentleman here. Add to all this, that he is as capable of friendship as of humanity, and we shall have no difficulty in perceiving, that the New Zealander possesses a character which, at no distant period, may become an example of the rapidity with which the barbarian may be wholly refined, when brought into contact with a nation which neither insults nor oppresses,

* History of the Tartars, quoted in Ferguson's Civil History.

and which exhibits to him the influence of a benevolent religion in connexion with the force of practical knowledge."

Here, then, we have a country furnishing, not merely the grand requisite to European colonization—land; but also a population of some extent, which has been fortunate enough to have given proof of the possession of an energetic character, such as to make it *worth our while* to civilize, rather than to destroy. This is the true *rationale* of the matter. To talk of ourselves as "a nation, which neither insults nor oppresses," is a piece of the coarsest self-adulation. Wherever we have colonized, there have we both insulted and oppressed. The negro we have forcibly *used*: the American Indian we could not so use; him, therefore, we have destroyed. The "influence of a benevolent religion," has never been exerted to improve the worldly welfare of the natives, and the most speaking result of European intercourse is, that the coloured races have thereby been taught to paint their devil white. The New Zealander has, by the energy of his character, taught us, that he is neither to be used nor destroyed, so we must make a virtue of necessity, and civilize him.

In their intercourse with Europeans, the New Zealanders have been subjected to the influence of two classes of persons; first, to that of a lawless population, consisting of runaway sailors, and convicts from New South Wales—the very outcasts of an outcast society; and, second, to that of Christian missionaries. Nothing can be more shocking, than the conduct of the majority of the Europeans settled in New Zealand. In 1835, they numbered about two thousand, and the example set by them to the natives was a continued course of the most disgusting immorality,—of the most revolting crimes. The second chapter of the work before us, gives a description of the outcast British population of the country, and if the reader desire more ample details, he may turn to the evidence collected by the committee on Aborigines in British colonies. For our purpose, it will be sufficient to state, that the influence of this population has been, to foster and encourage all the vices of savage life, and to superadd those which are usually found accompanying civilization. Treachery has been encouraged to exercise itself with superior cunning. Murder has been taught to operate with European instruments. Tribe has been set upon tribe for the attainment of the most trifling objects. In short, on all occasions, the revengeful passions of the natives, so far from having been checked, have been made to subserve the purposes of the settlers. With this frightful load of evil, however, it cannot be denied, that some advantages have been mixed up. Low, indeed, in knowledge, must be that European, who cannot teach something to a savage.

The advantages derivable from traffic, have been exhibited by the Europeans to the New Zealanders, and the practice of many of the arts of civilized life has also been imparted. That the intercourse of the New Zealanders with this population, has not led to their total destruction, as a similar or rather much less vicious intercourse is rapidly doing in the case of the American Indians, is owing chiefly to the superior energy of the character of the former, and to their peculiar susceptibility to the civilizing influences—influences which the American Indian character seems to repel. “On s’ennui dans le village”—said a young Huron—“mais on ne s’ennui jamais dans les bois.”

The influence exercised by the missionaries, is the second influence to which we have alluded. Judging from the evidence presented by the volume before us, it is not too much to say, that all the moral improvement which has taken place may be attributed to the exertions of these cultivators of the great moral waste which the country in question presents. With these missionaries the Association has wisely determined to co-operate.

We are well aware that a prejudice exists in the minds of many persons of intelligence and sound judgment, against the employment of religious missionaries generally, as practical civilizers of the savage races. Our own knowledge leads us to believe that such prejudice, though often unwarrantably strong, is not wholly unfounded. The mere undertaking of such a mission presupposes a considerable degree of religious enthusiasm, amounting not unfrequently to fanaticism. This is a mental state to which the weak in intellect and judgment are especially liable. The persons so afflicted—we cannot but so deem it—are apt to shut out all considerations but the spread of their peculiar religious dogmas. So long as they gain “professing” converts, their sole end is attained. Such men may perhaps check, in some small degree, what they deem the *sinful* practices of a savage, but they do not much contribute to his moral improvement; they do not so mould his mind, so improve his habits, so stretch his knowledge, as to render him an improved instrument of happiness to himself and others.

The New Zealand missionaries, however, are not of this vulgar-minded class. They have shown themselves to be men of more enlarged benevolence. The good they have effected is abundantly conspicuous, and we repeat that the Association has done wisely in securing their co-operation.

Whilst we thus speak in decided terms of the sound policy of co-operating with the missionaries, we can only afford a qualified approval to the church policy of the Association.

“It is proposed,” says the ‘Plan,’ “to defray from the common fund of the colony, the expense of erecting places of worship, and of

paying the officiating ministers. * * * In the distribution of this portion of the colonial funds, no preference should be given to any one denomination of Christians. Whenever a certain number of families, either in the settlements or about to emigrate, should combine to form one congregation, they would be entitled to the means of erecting a place of worship—whether church, chapel, or meeting-house—and to a salary for their minister.”—p. 68.

For a limited period, this plan is perhaps not open to grievous objection; but when a community has attained to a considerable growth, the effect may be “to bribe the clergy into idleness.” This proposal was made by David Hume with this avowed object, he considering that the idleness of the clergy was less hurtful to society than their activity. The New Zealand Association, however, can have no such design—they perceive that the clergy have done incalculable good, and they desire to attract a greater number of such good-doers by means of a reward. The men who have already devoted themselves to the civilization and religious instruction of the New Zealanders, could only have done so from pure and exalted motives; to reward them is doubtless a safe determination; but when, by a well-concerted plan of colonization, New Zealand is made a desirable place of residence, when, moreover, a reward is held out to an emigrating priesthood, it is much to be feared the effect openly desired by Hume may take place. It appears to us, that the clergy of each denomination should be supported by their respective flocks; there would then be the strongest motive to useful exertion.

We shall now conclude. We could easily have drawn more copiously from this interesting volume, but the length to which we found it necessary to extend our exposition of the principles of colonization, compels us to abridge our remarks on this especial case of their application.*

ART. IV.—*Premier Mémoire sur les Antiquités Chrétiennes,—Peintures des Catacombs, Par M. Raoul Rochette.—Extrait du Tome xiii des Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. 4to. Paris. 1836.*

SINCE the age of Sixtus V, when the Roman catacombs, and other monuments of Christian antiquity, in the Holy City, emerged from the obscurity and neglect in which they had lain for so long a period, they have not ceased to engage the attention

* We understand that the Government have promised the grant of a Charter to the New Zealand Association.—Ed.

and excite the inquiries of the learned. Still, neither the ardour, with which these studies have been pursued, nor the success which has attended them, have sufficed to preserve them from the fate of every branch of historical or philological science. The immortal men, who rekindled the expiring embers of ancient knowledge, had applied to the study of these antiquities with that intensity of devotion, which led them on every occasion to identify themselves with the object of their research; but these inquiries had to pass the cold ordeal of scepticism and unbelief, before they recovered their due rank in the esteem of the world. Bosio, and his follower Aringhi, merely collected these remains of Christian art, without observing in them any connexion with the heathen monuments amongst which they first appeared; even the judicious observer Boldetti, confined himself too much, perhaps, to the theological point of view in which they may be considered, without paying sufficient attention to the high antiquarian and historical importance, which more critical sagacity would have drawn from them. In this respect Bottari's work* is very valuable, although it does not reach that degree of perfection, which antiquarian studies have acquired since the time of Winklemann. The unpretending simplicity of early Christian art was despised by the sceptics of the last century; but that age is past, and the superior advantages of the present state of science, have been employed by the learned of this generation, who unite science with religion, in the illustration of those neglected remains. To Visconti and Settele amongst the Italians, and Münter and Rostell in Germany, we are indebted for several learned and interesting works on Christian archæology. The splendid productions of art in the middle ages drew the attention of their admirers to the rude and imperfect attempts which had preceded them; and D'Agincourt* and others were led to trace the progressive development of art, from the mosaics which adorn the old churches, to the paintings and sculptures hidden in the sacred shade of the catacombs. These venerable monuments seemed, in the first stages of their inquiries, to be merely rude and timid essays in a new style of art, but not to have any connexion, beyond the similarity of a few symbols, with the religious art of ancient Rome. But from the number of classic emblems preserved by them, Baron Rumohr, and other learned inquirers, were convinced of the necessity of investigating the elements and principles by which these Christian artists were guided. For this purpose, they instituted a comparison between the specimens of painting and sculpture in the

* *Sculpture e pitture estratte dai Cimiteri.* Rome, 1737. 3 vols. fol.
VOL. IV.—NO. VII. H.

catacombs, and the state of art during the last centuries of the Roman Empire; and from this comparison, they have been enabled to prove, beyond contradiction, that the first Christian artists adopted not only the images, but the principles of their predecessors, and continued their style and manner of execution. In this line of inquiry, M. Raoul Rochette's work is a farther step. Aided by an extensive and profound acquaintance with the elements, progress, perfection, and decay of ancient art, he has undertaken to illustrate, in a series of essays, the close connexion, which he supposes to subsist, between the paintings, sculptures, glass vessels, and other remains found in the catacombs, and the classic art of the Romans; with reference chiefly to the subjects of them, or the uses to which they were applied. The first of this series of essays, which treats of the paintings of the catacombs, answers fully the expectations which the well-merited celebrity of the author had excited. We shall follow him in his demonstration, which is generally complete and convincing; although, on some points, he indulges too much in conjectures.

There is no reason to fear that the result of these inquiries will tend to diminish the veneration with which these specimens of Christian art have been regarded. Religion gains by truth; and it is her noblest triumph that, without yielding to the mighty and all-prevailing influence of the religion and world, in the midst of which she arose, she purified and hallowed their images and principles of art, by adapting them to a more divine form of worship. The catacombs existed before the Christians began to use them. Under the Republic, there were, out of the Esquiline gate, extensive mines of puzzolana, which served as burial places for the poor. According to the different purposes for which they were used, they were termed *arenariæ* and *puticuli*,* and though they were diminished in number and extent, by the villa which Mæcenas erected in that place, some parts of them were open in the following centuries. It is very probable that the Christian cemetery near the ancient church of St. Bibiana, called *ad ursum pileatum*, was on the very site of the pagan one, which we know to have existed in that neighbourhood.† If the Christians inherited the burial-places of their forefathers, why may they not have followed their manner

* See Cic. pro Cluent. c. 18. Varro L.L. iv. p. 18, 12. Festus a. v. puticulos.

† M. Raoul Rochette (p. 43) supposes that the catacombs of S.S. Peter and Marcellinus, near St. John Lateran, correspond to the ancient *arenariæ*. But, as it is positively stated by Horace, and others, that Mæcenas built his famous villa just upon them, a villa which we know from Tacitus (Ann. xv. 39), and Suetonius (Neron. c. 32), to have been on the site of the modern villa Negroni, north of the Esquiline gate, his conjecture does not seem well founded.

of adorning them? But, while they adopted their images and emblems, they laid aside their profane application, and invested them with a deep and holy significancy. This important change is not sufficiently kept before the reader, though satisfactorily proved and recognised by M. Rochette. In fact, we very often find in the catacombs the figure of Orpheus, in a Phrygian dress, the well-known cap on his head, the lyre in his left hand, sitting amongst various animals that are listening to his song. But it is not the Orpheus of Greek mythology whom we behold, but the mysterious teacher and prophet of revealed truth; that other Orpheus, whom the pagans, in the closing days of their religion, no longer pleased with the oft-told fables of their poets, and imbued with the tenets of the Neo-platonic and Oriental philosophy, almost allowed to have alluded, in obscure poems, to the future bliss of a redemption; whom Alexander Severus, anxious to supply, by a kind of compromise between the different creeds of his age, the want of a united and general religion, joined in his *lararium* with the images of Jesus Christ, Abraham, and Apollonius of Tyana; whom Theophilus of Antioch, and Clement of Alexandria, taught to be a symbolical representation of God made man, and alluring the hearts of men by the charm of his words.* Among the animals grouped around him, we observe the peacock, the emblem of immortality, the dove, symbolic of internal peace, which are the blessings of faith and baptism. Some of these paintings contain the figure of an old man, whose dress, features, and appearance, resemble those of the famous statues of the Tiber and the Nile; this classic image is used to represent the sacred stream of Jordan. Orpheus, we have said, stands for a prophet and forerunner of Jesus Christ amongst men; the *sibyls*, sometimes by themselves, sometimes joined with the prophets, appear as his female foretellers. So indeed they were generally considered. Their books had been collected by Augustus, and during the time the Empire lasted, they were held as oracles; and the Christians, even those in high stations, such as Constantine, soon began to refer their predictions to our Saviour. The Christians, as has been observed before, continued to use, as if by right of inheritance, the sepulchral ornaments of their ancestors; and this remark is illustrated from the figures of the Muses, who, as in the sepulchre of the Nasonian family, appear to sing the praises of the deceased. One of the most curious examples of this mixture of Christian and classic style of art, is a picture on one of the arched monuments in the cemetery of St. Priscilla,† under the ancient

* Clem. Alex. cohort ad gent. in primo.

† Bosio: *Rom. Sotter.* p. 474. Bottari *Pittura*, t. iii. tav. clx. p. 100-1.

Via Salaria, the most celebrated of the catacombs. It represents a Christian, perhaps a martyr, surrounded by emblems of the meritorious actions of his life. On each side, is apparently one of the muses, as in the Nasonian tomb. On the two corners, above the arch, are figures of Victory, in the attitude of flying, who hold a palm and wreath above his head; while in the interior of the vault, are two victors in the games, with their usual dress, seated on a quadriga, and holding a palm and garland in their hands. We see likewise pegasus and the eagle, animals which, in ancient tombs, are symbolic of the apotheosis of the deceased. In one part is a Bacchanalian, with a thyrsis and bunch of grapes in her hands, and followed by a panther. All these emblems are well understood, when found on ancient sepulchres; but in a Christian cemetery, they have another meaning, which is easily discovered. The whole painting exhibits the course of a well-spent life, compared to the race in the circus; and closed by a glorious end, indicated by the palm and garlands borne by the figures of Victory; and rewarded by a happy immortality, shadowed forth by the image of Pegasus and the eagles. We may observe, in passing, that the emblem of victory with a palm and garland, by a decree of the Congregation of Relics and Indulgences, published at Rome in 1660, is a valid proof that the inmate of the tomb on which it is, had been martyred. The bacchanalian would embarrass us, if we did not know the constant reference made by Christian and ancient artists to the seasons of the year in which persons had died, especially to that season, in which men are reaped by death, or pressed like mature grapes to prepare them for a better life. We have chosen one picture for all, to show, by one example, how the symbols of two religions, at first view so repugnant in their application, may be reconciled together. Besides the natural and usual meaning of many of these images, there was another cause which led to their employment, arising from a mutual disposition in both Christians and heathens to adopt some of the customs or symbols of each other; on the part of the heathens, who sought to revive their religion, and regenerate its influence, by professing and admitting doctrines borrowed from all the philosophical systems of that period; on the part of both, to apply to their own religion all the various prophecies which were afloat in the last centuries of the empire, to rely on the false poems of Orpheus and the Sibyls, and to believe in the tenets of the Neo-platonic philosophers; but many were led, by an excess of this disposition, into the Gnostian heresy.

The image of the Bacchanal just mentioned leads us to speak of one of the emblems, most frequently to be seen not only in

the Catacombs, but out on Sarcophagi, and executed in mosaic on the walls and roofs of the Basilicas; it is taken from the different stages of the vintage. The allegorical meaning of vines and grapes is eminently Christian; and is based on the express words of our Saviour (S. John xv. 8). But, in the Catacombs, this allegorical image is seldom used in the original form, in which our Saviour is compared to a vine. Some lamps,* on the side of which the Good Shepherd is represented, with a border of grapes round the edges, are the only remains that seem to allude to the allegory of St. John. On the other hand, the complete allegory drawn from grapes, matured by the seasons, and pressed by Genii into costly wine, which we admire on several ancient monuments, especially in the wonderful Vatican Sarcophagus, and the Mausoleum of Constantine's daughter (now the Church of St. Constantia out of the Porta Pia), is entirely copied from Greek or Roman originals, the adoption of which, and their application to a Christian meaning, was authorised by the comparison made by Christ. The principle, which allowed the introduction of some of the classic emblems for a religious purpose, and with a Christian meaning, was properly understood to justify the admission of others, such as masks, animals, and Bacchanalians, provided that the same rule of adding a Christian application to the original image was strictly followed.

Subjects taken from Scripture were frequently described by the use of corresponding Heathen images. But the analogy which M. Raoul Rochette (p. 20-23) discovers between the history of Jonas, and the manner in which it is represented, and some obscure Greek fables, does not appear to us very striking. It is true that a painting in the first chapel of the cemetery of St. Calixtus (to which alone the name of Catacomb ought to be given), exhibiting the prophet Jonas, swallowed and cast forth by a sea-monster, offers some resemblance to a beautiful vase in the Gregorian Museum,† which represents Jason cast out by a dragon; but little analogy can be drawn from any similarity in the representation of an action which could not have been differently described. * Besides, the Etruscan vases, on which the story of Jason is found, belong to a much earlier period of art, and, therefore, will not easily admit of a just comparison with an image which may as well be supposed to belong to the fifth as to the second century. The sea-monster which devoured Jonas is

* See Bosio Rom. Sotter, p. 337.

† First published by M. Gerhard. *Jason des Drachen Bute ein Programm.* Berlin, 1835. Compare the ingenious paper of M. Welcher on the same subject, *Rheinisches Museum*, iii. p. 503-4.

completely different from Jason's dragon, and has not much resemblance to the monster that threatened Andromeda or Hesione, on some monuments which are adduced by M. Raoul Rochette to strengthen his analogy.

A much more striking resemblance has been found between the manner in which the history of Noah and the Deluge is exhibited in the Catacombs, and several Greek medals, struck under the reigns of Septimius Severus, Macrinus, and Philippus Arabs, at Apamea, in Phrygia. These medals not only bear the image of two persons, a man and a woman, sailing in an open ark over the waves, and on the reverse, standing upright in an attitude of prayer; but even two doves, one reposing on the covercle of the ark, the other flying with a branch. The words ΝΩ or ΝΩΕ inscribed on the ark on some of them, and sufficiently illustrated by ΝΚ on others, means *Νεοκυρῶν*, a common title, used on Greek medals, to designate the Greek inhabitants of Apamea.* Precisely the same representation is given by Bottari† from the cemetery of St. Calixtus, so that M. Rochette's opinion that both monuments are only copies from the same original, is highly probable. Indeed, the fable of Deucalion, in its primitive form, is so like the history of Noah, that as early as the third century it was understood by Origen‡ to be merely an altered tradition of the Deluge recorded in Scripture. From these considerations we may easily conceive why the Christian artists, rude and awkward as they were in their first attempts, borrowed suitable images to express similar objects.

The chief portion of our author's memoir is dedicated to the illustration of two most important points of Christian Archæology, the image of the *Good Shepherd*, and the origin of the *Agapés*, as connected with the tombs of the Martyrs. It would seem absurd to doubt that the first had a Christian source, when we find it alluded to in the Scripture itself; if we did not perceive some difference between the original conception of the idea, and the manner in which it is expressed by Christian artists. Assuredly, the touching image of the Good Shepherd is derived from the sacred words of our Saviour;§ and that it was employed at an early period, by the Christians, as an ornament on their cups, is positively stated by Tertullian|| and

* This comparison had been previously made and illustrated by Dr. Wiseman, in his "Lectures on the Connexion between Science and Religion." Lect. ix. vol. ii. p. 129 and seq.

† *Pitture* t. ii. tav. lxx.

‡ *Contra Cels.* lib. iv. p. 192 ed. Cantab.

§ *Luc.* xv. 4. *John* x. 11.

|| *De Pudicit.* c. 7. *A parabolis licet incipias, ubi est oris perdita à domino requisita et humeris ejus respecta? procedant ipsæ picturæ calicem vestrorum, &c.* *Ibid* c. 10. *Pastor quem in calice pingis.*

others. Nevertheless, if we compare the most ancient picture in the Catacombs, in which this subject is treated,* with the manner in which it is executed on the Nasonian sepulchre, as published by Belfori,† we shall find a most extraordinary resemblance between them. In the Christian picture, appears the Good Shepherd with the *pedum*, or 'crook' of the ancients, bearing a lamb on his shoulders, and surrounded by four figures, allegorically signifying the four seasons; the third of them, Autumn, being distinguished by the classic attribute of a cornucopia. Now, on the corresponding picture of the Nasonian tomb, the same scene is described, with this only difference, that the animal borne by the shepherd is not a sheep but a goat; a variety which is not without example even on Christian monuments‡. But this is not a solitary case, and M. Raoul Rochette quotes several other examples of the same kind, which we omit. But we must not pass over the most remarkable point in this comparison; we mean the accumulation of classic attributes to illustrate the same idea on Christian monuments, in many paintings, lamps, and sarcophagi. Besides the four seasons, to which we have referred, we meet with symbols of the sun, a bust with rays round the head; and Night, with an unfolded veil and the crescent on her forehead; we see the Good Shepherd himself holding the *syrix*, an instrument confessedly pagan, and clothed in the usual classic dress of herdsmen. From all these proofs, it may be readily inferred, that the Christians, to express one of the most beautiful ideas of their creed, chose to avail themselves, with a different application, of a symbolic type already used by the ancients in adorning their graves.

We do not so fully approve of our author's theory respecting the origin of the *Agapés*. The custom of the ancient Christians to hold a solemn feast, and eat together, near the tomb of a martyr, on the day of his death, is generally known, and was a favourite subject with Christian artists. A long series of pictures shows us this institution in the various stages of its progress, from the primitive simplicity of a meal consisting of meat, bread and eggs, to the more festive *Agapés* of later times, when we see the whole course of a Roman entertainment; an entire animal brought to table, young slaves who act as cup-bearers, and even two female servants to mix and taste the dishes (*præ-gustatrices*), as we find them in many classic paintings and bassi

* Bosio. Rom. Sc't. p. 303. Bottari, Pitture, t. ii. tav. lv. p. 17.

† Pict. antiq. Sepulchr. Nason. tab. xxii. p. 58.

‡ See, for instance, the picture from the Cemetery of S.S. Peter and Marcellinus, in Bottari. Pitt. tav. clii. p. 133, and two bassi-relievi in the same collection, tom. i. tav. xx. and xxxvi.

rilievi.* By such steps, had these institutions—in their origin so full of pious and simple innocence—degenerated, that they were transferred from the Catacombs to the Basilicas, and at last entirely forbidden. M. Raoul Rochette, after Justus Lipsius (ad Tacit. Ann. VI. 5), draws a parallel between these feasts and some Pagan festivals, which he concludes to have been the original from which the former were copied. Certainly, they bear a close resemblance. The Greeks and Romans were accustomed to celebrate with libations, sacrifices, and festive entertainments, to which their friends and relations were invited, the memory of their departed friends on the anniversary of their death. Those who were unable to entertain their friends, contented themselves with leaving on the graves some meats, with wine and water. The analogy between these Christian and Pagan rites would go far to establish that the Christian Agapés were greatly increased, and rendered more luxurious by the example of the Pagans; this fact is not only clearly proved by our author, but testified in the most express terms by several of the Fathers.† We concede to him, therefore, that to this circumstance may fairly be ascribed many peculiarities in the paintings of the Agapés, which are taken from classic originals. But we assert that the origin of this institution was wholly Christian, although M. Raoul Rochette has only incidentally mentioned this point. The first *Agapés* as well as the first martyr belong to the Holy Land, and are several times mentioned by the Apostles themselves,‡ who, perhaps, gave the first impulse to them, by meeting together at Pentecost in a similar way. At Jerusalem, the Greek and Roman festival was probably unknown; or, at least, if known, would have very little influence in leading the Jews, and, consequently, the first Christian community, to follow the custom. Moreover, the *Agapé* was not confined to funeral ceremonies, but took place on occasion of nuptials, births, and dedications, when certainly they could not be in imitation of the Pagan funeral rites. We, therefore, do not hesitate to conclude that, however they may have been influenced or altered by the example of the Roman festivals, both in their origin and first adoption, they were essentially Christian.

If the succeeding memoirs of M. Raoul Rochette should prove of equal interest, we shall not delay in giving our readers an account of them.

* Bottari. Pitt. t. ii. tav. cxxvii. p. 168.

† See the passages collected by Boldetti, Osservazioni, &c. p. 46-7. St. Ambrose expressly forbade the continuation of the Agapés, because, says St. Augustine (Confess. vi. 2), "Illa parentalia superstitioni gentilium essent simillima."

‡ St. Paul, i. Corinth. xi. 33. St. Jude, Ep. 12.

- ART. V.—1. *La Chanson de Roland, ou de Roncevaux, du XII^e Siècle.* Publiée pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Bodleienne, à Oxford, par Francisque Michel. 8vo. Paris. 1837.
2. *Roman de la Violette ; ou, de Gerard de Nevers, en vers, du XIII^e Siècle.* Par Gibert de Montreuil. Publié pour la première fois d'après deux manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale. Par Francisque Michel. 8vo. Paris. 1834.
3. *Miracle de Nostre Dame, de Robert le Diable, fils du Duc de Normandie, à qui il fut enjoint pour ses meffais qu'il feist le fol sans parler : et depuis et Nostre Seigneur Mercy de li ; et espousa la fille de l'Empereur.* Publié pour la première fois d'après un MS. du XIV^e Siècle, de la Bibliothèque du Roi ; par plusieurs Membres de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. 8vo. Rouen. 1836.
4. *Roman de Rou, et des Ducs de Normandie.* Par Robert Wace, Poète Anglo-Normande du XII^e Siècle. Publié pour la première fois, &c. par Frédéric Pluquet. 2 vols. 8vo. Rouen. 1827.
5. *Le Roman de Brut.* Par Robert Wace, &c. Publié pour la première fois, &c. par Le Roux de Lincy. Tom I. 8vo. Paris, 1836.
6. *Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie, ou de Benoit.* Publié &c. par Francisque Michel. 4to. Tom. I. Paris. 1837.
7. *Le Roman de Mahomet, en vers, du XII^e Siècle.* Par Alex. du Pont. *Et Livre de la Loi au Sarrasin, en prose, du XIV^e Siècle.* Publié &c. par M. Reinand. 8vo. Paris. 1831.
8. *Le Roman du Comte de Poitiers, en vers, du XIII^e Siècle.* Publié &c. par Francisque Michel. 8vo. Paris. 1831.
9. *Poésies de Marie de France, Poète Anglo-Normande, du XIII^e Siècle.* Publiées pour la première fois par J. B. de Roquefort, 2 vols. 8vo. Rouen. 1834.
10. *Essais Historiques sur les Bardes, les Jongleurs, et les Trouvères Normands et Anglo-Normands, &c.* Par M. l'Abbé de la Rue. 3 vols. 8vo. Caen. 1834.

THESE are a few of the works which have recently been published, partly at the instance of the French government, and partly through individual enterprise. They are, however, sufficient for our present object—an historic glance at the origin and nature of the Breton and Norman poetry.

The connexion of Norman poetry with that of Brittany has not obtained its due share of attention. Brittany, indeed, is the immediate source not only of the Christian lore so abundant in the early compositions of both provinces, but of the most numer-

ous and most celebrated pieces which have been regarded as peculiar to the sister province. Brittany, therefore, has not received her due share of honour from literary antiquaries, either in England or France; she has not been revered as the source of the most exquisite poems in the vernacular language of Normandy. When, in addition, we remember the close affinity between the inhabitants of Armorica and those of Cornwall and Wales, we find that our own glory as a nation has been compromised by this ignorance of—or might we not rather say indifference to—a branch of literature so intimately connected with our own. Independently, however, of this connexion, the subject has, in itself, interest for most readers,—for all indeed, except such as have allowed their taste to be vitiated by our current literature.

If we would ascertain the origin of Breton, and consequently of Norman poetry, we must ascend to a much higher antiquity than is generally supposed,—to the period of the earliest records concerning the state of Gaul. On this subject we all know from childhood the testimony of Cæsar, that the whole learning of the Druids was contained in verse. He is confirmed by Possidonius and Diodorus, by Pomponius Mela and Strabo, by Lucan and Ælian, by Ammianus and Julian, by Justus and Prudentius, by Fortunatus and Salvian, by St. Cesarius of Arles, St. Gregory of Tours, and a host besides. The pieces to which these writers allude are in the native language of Gaul; and we have indubitable proof that it was written, no less than spoken, down to the eleventh century. The testimonies of each succeeding age, from St. Irenæus down to Dudo de St. Quentin, have not escaped the literary antiquaries of France, least of all the Abbé de la Rue, whose researches have thrown a new light on the intellectual condition of the western provinces.—But how connect the well-known poetry and lore of Gaul with those of Brittany and Normandy? The task, we think, will not be difficult. We all know that when the Franks invaded Gaul, many of the inhabitants fled to the woods of Neustria, Armorica, and Aquitaine, not so much, perhaps, in the hope of entirely escaping the yoke as of living where its iron weight would be less oppressive. That they carried with them old recollections, their traditionary lore, their attachment to poetry, nobody will deny. Hence it is that in these forests we must seek for traces of that lingering spirit, which, in more ancient times, had thrown its spell over the whole of Gaul; and we have more than probability for the inference that the Breton^a lays, so common in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, were founded on the compositions of the Gaulish bards. Of these bards we read as late as the sixth century, and we learn that they flourished not in Brittany only, but throughout France;

until the troubles of the times, the barbarity of the warriors, and the tyranny of the most abominable princes (the Merovingians) that ever swayed sceptre, silenced their voices, and compelled them to seek an asylum in the western provinces. From this period, viz. the sixth century, we hear no more of them by name in the rest of France. There can, however, be little doubt that in Armorica they formed an uninterrupted chain from that century to the thirteenth. The influx of the Cornish Britons about the close of the fifth century has been supposed to have affected, in some degree, the traditional lore of the province. But this presumption is scarcely tenable; for the Gauls and the Welsh were of the same Celtic stock; they spoke the same or a kindred dialect; their religion, prior to the reception of Christianity, was the same; and that this had long been the case, is evident from the assertion of Cæsar, that the youths of Gaul were sent into Britain to be educated, because Druidism was there taught in its most perfect form. As, therefore, there was no difference in religion, none in learning, probably none in language, between the inhabitants of Gaul and those of Britain, the immigration of so considerable a portion of the latter into Brittany, could not much affect the traditional lore of the province. Nor have we any reason to infer that it was at all corrupted by intercourse with the Frank conquerors. *They* indeed were not eager for such intercourse. The dynasty which they had established was, as they well knew, repugnant to the inhabitants, who hated them for it, and for centuries were at open war with them. In fact, from the accession of Clovis to that of Charlemagne, the people of western Gaul enjoyed an independence little inferior to that of the Cumberland and Lancashire Britons during the same period of Saxon domination. And after the death of that monarch, the dissensions of his successors, and still more the gradual establishment of the feudal system, which rendered one province independent of another, and left to the lord a jurisdiction over his vassal more nominal than real, prevented the Franks from subjugating the western districts. In reality those districts were never subjugated: by intermarriage and by treaty only did they pass into the possession of Hugh Capet's descendants. It is, therefore, evident that this language and lore could not be much affected, either by the immigration of the kindred Britons, or by the intrusion of the victors.

Before we endeavour to establish the alleged affinity between the poets of Brittany and those of ancient Gaul, the inquisitive reader may possibly ask, "Where *are* those of Brittany? *Who* are they? *When* did they exist?" These questions a century ago were often asked. As no song, no piece of any kind referable

to ancient times, has descended to us, the existence of a Celtic literature was either doubted or positively denied. The publication, however, of so many Norman poems, has enabled us to give a satisfactory answer to such queries. They prove that the most popular portion of Norman literature was immediately derived from that of the Celtic Bretons; that it was translated from the Armorican, founded on Armorican traditions, and applicable to Armorican localities, or to the localities of the kindred region on the opposite coast. Let us adduce a few of the facts by which the existence of this Celtic literature or traditionary lore is established, ascending from the comparatively modern to the ancient: 1. Chaucer shall be our first witness:—

“Thise olde gentil Bretons in hir dayes
Of diverse aventures maden layes,
Rimeyed in hir firste Breton tongue
Which layes with her instrumens they songe.”

Some, indeed, of Chaucer's illustrations are avowedly taken from Armorica. Whether he was acquainted with the language may be doubted; but he would have easy access to much of its literature through the channel of the French and Latin. 2. In the English Romances, published by Ellis and Ritson, which even in their present form are as old as the age of Chaucer, we have frequent allusions to a Breton original. Thus in the *Lay of Emare*:—

“This is one of Brytaigne layes
That was used by olde dayes.”

Now, if in the fourteenth century such originals were represented as *olde*, we might infer that Armorica is behind no country in Europe in the antiquity of its vernacular literature. 3. But we may ascend higher, and yet find these lays received as *ancient*. Thus, early in the thirteenth century Marie de France distinctly and frequently assures us that *all* her pieces were translated from Breton originals,—originals too which she qualifies as *mult viels*, or very old. And she highly praises the custom of committing remarkable adventures to writing, or at least turning them into lays, and singing them to the harp or violin. Thus in the *Lai de Gugemer*:—

“Li contes ke je sai verais
Dont li Bretun ont fait les lais,
Vus cuntarei asez briefement,
El chéf de cest comencement;
Selonc la lettre à l'escriture
Vus cuntarei un aventure,
Ki en Bretagne la Menur
A tint al tems ancienur.”

If such adventures were ancient in the early part of the thirteenth century, what must have been their real antiquity? 4. *Denis Pyramus*, the contemporary of Marie, confirms her testimony, calls the Breton lays very old, and asserts that much of her popularity was owing to her judicious translations from that language into the Norman. 5. But, in the twelfth century, there are more allusions to Breton originals than even in the thirteenth, and what is more remarkable, they are still called *ancient*. Thus *Chrestien de Troyes* informs us, that he derived from them the materials of his *Chevalier au Lion*; and like Marie, he passes a high eulogium on the ardour with which that people composed songs in honour of celebrated men. The subjects of his other works must have been derived from the same source; for they are in an equal degree conversant with the personages of Welsh and Armorican romance. 6. Again, early in the twelfth century, Geoffrey of Monmouth translated into Latin the Armorican story of *Brut*, which the Archdeacon of Oxford had brought from Brittany. The objection which, half a century ago, was urged against Geoffrey—that he did not translate at all, but that he composed a new work—is no longer tenable, and after the triumphant vindication of his fidelity by modern critics, will no longer be made to insult the common sense of mankind. 7. In the same age, Foulques of Marseilles, Alexander de Bernay, the author of the French *Geste of King Horn*, and a score besides, allude not only to the abundance, but to the antiquity, of the Breton lays.

It is manifest, then, that from the twelfth century downwards, the Bretons had a great number of poems much admired by the Normans, the English and the French, and much venerated for their antiquity. And now for the connexion between the authors and the ancient bards of Gaul. Of these bards, as we have already seen, there is continual mention from the first century before Christ to the sixth century after him. Previous to this latter period, their compositions are called *Carmina*; but thenceforward we read no more of bards; and poetic compositions are called by a new name—*leudi* or *liedi*, which has always been rendered *lays*. Fortunatus of Poitiers is the first writer that employs these words in reference to the barbaric poems, and at the same time he tells us, that they were sung to music; *barbaros leudos harpa relidebat*. But, it may be said, *barbaros* does not here apply to the Bretons in particular; it is a generic term as applicable to the Germans as to them. This is true; but the following distich is explicit enough:—

“ Romanusque lyrâ, plaudat tibi barbarus harpâ,
Græcus achiliacâ, chrotta Britannâ sonat.”

This *chrotta* or *rota* was similar to the harp: it had five strings. As the same lay was sometimes termed *lai de rota*, at others *lai de harp*, we may infer, that both instruments were indifferently used. Sometimes the players were called *citharoedi*, at other times *joculatores*, which was soon corrupted into *juglatores* and *jongleurs*. They are frequently so named in the *Capitularia Regum Francorum*; in the *Acta Conciliorum Provincialium*, in the works of historians, in the epistles and acts of saints. That the authors of the Breton lays, the jongleurs, were, though differing in denomination, precisely the same as the ancient bards, is manifest. The bards, says Possidonius, accompanied the warrior of Gaul to the field of battle, and sang his exploits; so did the jongleurs—witness the victory of Charles the Bold (868), over Count Gerard; that of William, Duke of Normandy, at Hastings (1066), where Taillefer so lustily chaunted; and the assault against Chatellon (1096), by Burgundian confederates. The bards, says Possidonius, were maintained at the expense of the great, whose ancestral deeds they celebrated; so were the jongleurs,—witness the court of Charlemagne, that of Ludovic his son, that of Richard I, Duke of Normandy, that of the Conqueror, and of all his immediate successors. Again, according to the same Possidonius, the praises bestowed by the bards were, often outrageous, and he adduces Luernius as an example; so, according to the annalist Rigord, who lived under Philip Augustus, were those of the jongleurs. The bards sang in the assemblies of the people; so did the jongleurs. The bards sometimes wandered from palace to palace, from monastery to monastery, from house to house; so did the jongleurs. The person of the bard was sacred; so was that of the jongleur or minstrel. In Wales and Armorica, the bards formed an organized corporation—witness the Laws of Howel Dha, A.D. 900. That the jongleurs were members of a similar confederation, is evident from the ordonnances of the French kings in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Such are a few of the points of resemblance between the ancient bards of Gaul, and the jongleurs of Brittany and Normandy. They are sufficient to establish the proposition, that the latter are the legitimate descendants of the former, and that from Cæsar to our Henry III, the tuneful art in the western provinces of France witnessed no interruption. Connect this fact with the other, that Brittany was the immediate (perhaps not the original) source of Norman poetic literature, or at least of that important branch of it the romantic, and we have the key to both the origin and progress of metrical romance in the west of Europe. Let us now more particularly investigate the nature of that romance.

Brittany has been called the cradle of romantic fiction. The assertion is somewhat loose. How much of its traditionary law was derived from other countries—from England for example? One of the two regions *must* have been indebted to the other; for, as we have before observed, the personages, the events, the allusions, are common to both. It is Arthur and his knights, Morgan and her attendant fairies, Merlin and his wonders, that occur in both. Now, as this ancient lore was originally applicable to Wales, and the British principalities in other parts of the island, in a degree that may be denominated peculiar; and as a great multitude of settlers arrived from Britain in Armorica during the fifth and sixth centuries, the rational inference is, that the obligation was conferred by the island on the province. But, in both, events and characters essentially historic, were equally corrupted. Thus, in regard to King Arthur: the Welsh triadists describe him as a hero, a patriot, a just monarch; but they do not invest him with supernatural qualities of any kind. They were nearly contemporary with him, and time had not cast her magnifying veil over him and his actions. But when Nennius wrote, fable had wonderfully advanced: then Merlin, born indeed of woman but not by man, with his two portentous serpents and his magic fortress, was hailed as a true prophet: then Arthur was the favourite and ally of supernatural powers. Such, in three short centuries, had been the progress of fable! In three more it was prodigious: witness the *Brut* of Geoffrey and that of Wace. The latter ecclesiastic, credulous as he undoubtedly is, was not insensible to the corruptions which the Welsh and Armorican bards had introduced into the vernacular song:—

“ Tant ont li conteor conté,
Et li fableor tant fablé,
Por lor conte embeleter
Ke tot ont fait fables sembler.”

Again:

“ Fist roy Artur la Ronde table
Dont li Breton dient mainte fable.”

Chrestien de Troyes ascribes these corruptions to the vagabonds who wandered from place to place to earn a subsistence by singing and playing. There can be no doubt that there is great truth in the charge. The jongleurs—hence our word jugglers—soon learned the arts of buffoonery, legerdemain, &c. and rendered what had once been a noble profession, vile. But because poets, and even historians, perverted events, are we to conclude that no such events ever happened? There was once a Cyrus, though eastern romance has strangely altered his character. There was once an Alexander, though even greater

liberties have been taken with *his* memory. There was once an Odin, though the superstition of ages has elevated him from a mortal to a divinity. There was once an Arthur and a Charlemagne, though the same creative power has invested them with attributes, or at least ascribed to them actions, above the capacity of man. When such preposterous claims are asserted in favour of any historical character, we are provoked to reject, not merely them, but the very existence of the personage. They injure his fame. Such, in reference to Arthur for instance, was the complaint of the Malmesbury librarian, one of the most judicious of our early historians. The fate of the British monarch, he well observes, is deserving of something better than a fabulous commemoration. The same charge is brought against the bards by Giraldus Cambrensis, who asserts that they invented many of the prophecies ascribed to Merlin, and that the style of these prophecies demonstrated the imposition. There is indeed reason to infer, that almost every new writer added something to the heap of fable.

But the distortion of historic facts does not constitute the sole, or even the chief, characteristic of Norman poetry. It has a mythology, in some respects kindred with others, but in many distinct from all. It has its giants, fairies, dragons, serpents, enchanted palaces, and other marvels, which have for ages entered into the composition of our romances of chivalry. Whence was this mythology derived? From the Arabs, through the medium of Spain, says Warburton. From the east, through the channel of Scandinavia, says Percy. From the east, through both channels, viz. Spain and northern Europe, says Warton. From no foreign country at all, says Huet, who stoutly maintains that they are indigenous in the Celtic soil. None of these hypotheses is strictly just; but we are certain that though the last is too exclusive, it is by far the nearest to the truth. In regard to the alleged transmission of one fiction from the east, the *peri* of that part of the world is not the fairy of European superstition: in the former case, there is one gender only for that imaginary being; in the other, there is the distinction of sex. The northern fairy, indeed, has some resemblance to the Celtic one; but the Norman writers acknowledge that they did not introduce the belief into Brittany; that, on the contrary, they derived the belief from it. That province, therefore, was not indebted to the north of Europe for this branch of superstition. In fact it could not be: for the belief existed in Gaul as far back at least as the first century of the Christian era. What were the nine priestesses whom Pomponius Mela places in the Isle of Seine, but so many fairies? They held,

says the author, the dominion of the winds and waves; they could assume any shape; they could heal any disease; and the future was unveiled to them. He is confirmed by Strabo, who represents them as equally wonderful in popular estimation. Now these are the very fairies of the twelfth century,—those whom Geoffrey of Monmouth, in conformity with Welsh tradition, places in the Fortunate or Apple Islands. To these islands, the seat of these beings, was Arthur, after the battle of Camblan, conveyed, by the most excellent of pilots, Barinthus; there he was hospitably received by Morgan and her eight sisters; and from them, if tradition be true, he will one day return to resume the sceptre of Britain. We have said in conformity with *Welsh* tradition; for the Bretons have a different locality for the abode of the nine sisters; or at least they have, in their own territory, another which these fabulous personages honoured by their presence. It is the renowned forest of Brechelian, near Quintin, that superstition, during so many ages, regarded as sacred to them. In the twelfth, and even the thirteenth century, they were believed to be often visible within those magic precincts, and to perform the same wonders as of yore. That forest is the favourite scene of chivalric adventures. To it Chrestien de Troyes conducts his most renowned knights; he brings them into contact with its monsters, and with the wild man their ruler; he makes them subdue lions, leopards, serpents, and what is more, the force of magic. And there is a fountain in the locality, no less celebrated than the other wonders. The paladin of Chrestien approaches it, perceives the golden basin tied to the oak which overshadows it, draws with that basin the water from the fountain, witnesses the sudden terrific storm caused by the action, and is summoned to encounter the most alarming of dangers: he has provoked the mysterious knight, whom he must combat, and who is thought impervious to mortal arms. This description by Chrestien has a parallel in our own romance,—a romance, however, translated, or rather imitated, from his *Mesure d'Amour*. It is entitled *Iwain and Gawain*, and is in the well-known collection of Ritson. Both in Chrestien and Ritson, the whole description is exceedingly imaginative,—far more so than any thing of modern invention, from Spenser to Byron inclusive.

Were, the inquisitive reader may ask, such wonders credited by any people above the most vulgar condition? If credulity, the everlasting concomitant of ignorance, spread her empire over the great bulk of mankind, did the educated, did the clergy, for instance, feel her power? Let the question be answered by the celebrated ecclesiastic Wace. At the present day it would

scarcely be credited that he undertook a journey to the forest of Brechelian expressly for the purpose of seeing with his own eyes the wonders it was said to contain;—the well, the stone, the basin, the mystic knight, the fairies, and the wild man who held the most ferocious beasts tame and gentle as lambs. Yet that such was the fact is certain from his own confession. In his account of William the Conqueror, he digresses and relates the execution of his purpose. He went to see marvels; he arrived at the forest, examined the ground, and was for some time much excited by anticipation; but, though his desire was to discover marvels, he found none; and in sheer vexation, he adds that he returned as great a fool as he went:

“La allai jo merveille quere,
Vis la foret à vis la tere.
Merveille quis, mes nes trouvai,
Fol m'en revins, fol y allai.”

The legends concerning this place must have been very generally believed, or Wace would never have journeyed so far for such an object. Hue de Mery, author of the *Tourney of Antichrist*, was not so honest as this churchman, or perhaps he was more of a wag. He asserts that he visited the wondrous forest; that he saw the chapel, the stone, the basin, the well: that he drew the water, sustained the tempest, and the onset of the mysterious knight; in short, he averred that the ancient tradition was the truest thing in the world. To the same wonders allusion is made by Walter of Metz, who dwells at length on the forest of Brechelian, where, as he relates, Merlin perished through the malignity of the nine fairies. We must, however, observe that these ladies were not always, nor even generally so vindictive. On the contrary, they were remarkably distinguished for benevolence, though it was sometimes capriciously exhibited. They frequently embroidered garments for some favourite noble; often they furnished him with steed and arms; and, occasionally, they carried their attachment so far as to become the wives of the great barons. Many families boasted of their descent from such marriages.

The mythology contained in the works of the Norman trouvères, and by consequence in the Breton originals, does not appear to have been derived in any great degree from the north of Europe, or Asia, or any other region; much of it was unquestionably indigenous to the Celtic race. If introduced into Gaul, for instance, the period must have been prior to all historic records. But was communication between distant and savage nations so easy and so common that elaborate systems of mythology could be conveyed from the mountains of Persia to those of

Wales? Far more rational is the inference that the traditional lore in question is a relic of the Celtic faith, and received long before Christianity was vouchsafed to the world. Probably all the nations of that race, and all the branches of the Cimbri, from whence the Celts undoubtedly sprung, had some common system which the endless migrations of so many people have diffused throughout Europe, but the vestiges of which are more conspicuous in some countries than in others, owing to the greater degree of tranquillity, so far, at least, as regards foreign assailants, possessed by the inhabitants. The Scandinavian, the Basque, the Scottish Highlander, the Welshman, the Breton, have suffered little from external aggression; they have not been compelled to forsake their native mountains and forests by restless armies of invaders. Among such people, therefore, traditional lore has subsisted in greater purity from the most ancient times to the present. Not that it has wholly escaped corruption. If we take into consideration one prominent branch of it, that of its imaginary deities, the introduction of Christianity must necessarily have made a great change in general opinion, respecting not merely the powers but the existence of these deities. But we must not forget that the influence of the new faith was by no means uniform. Where the apostles and their immediate disciples personally laboured, where miracles were openly wrought, where a high degree of civilization existed, its triumphs were more speedy and more splendid. But in places far removed from the sphere of their labours, where no such wonders were exhibited; in times remote from those which they illustrated; and in regions where civilization was unknown, the result was very different. As a living writer well observes, in such regions as these, "so gradual were the successes of the triumphant faith over this particular branch of the ancient creed, that, although the memory of Thunæ, and Wodan, and Saxnot, is scarcely distinguishable among the documents of several centuries; a continued belief in the agency of their subordinate associates still maintains its sway over every sequestered district of northern Europe." There certainly are districts, even in England, where a lurking suspicion is entertained that, beyond the sound of the church bells, the fairy has his time-honoured abode. The same opinion was held in the days of Chaucer; for, though he intimates that owing to the prayers of holy friars these beings were no longer to be found, this must be received as his individual opinion, not as the opinion of the age. How indeed, could there be any doubt of it among the people at large, when the chiefs, the elders, the wise, still cling to what they had received from their sires? The truth is that in most of the European

countries, especially in the northern, the genius of paganism continued long to struggle with the spirit of Christianity. Nor, when all reverence for the old divinities was extinct, was the influence of idolatry wholly expelled. The forest, the mountain, the domestic hearth, the running stream, were still peopled by subordinate beings, whose power, though local, was dreaded, and whose favour was propitiated by superstitious rites. This was strikingly the case in reference to the fairies of popular belief; and it is curious to trace the gradation by which their ancient influence was so far diminished as no longer to exercise any visible effect on the conduct of the vulgar. In the age of conversion, they are represented as malignantly and dangerously hostile to the professors of the new creed: there was necessarily a struggle between the two empires of Satan and of Christ. In another century the new faith had so far triumphed, that supernatural beings were compelled to admit its superiority. Another age, and the acknowledgment was made without reluctance. It was now discovered that the splendour which surrounded them, and the happiness they appeared to enjoy, was mere glamour, an unreal mockery. So far were they from being the objects of envy, that they longed for the privileges of men; they strove to procure for their children the blessings of baptism; and they were heard to express a hope that, after the revolution of ages, the good among them should be restored to the favour of heaven. If the privileges of humanity were thus superior to their own, we cannot be surprised that they endeavoured to procure them; that, when the females were brought into connexion with the males of our own species, they stipulated for their offspring the usual rites of the church. In illustration of this whimsical subject, we have many anecdotes in writers of the middle ages. Thus Torfœus, who is "firmly of opinion that they are creatures of God, consisting, like ourselves, of a body and an immortal soul; that they are of different sexes, capable of producing children, and subject to all human afflictions, as sleeping and waking, laughing and crying, poverty and wealth; that they have cattle, and other property; that, like mortals, they are liable to death," relates one too delectable to be passed over. A fairy of Iceland bore a child to a native, and soon after it was born, she herself carried it to the door of the church, and presented with it a golden cup as an offering. Gervase, of Tilbury, is equally positive of the intercourse in question; he even favours us with the laws for its regulation. He tells us, too, of a poor woman who, while one day occupied washing in the river, was drawn beneath its bed, conveyed into a fairy palace, and made to nurse a child during nine long years. Whether this child was

the offspring of such a connexion, we do not remember; but that connexion was so common that Sir David Lindsay gives us the cognizance of the offspring; a *leopard*, which, sprung from a lion and a pard, might well betoken a combination equally strange. Normandy and Brittany were not behind other countries in the reception of this belief. We have alluded to the boast of several families that they were descended from some one of the nine ladies who inhabited the forest of Brecheliant. Brantome gives us a more delectable instance than even Torfœus, of the readiness with which they submitted to mortal love. The fairy, Melesina, he gravely informs us, was certainly married to the renowned Guy de Lusignan, Count of Poitou; and during the many years they lived together, she bore him as many children. Never was there a more faithful or a more affectionate partner; never was there a happier marriage. She built for him a magnificent castle, and loaded him with riches. But to all human joy there is a limit. Such connexions were always dependant on some odd condition, and the one which had been exacted by Melesina was that her husband should never intrude upon her privacy when she wished to be alone. One day, while she was in the bath, he was so disobedient as to peep at her. The charm was broken; the fair lady, being changed into a hideous dragon, flew away with yells. But, though she visibly disappeared, affection still caused her to hover about the castle of Lusignan, and the night before its destruction, her wailing was distinctly heard round its lofty turrets.

Much of what has been said respecting the antiquity and the universality of fairy lore, would be equally applicable to the chivalric. How came it to be so ancient, so universal? Doubtless because it was derived from some origin common to all the nations of the same stock, and referable to a period lost in the night of time. There are, indeed, in the legendary stories of those nations, resemblances which might be referred to a common source. Such, as Mr. Southey observes, is the stealing of the veils, which the German Musæus, has given us as a popular tale in his own country, which appears in the supplement to the *Arabian Nights*, and which Ali Bey, the Spaniard, found to be a received superstition at Fez. Such, too, in the Welsh *Talesin*, is the pursuit of Gevion the Little by Ceridwen, and which is so like the Arabian story of the Second Calendar, that either the one must have been derived from the other, or both must have descended from some common though unknown source. Such, thirdly, is the descent of Alexander the Great into the sea, in a vessel of glass, in Spanish, Teutonic, and Cymric romance.—On this subject the judicious reader will have

much difficulty in drawing his inference. It is monstrous to suppose that, at an early period of society, when national intercourse was almost impossible, and when foreign languages were unknown, the Welsh, for instance, could have been so intimate with the Persians and Arabians, as to adopt their very superstitions. Neither can we be told that these fables travelled westwards until they reached the extremity of Europe. There is no evidence of such a progress; there are no intermediate links of the chain. We do not indeed assert that no instances of such a transit can be established; on the contrary, we believe that there are many. But these were not brought to our shores before pilgrims, Jews, or crusaders, served as the channel of conveyance; and this must have been many ages subsequent to the period when most of our renowned legends were in the mouths of the vulgar. The safest conclusion is, that while, after the eighth century at least, both Jews and pilgrims, both Arabians and Christians, were instrumental in the introduction of many legends, the majority, perhaps, were here before the birth of Christ. In this as in many other points of vulgar faith, "it is impossible not to perceive the fragments of a belief brought from some earlier seat of empire, which could neither have been imported into Wales and western Europe by a new dynasty of kings, nor communicated by a band of roving minstrels."

Before we quit this branch of our subject, we may advert to a charge very frequently made by Protestant writers against the Catholic Church. She is reproached with boundless ignorance, with childish credulity, because, during the middle ages, many of her ecclesiastics, many of her writers, professed a belief in the leading points of vulgar superstition. There is in such a charge something as unphilosophical as it is unjust and uncandid. Has the Church ever professed to change, in all things, the nature of man? Has she ever boasted of a recipe for defending him against every species of error? Has she ever engaged to do that which God himself has left undone—to elevate poor human nature above the reach of ignorance or mistake? Has she ever laid claim to an omnipotent sway over the world of intellect? Omnipotent indeed it must have been, had she been able to preserve the mind of man, in all ages, from the influence of credulity. Her province is a somewhat different one—the improvement of the ~~Age~~. Are the writers who make the charge, sensible of the tremendous effect with which it may be retorted on them? Have no Protestant writers, eminent as Gervase, or Brantome, possessed an equal share of credulity, and at a period termed peculiarly enlightened—very unlike that of the benighted

times of old? Let us hear Martin Luther, the monarch of the body:—

“In many countries,” says this extraordinary man, “there are places which fairies and devils bodily inhabit. Prussia has many of them: and not far from Lucerne in Switzerland, on the summit of a high mountain, there is a pool called ‘Pilate’s Pond,’ where the devil exhibits himself in a terrible manner. Nay, in my own country (Saxony) there is just such a pool. If you throw a stone into it, a terrible storm arises, and makes the surrounding districts tremble. It is the prison of many devils.”

This is quite as notable as the Gothic, or perhaps we should say Celtic, legend, relating to the magic well in the forest of Brecheliant. Probably the reader may be surprised to hear such opinions from such a man. Will he be less so, when he learns, that not even old Torſœus was more firmly of opinion than he was, that children under six weeks were frequently stolen by the fairies, and real fairies substituted for them? Nay, Luther vouches for the fact from his own experience.

“Eight years ago, I myself, when at Dessau, touched one of those changelings, which had no parents, and was the devil’s own brat. It was twelve years old, and was in every thing like an ordinary child. It did nothing but eat; it consumed as much as four ploughmen or thrashers; and it had the usual evacuations. When any one touched it, it cried out as if it were possessed. If any misfortune happened, it rejoiced and laughed outright; but when everything went on prosperously, it continually mourned. I said to the prince of Anhalt, ‘Were I the sovereign here, I would, at all risks, throw this little wretch into the Moldau.’ But he and the Elector of Saxony were not of my opinion. I then advised them to pray in all the churches, that the demon might be removed. They did so for a whole year, when the changeling died.”

Such is Luther’s own account of the marvel. Being asked by one of his friends, the reason of his advice, he replied: “Because, in my opinion, such changelings are mere creatures of *flesh*, without a soul: the devil is very capable of such creations.”

Again:—

“Near Halbertadt, in Saxony, there was a man who had a *Kilgerf*. It was so voracious at the breast, that it would drain, not only its reputed mother, but half-a-dozen women besides, and it devoured every thing else that was offered to it. The man was advised to go on pilgrimage with this brat to the shrine of the Virgin, and watch it there. Away he went with the young imp, in a basket strung at his back, and on his way, as he was passing over a bridge, he distinctly heard a

* The Saxon word for changeling.

voice cry out, '*Kilcroff! Kilcroff!*' The little devil pricked up his ears, and, though it had never before spoken, it shouted out, 'Oh! oh! oh!' The river demon then cried, 'Whither art thou going?' 'To Hockelstadt, to be rocked at the shrine of the Blessed Mother!' The peasant, much terrified at this prodigy, threw both the basket and child into the river, and away flew both imps, crying, 'Oh! oh! oh!'

How consonant all this with superstitions once prevalent in our own country, and not yet wholly extinct! But we have not yet done with Martin Luther. "One Good Friday the devil carried bodily away three men, who had devoted themselves to him." This anecdote was founded on the then popular notion of compacts between the devil and mortals for a certain period. The devil was always a most important personage in the stories of the reformer. "At Luther's table, one day," says a biographer, or rather a collector of his sayings, "a story was told of a horseman, who was riding along with others, and who, pricking the animal with his spurs, cried out, 'The devil take the hindmost.' Now, it so happened, that he was leading another horse by the bridle, and this he never saw again; for sure enough Satan did take it." The reflection which Luther made on this story was perfectly characteristic: "Let us beware of calling on the devil to appear; he is always ready to come *without* calling: the air around us is full of devils."

Such are a few instances of the reformer's boundless credulity; and whoever wishes to see more, need only look into the huge folios published by his disciples soon after his death. Is there anything in the most obscure monastic writer of the middle ages to exceed them? "Oh!" some reader may reply, "but the age of Luther was a *dark* age: his mind, vigorous as it was, was unable to shake off the absurd creed of his childhood!" If this were to be admitted, it would not argue much for his intellectual supremacy, nor, consequently, for the truth of the novel doctrines he propounded. But let us select a modern instance,—one of our days, and as eminent in his way as the Wittenberg doctor,—John Wesley, who was certainly a man of both learning and acuteness. Now, we do not hesitate to make the unqualified assertion, that the writings of this man abound with more proofs of credulity—credulity as childish as it is inexplicable—than are to be found in any half-score of the most barbarous writers of the middle ages. Let those who consider this assertion too sweeping, wade, as we have done, through that strangest of all productions, his *Journal*, and its justice will be readily acknowledged.

From these general observations on the origin and nature of Breton and Norman poetry, we may now descend to a

more particular consideration of the Norman and Anglo-Norman muse.

The mere fact, that all our knowledge of Breton literature is derived through the channel of the Anglo-Norman, and that so many works in the latter are extant, would be sufficient to attest the partiality of our ancestors for metrical romance. But for this conclusion we have more than inference; we have positive testimony. Chardry, a celebrated poet of the twelfth century, complains, in his *Life and Miracles of St. Edward*, that, for the exploits of Roland and the twelve peers, they neglected all subjects of religion, and all of edification: indeed, such was their passion for the amusement, that to gratify it they frequently neglected the necessary duties of life. Nor will this statement appear extraordinary, when we consider their attachment to the tuneful art long before they left the icy regions of the north. They had no feast without the bard; many of the warriors were bards; and in the ancient sagas, we perpetually read of the same individual being as expert in the song as in the use of the sword. Some of their compositions have been traced to a remote antiquity,—centuries before Ragnar Lodbrog sang his own exploits. Among the Saxons, who were of the same stock as the Scandinavians, a similar custom prevailed. In his account of the elder Caedman, Bede gives us a pleasing description of the manner in which our ancestors played and sung: “While in the secular habit, until a mature age, he learned nothing of the art: indeed he had no taste for it. Sometimes, at a festive entertainment, when the harp was brought, *and all present were expected to sing in their turns*, he arose, left the table, and returned home.” Playing, and composing, and singing, therefore,—all at the same time,—were no accomplishment, but an ordinary attainment. But it was more common, perhaps, in Scandinavia. When Rollo disembarked his wild ruffians in Neustria, many of them were acquainted with it. When many are striving for the same haven, a few will always excel the rest; and as the Gauls had their professional bards, so the northmen had their *scalds*, whose peculiar duty it was to celebrate the exploits of the great at every feast. With recollections thus ardent, with habits thus formed, the strangers lost no time in cultivating the good-will of the Bretons, the most celebrated people in France for ancient songs. Hence, community of feeling paved the way for a better understanding than would otherwise have existed, and assuredly excited in both a much stronger attachment to their ancient amusement. Even necessity contributed to the same end. From the time of Charles the Simple, Brittany was an *arrière fief* of Normandy: its great vassals were dependent, not on the French

king, but on the Duke of Normandy; and it was under Norman banners that they advanced to battle. Thus, Alan Duke of Brittany accompanied his feudal superior, Duke William the Bastard, to the conquest of England, and in reward of his services, received above four hundred knight-fees in different counties. As, therefore, the knights of the two provinces met together with their vassals, were employed in the same service, frequently resided in the same fortress, and were still more frequent visitors at the same festive board, we may easily account for the knowledge which the Normans obtained of the traditions and poetry of their southern neighbours. This knowledge was the result of constant intercourse; it was the growth of generations; and its universality cannot surprise us.

In his elaborate researches into the ancient poetic literature of Normandy, the Abbé de la Rue distinguishes it into three classes: 1. *Chansons de gestes*, or metrical romances, sung to musical instruments, whether the subjects were historic or fabulous; 2. *Dramas*; 3. *Lighter and more fugitive pieces*. Of the two last, as they do not enter into our present design, we shall say nothing. Confining our attention to the first, these *chansons de gestes* were unquestionably the *leudi* or *lays* of which Fortunatus wrote, which Charlemagne was fond of transcribing, and which Alfred committed to memory. The author of these musical poetic inspirations was a *trouvère*; if he sang it, and at the same time played on the harp, rota, or violin, he was also a *jongleur*. Originally the two arts, viz. those of poetry and music, were generally combined in the same individual; but we soon read of their separation: some poets could not play or sing, and therefore were called *trouvères* only; while others could not compose, and therefore were called *jongleurs* only. "But," the reader may enquire, "how could pieces consisting of above twenty thousand verses, be sung at one festive entertainment?" Certainly no one *jongleur*, and no one day, would seem equal to a tithe of the undertaking. Every long metrical romance was divided by breaks, and sung by several *jongleurs* in succession, on as many successive days. We find seventeen of these breaks in the romance of *Sir Percival*, and twenty in that of *Garin*. They must have been designed for the relief of both singers and hearers; for they end where the mind may pause, and where the fable may be renewed without injury to the connexion of events. Sometimes the same piece was alternately in prose and verse, the former to be recited merely, the latter to be sung. Doubtless the reason for this innovation was the extreme difficulty of procuring a succession of good singers and players: any educated man could recite; but the other accomplishment demanded, in

addition, peculiar natural gifts, and involved many years of application. So rare, indeed, was the union of the two arts; so seldom was the same individual able to compose, sing, and play, that frequently the whole of a piece, though metrical, was merely *read*. The next transition from metrical to prose romances, which began to abound towards the close of the twelfth century, was the necessary result of this innovation. But so long as good singers and good musicians could be obtained, a decided preference was shown to the metrical. In process of time, such men were seldom trouvères: they were either amateurs among the highborn, who in the domestic circle contended for the applause of their equals; or they were professional musicians, who, for hire, displayed their skill to a more public audience. There are, indeed, instances on record, and those not few, where nobles disguised themselves as professional jongleurs, and ventured on the most public occasions to contend for applause. If there be any faith in history, even kings have done this. With knights, the custom was so frequent, as to create little surprise, because without some knowledge of the sister arts, no chivalric education was, at one period, complete. When Ela, Countess of Salisbury, had lost her kindred in England, her guardians were fearful lest Richard should force her to contract a marriage hostile to her interests or their own views, and they secretly transferred her to a fortress in Normandy, where she was guarded with the most jealous care. Richard, who intended her for his bastard brother, William Longsword, was curious to discover her retreat. He employed a knight, William Talbot, an ancestor of the noble family of that name, to wander from castle to castle in search of her. The latter, assuming the minstrel's garb, did at length discover her retreat, and as a minstrel was permitted to see and amuse her. He had little difficulty in prevailing on her to exchange a prison for her native castle; and her hand, and wide domains, came into possession of Longsword, who was thenceforth styled Earl of Salisbury.

As early as the twelfth, if not the eleventh century, the professional jongleurs were numerous; in the thirteenth and fourteenth they swarmed. They were to be found in every court, in the household of every great baron, at every public festival. By their patrons, they were often sent to amuse their neighbours, especially the corporate municipalities and religious confraternities. In the thirteenth, at an entertainment in the monastery of St. Austin of Canterbury, many jongleurs, in succession, amused the guests of the hospitable Abbot: in the year 1338, at the priory of St. Swithin in Winchester, the exploits of King

David were followed by those of the Giant Colbrun, and these in their turn by the triumphs of Saint Emma. For these religious festivals, corresponding pieces were often composed. The conception, the birth, and passion of the Saviour, the leading events of the Old and New Testament, were then thought more congenial to the taste of ecclesiastics, than the adventures of the twelve peers, or the knights of King Arthur's court. They were certainly more in unison with the devotional feelings of the age. Frequently they owed their existence to a self-inflicted penance on the part of the trouvères. He who, in the height of his faculties, had sacrificed to the popular taste, by singing the pieces of Roland or Tristram, of Turpin or Lancelot, and by describing with too much freedom the progress of licentious passion, was anxious, as mature years stole upon him, to make some compensation for the offence, by tuning his harp to sacred themes. In the prologue to several pieces, this intention is expressly avowed. In many of them, however, the circumstances of chivalry are ludicrously associated with those of Holy Writ. In one, *La Cour de Paradis*, God resolves to hold a court plenary at All Saints, and he deposes St. Simon and St. Jude to collect all his vassals, who were all the saints, martyrs, and confessors, that have suffered for the truth. They assemble; and, as in the princely courts below, there must be jongleurs to sing and to play, and several are made to perform before the Deity. Let it not be supposed, that in this strange representation, the slightest irreverence was intended: the very contrary was the fact. If our ancestors were coarse in their descriptions, and unrefined in their taste, they were always right in feeling: those were the result of the age; this, of the care which in all ages the Christian Church has taken to instruct her children. Still we must condemn such productions, the more so when we regard the culpable licence which was sometimes taken with the subject. The lives of saints, as may readily be imagined, formed a great part of the staple of such manufactures; but by way of embellishment, legends were added, which set probability at defiance. Mabillon, the best of judges, declares that in Brittany and Normandy, more liberties were taken with the acts of saints than in all the rest of France. Hence, in the estimation of the sober-minded, these compositions gradually fell. So it was with the authors, and still more with the singers and players. If originally the jongleurs were men of respectability, accustomed to the best society, and polished in their manners, subsequently they wore a very different character; in fact, they degenerated greatly. They assumed a peculiar habit; they shaved the crown of the head; they painted the face, and administered, from a public scaffold, to the amusement of the

vulgar. Vagabond jongleurs, accompanied by women, went from fair to fair, and the morals of both were not the most edifying. Our expressive word *juggler*, the corruption of the French word, is enough to designate the itinerant musician of the fourteenth century. As a natural consequence, the profession was abandoned by the respectable, who found it more honourable to *compose*, than to *perform*,—who ceased to be jongleurs, and were distinguished as *trouvères*.

Vast as is the field of Anglo-Norman poetry, we must mention some of the writers who have given it celebrity; but alas! our limits are of necessity so narrow, that we can give of the few little more than a catalogue.

Omitting Richard, Duke of Normandy (938), Thibaut de Vernon, whose works have perished, and Taillefer, who fell at the battle of Hastings, the first poet worthy of our attention is the unknown author of the *Journey of Charlemagne to Constantinople and Jerusalem*. This poem was probably translated from the Latin, that is, in the ancient use of the word; for the translator always added as much of his own as he found in the original. There is, indeed, a Latin poem on this subject; and in it Charlemagne's journey is the result of an invitation from the Greek Emperor, and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, to relieve the holy city, then besieged by the Mahommedans. This event, is at least consistent with the opinions of the time, however it may be opposed to probability. But in the Norman poem, the case is very different. Appearing one day before his queen, with his crown on head, and sword in hand, the French monarch enquires, in a most vain-glorious spirit, whether any living sovereign became either sword or crown as well as he. "Emperor," she quietly replies, "you praise yourself too much." But then she had the imprudence to compare him—and comparisons are proverbially odious—with the Greek Emperor, who, she averred, had greater majesty than ever he had. Piqued at the reply, Charlemagne swore that he would go to that city, and judge for himself. If she spoke untruly, he would punish her; in either case, he would dethrone the Emperor as he had dethroned so many others. The author is a sad geographer. To reach Constantinople, he takes his hero into Persia, and next to Jerusalem. There, the latter boasts to the Patriarch that he has conquered twelve sovereigns, and that he is going to conquer the thirteenth, viz. the Greek Emperor. But we have no room for analysis, especially as the piece is certainly not written by an Anglo-Norman.

Of our Henry I, whom the Abbé de la Rue and M. de

Roquefort make the author of the *Dictæ d' Urbain*, we shall say only this,—though his poetical talents rest on a good foundation, we have reason to doubt the paternity of the poem. Nor shall we dwell on Philip de Than, the author of two moral pieces which have little interest. Geoffroy, Abbot of St. Alban's, is better known; he is the reputed author of the first miracle play, that of *St. Catherine*, performed for the edification of our ancestors; but of the drama no vestige exists. Another poet of the twelfth century, Turolde, must not be so briefly dismissed, since he is the author of a poem, *La Chanson de Roland*, which can be but little known to our readers. Of the author we have little. Both in Normandy and in England there were many Turolde, or Thorolde, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries: in the latter were some of that name, being prior to the invasion of duke William. It is, therefore, impossible to say to which of the two countries he was indebted for his birth. We have no other guide than internal evidence to arrive at his period. Probably he lived early in the twelfth century.

The *Chanson de Roland* is one of the most ancient pieces in Norman French that treats of Charlemagne, Roland, and the rest of the twelve peers. It is wholly devoted to the expedition of that monarch into Spain, and especially to the disaster sustained by him in the gorges of the Pyrenees. Throughout it has a strange combination of Christian with Moorish customs. Its very opening exhibits King Marsilius at Saragossa, surrounded by his barons and knights, and invoking, at once, Mahomet and Apollo. He asks, and well he may, advice how to act. All Spain, except the capital, has been subdued by "Charles with the White Beard," whom nothing can oppose. One of his barons advises him to feign submission to the emperor, to promise tribute, to engage even to embrace the Christian faith, and to dispatch hostages as a guarantee for the performance of the conditions. To be sure, as those conditions were never intended to be fulfilled, the hostages would, in the end, lose their heads. "But then," observed the councillor, who stroked his beard with much complacency, "Was not anything better than the loss of sweet Spain?" The advice was approved; the heralds and hostages were sent to Charlemagne, who was then at Cordova. The monarch received them in great state, looked at the presents, which were sufficient to load some hundreds of mules, stroked his beard, reflected, and deferred his reply to the following day. Next morning he rose with the sun, heard mass, then ~~then~~ and proceeded to his orchard, where, seating himself beneath a wide-branched pine, he summoned his

peers to deliberate with him. Roland advised him to place no trust in King Marsilius, who had so often betrayed them; but it was at length resolved to accept the Pagan's offers; and Ganelon of Metz—"the falsest man alive"—was sent to signify the circumstance to Marsilius. Ganelon, partly out of hatred to Roland, the emperor's nephew, whom he wished to destroy, and partly through corruption, invented the most odious of all treasons—that Roland, on the approaching return of the Franks to Aix la Chapelle, should have the command of the rear, consisting of twenty thousand men only, and be assailed by twenty times the number of Saracens in the defiles of the Pyrenees. "Why," said Marsilius to the traitor, "should you, be eager to preserve the good will of Charles with the White Beard—of one who has passed his two hundredth year, and who is on the verge of the grave?" The iniquitous compact being made, Ganelon, laden with riches, returned to the camp of Charlemagne, who immediately commenced the march towards the Pyrenees. On his way, however, the emperor had to destroy a great African army which had come to the assistance of Marsilius. Having accomplished this feat, he proceeded into the mountains with the main body; leaving, as Ganelon had suggested, Roland, Oliver, Turpin, and twenty thousand men, far in the rear. Scarcely was the bravest of all the twelve peers engaged in the defiles, than myriads of Saracens, in battle array, appeared behind them. "Here are Pagans enough," said Oliver to Roland, "and they are coming to fight us. Sound your magic horn, Sir Duke, that white-bearded Charles may hear, and return to aid us!" "I will do no such cowardly thing!" was the answer; "never shall sweet France lose its honour through me; my noble sword, Durendal, shall do its work, and not a Pagan shall be left alive!" Oliver pressed, but in vain. "God's mother forbid! I tell you Durendal is ready, and all the Pagans shall die!" The Franks prepared for the impending battle: Roland harangued them, and so did the good Archbishop Turpin, who told them to be under no care about their souls, for if they died in battle, of a surety they would be martyrs to the truth, and at once enter the mansion of heaven. Hearing his voice, the Franks alighted from their horses, and knelt while the prelate blessed them; but told them that the only penance he should require of them would be to strike manfully.

The battle which ensued is graphically described by Turpin, but with so much detail that we have no space to extract. The exploits of the heroes on both sides, and they are particularly—are celebrated; but the palm of valour, of course, accorded to the soldiers of Christ. All the twelve peers did miracles;

wondrous horn to his mouth, and blows a plaintive, dying note. The emperor hears, and orders sixty thousand trumpets to announce that succour is at hand. The Saracens hear the sound, sent from mountain to mountain, from rock to rock; they know that Charlemagne will soon be upon them; and they make one last effort to deprive France of her great hope, by the death of Roland. He falls like the rest, but his last moments are minutely recorded. As he lay fainting on the grass, beneath a high tree, a Saracen approached him, saying, "Now, as the nephew of Charles is no more, I will take his wondrous sword into Araby!" Roland felt that the weapon was leaving his hand, yet, with the horn which he held in the other, he struck the Pagan on the head, and cleft his skull. But, alas! the magic horn was also cleft with the blow. The hero has lost his sight, but he knows that there is a white marble stone beside him, and on it he resolves to break his famous sword, that it may not fall into Pagan hands, and work evil to France. His dying address to Durendal is the best passage in the poem. "Bright Durendal! with thee, many kingdoms have I subdued for white-bearded Charles! A good vassal hast thou been to me, and never shalt thou adorn a coward's hands!" Saying this, he smote the marble with as much force as was left him; but the weapon was uninjured! "Ah, Durendal! how beautiful, how clear, how fair art thou! how strongly dost thou reflect the rays of the sun! Charles was in the valley of Moriana when God sent thee by his angel, commanding him to gird some knight with thee; and the gentle king hung it by my side." Then follow the names of the countries which, by the aid of this miraculous weapon, he had conquered for him with the white beard. Again he strikes the marble, and cuts off a huge piece; but for all this the sword is uninjured. "Ah, Durendal, how beautiful and shining art thou! In thy handle are some relics, —a tooth of St. Peter, blood of St. Basil, some hairs of my Lord St. Denis, and some of the garments of sweet St. Mary! Unseemly were it for Pagans to have thee: by Christians only shouldst thou be used. Never mayst thou come into a coward's hands! With thee many broad lands have I conquered, which now own the rule of white-bearded Charles, the Emperor, who is noble and rich!" But he was now exhausted; he lay on the grass, spread out his hands to heaven, and prayed for mercy on his soul. "Thou, who didst raise St. Lazarus from the dead, who didst preserve Daniel from the devouring lions, save my soul from all perils through the sins which I have committed!" Nor was the prayer vain: St. Gabriel, St. Michael, and one of the cherubim, descended to bear the soul of the expiring hero to

the mansions of the just.—With him ends the interest of the poem. Charlemagne, indeed, eventually destroys the Saracens, mourns over his fallen heroes, especially the chief of them, his sweet nephew, Roland; and takes signal vengeance on “false Ganelon;” but, henceforward, the narrative fatigues rather than pleases.

The *Chanson de Roland* affords illustrations enough of the truth of a proposition we have advanced,—that most of the romantic lore of Europe is derived from a more ancient source than Christianity could have furnished. He himself was as much celebrated in Asia as in Europe, amidst the Turks and even the Circassians, as among the Franks. He is claimed by Tartar and Slavonian, by Ottoman and Scandinavian. By the clergy he was placed in heaven; by the poets he was carried to the isle of Avalon to dwell with Arthur and the fairies. Of all his exploits was not that the greatest by which he made, at one blow of his famous sword Durendal, the tremendous opening in the Pyrenees, that to this very day bears his name—the *brèche de Roland*? Did not the obedient adamant rend asunder at the stroke of the magic weapon? Then as to his horn: was it not even celebrated in the confines of Europe,—in the snows of Iceland? So at least declares the renowned antiquary Olaus Magnus. And then as to his sword, the unrivalled Durendal;—many are the legends respecting it. It was brought from heaven, says Turolde, who follows perhaps the most general tradition. Others assert that it was manufactured from the spear which entered our Saviour’s side. But the origin has been carried higher still,—to a giant of the race of Enceladus, and even to Vulcan. Nor was the scabbard less marvellous, since it was made from the skin of the very serpent which the infant Hercules strangled. What do all these legends prove? what but this, that the exploits ascribed to Roland were originally ascribed to some pagan warrior whom superstition deified, and when Christianity superseded idolatry, they were transferred to Roland, as the most distinguished warrior of Charlemagne’s court?

Many were the celebrated poets who flourished in the same age as Turolde. Among them the author of “The Voyage of St. Brandan in search of the Terrestrial Paradise,” must have been the chief, though his name has not descended to our times. It is, in every respect, a most extraordinary poem; it abounds with the most splendid imagery; its fable is interesting; it contains many of the most venerable traditions of the middle ages; and it faithfully reflects the manners and opinions of the age. We the less regret our inability, through want of space, to analyse this production, as the task has been very recently performed in a well

known periodical.* Of Gaimar, author of the *Estorie des Engles*; of Wace, author of the *Roman de Rou* and the *Brut*; of *Benedict de St. Maur*, author of the *Chronicles of Normandy*, we shall say nothing, for these reasons,—the two former have, within these ten years, been rendered familiar enough to the reading public, by periodical writers; and of the last only one volume has yet appeared. Neither can we advert to the romances of the *Round Table* and the *Holy Graal*; first, because many volumes would be inadequate to the subject, and secondly, because some volumes have been already devoted to it. For the same reason we must pass over the interminable romances on Alexander the Great, and the still more exhaustless ones on religion and morality. Equally numerous are the metrical romances of chivalry: assuredly many volumes of the *Dublin Review* would be insufficient to give even a brief analysis of them. It was our intention to dwell at some length on the *Roman de la Violette*, by Gibert of Montreuil-sur-Mer, whose poem has great interest, and on the romance of *Havelok the Dane*, which has equal claims to our attention. Both of these we have carefully read, but finding that in another periodical a brief analysis has been given of one, and having no space for the other, we are reluctantly compelled to relinquish the task. The remainder of our inadequate essay must be restricted to *Marie de France*.

Marie, who is generally denominated *de France*, is beyond all comparison the most interesting of all the Anglo-Norman writers whose names have descended to us. So celebrated has she become, that the French have eagerly claimed her, founding their argument on the denomination just mentioned. She was certainly what she calls herself, a stranger in England; but it is equally certain that she was a subject of the English crown, and born either in Normandy or Brittany. With the literature and traditions of both she was intimately acquainted; and from this fact we are inclined to believe her a Breton. Few indeed were the Normans who, like her, were acquainted with the difficult language of that province. It has indeed been contended that she might acquire a knowledge of the Welsh, which was so closely allied with the Breton, while resident in England; but it is more than probable that she did so in Brittany itself. What confirms the inference is the fact of her extensive acquaintance with the traditionary lore of the province—lore of which some kindred elements might certainly be found in this island, but which in so comprehensive a degree could be learned in the continental region only. Whether Breton or Norman, she was

of necessity connected with England. The monarch to whom she dedicated her lays, could be no other than our Henry III. Here she lived; and her acquaintance with our vernacular language was evinced by her rendering the more dubious words not into Norman but into English. Besides a knowledge of the Breton, as proved in her translation of the lays, and of the Norman, the language in which she wrote, she was conversant with Latin, from which she translated many of *Æsop's* fables. Altogether she was an accomplished woman, and she communicates to her writings a charm, which female delicacy only could bestow. Hence she was the favourite of the great. By the king she was held in much estimation; but her more immediate patron was probably William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury, and natural son of Henry II, to whom she dedicated her translation of *Æsop*. To her general popularity, especially with the ladies, testimony is borne by her cotemporary, Denis Pyramus, in his life of St. Edmund.

The Lays of Marie are the most celebrated of her productions, and she chose the subject on account of its novelty in England. She had originally intended to translate from Latin into romance, that is—into the Norman French—some of the many fictions for which the thirteenth century was so famous; but, when she reflected that so many writers were labouring in that path, she refused to be lost in the undistinguished crowd. In that of Breton romance, she had little fear of rivalry. She found legends enough which had not yet been rendered into the vernacular tongue; and though they might in their original form be rude and unpolished, she knew how to make them agreeable to the high-born knights and dames of England. What other liberties she took with those legends, whether oral or written, can never be known; but we do know that she adhered to the fundamental characters and incidents, because both are mentioned in other writings. These Lays, as we have before observed, are the most interesting relics now extant of the Anglo-Norman muse. The derivation and meaning of the word have puzzled many philologists. There can, however, be no doubt that the Lay was a song, or short poem, adapted both to the voice and to some musical instrument, and generally relating to the exploits of heroes. Yet the definition is applicable rather to the Breton and German pieces than to the French; for devotional poems, and even fables, bear the same denomination. As these became popular in Brittany, Marie concluded that they might become equally so in Normandy and England. Her judgment was approved by the event. The fable of them is so striking, that

independent of the brilliancy of colouring, and of the passionate sensibility with which she has invested them, it would be sure to command attention. We cannot, therefore, be surprised at the popularity which, according to the evidence of Denis Pyramus, accompanied them,—that counts and barons, and knights and ladies, were so fond of hearing them.

In his recent edition of the works of Marie, M. de Roquefort attributes to her pen fourteen of these Lays, which are four more than those ascribed to her by the Abbé de la Rue. The subjects of all are derived from Breton sources. In her prologue she distinctly asserts that they had been famous of old among the Bretons ; and in other places she declares that they were not only handed down by traditionary song, but committed to writing. The first of these productions, the *Lai de Gugemer*, is of a mild character, full of fairy and enchantment. The adventure, she informs us, really happened in Little Britain in ancient times, and it is one of those transmitted to posterity by the pen. But the story, interesting as it is, we should scruple to analyze ; on account of its being founded on an adulterous intercourse between the hero Gugemer, and the young bride of an old man. Neither can we advert to the *Lai du Fresne*, because it is founded on a circumstance that to modern ears must not be mentioned. But the *Lai du Bisclaveret* being unexceptional in point of morality, and illustrative of a superstition at once ancient and general, may be noticed. *Bisclaveret*, says Marie, is a Breton word, signifying in Norman-French, *garwall*. This is the *werwolf* of the Germans, the *loup-garou* of the French, and the *λυκανθρωπος* of the Greeks, meaning the *man-wolf* ; viz. the man who had the power, or was subject to the necessity, of being transformed into a wolf. “ In ancient times,” says Marie, “ such transformations were frequent, and the garwall at this very day hunts in the forest : a most destructive creature it is, delighting to kill man and beast.” Illustrative of this article of popular belief, she relates the following story.

Among the lords of Brittany was one endowed with every quality that constituted the glory of a chivalrous age,—he was brave, generous, beloved alike by prince and people. To wife he had a lady of considerable personal attractions, and of a good family,—one whom he loved and by whom he was beloved in return. But one thing surprised her : every week he was absent three days from home, nor could any one tell what became of him during that time. One day returning from an absence of this kind in a more affectionate humour than usual, he allowed her to ask him some questions which at another time he would

probably have repressed. Under the plea that his periodical absence was the torment of her life; that she was continually apprehensive lest some evil should have befallen him; that this state of anxiety was worse than death, and would infallibly lead to it, she, applying all the endearments of which a woman, who is desirous of gaining a point, is capable, inquired where he went, and what he did during nearly one half of his time. At first, he refused to answer; but, at length, he confessed that he became a *bisclaveret*, or man-wolf. And how did he live? On roots and on prey, like any other wolf. What clothes did he wear? None at all; he went quite naked. Then what became of his clothes during the time of his transformation? This, above all other questions, was that which he had least inclination to answer; for, if they were discovered and taken away, a wolf he should remain. He therefore repelled her question; but she was not discouraged; she redoubled her importunity, and at length obtained from him the fatal secret, that his clothes were hidden under a large stone in a solitary ruin in the midst of the forest. Her immediate resolution was to be rid, at any cost, of such a husband. She sent for a knight, who had ventured to make love to her, but whom she had discouraged, and told him that she would resist him no longer, that she would grant him whatever he wished, on the condition of his aiding her in a certain design. Having eagerly embraced her offer, he agreed to watch the *bisclaveret*, to seize the clothes deposited under the stone, and thereby for ever prevent the resumption of manhood by the transformed beast. This was easily effected; the knight no longer appeared; inquiries were every where made respecting him; the lady assumed the widow, pretended much sorrow, and soon married her lover. But the crime was not to go unpunished. In a year after these transactions, the king resolved to hunt in the very forest in which the *bisclaveret* abode. The dogs soon fell in with the wolf, pursued it a whole day, and it was much wounded by the hunters. Seeing that escape was impossible, the animal went up to the king, seized his stirrup, kissed his foot, and in the most affecting manner in the world looked up for mercy. At first the royal hunter was alarmed, but the tractable behaviour of the brute soon reassured him, and he called on his attendants to behold it. "See, gentlemen, what a wonder! How this beast doth humble itself! It has the understanding of a man, and it asks for mercy!"

"Seigneurs, fet-il, avant venez,
Ceste merveille esgardez :
Cum ceste beste se humilie ;
Ele ad sen de hum, mercie crie !"

He ordered the dogs to be called off, and the brute to be treated with the utmost kindness. He would hunt no more that day, and he returned to his castle, followed by the bisclaveret. Not a little did he pride himself on his acquisition; he even entertained great fondness for it; and caused the strictest notice to be given, that whoever ill-treated it need expect no favour from him. During the day, it frequented the society of the knights, and was the most harmless of creatures: during the night, it lay in the bed-chamber of the king; and it became a universal favourite. But on one occasion it displayed extreme ferocity,—when the husband of the lady appeared at court. It flew at him, bit him most severely, and would have worried him had it not been prevented. This circumstance created much surprise in the court: how came so gentle a beast to exhibit such hatred to the knight? There must be some reason for it; probably the brute had some injury to revenge. Very glad was the knight when the court broke up to return home.—Another circumstance confirmed the general impression. When the king went a second time to hunt in the forest where the bisclaveret was found, the lady appeared before him to make him a customary present. The wolf, which was in the royal suite, instantly flew at her face, and bit off her nose. Neither the courtiers, nor the king himself, could tolerate this outrage; and the bisclaveret would have been sacrificed, had not a philosopher (sage-hom) happened to be present. “Sire,” said he, “listen to me a moment! This animal is always with you; we all know him; and all are on the best terms with him. Never has he showed the least anger to any one but this lady and her husband. By my fealty to you, I dare swear that he has reason to complain of both. You know that she was married to a knight high in your esteem both for his virtues and his valour, and that he has been lost to us a long time. If you put this woman to the rack, she will certainly confess something, and we shall perhaps learn why this beast hates her. Many are the wonders that we have seen in Brittany.” The king approved the advice; he arrested both the knight and the lady, and consigned them to prison. The latter, terrified at the pain she was about to endure, confessed the whole truth,—how she had betrayed her first husband, by causing his clothes to be seized. From that day she knew not what was become of him, for never had he returned home. Yet all this time she had no doubt the brute was her husband. The first thing the monarch did was to order the clothes to be brought, and laid before the wolf; but the animal paid no attention to them. The reason was, as the wise man

told him, that there were too many spectators present. "Never, sire, will he change his shape and clothes himself before this company: he is afraid to be seen in the transformation. But if you will take him into one of your bedrooms, and leave his clothes near him, certainly he will soon become a man." The king himself took the wolf into an inner apartment, and, leaving it there, fastened all the doors. In a short time he went back, accompanied by his barons and knights; and in the royal bed they found, not a wolf, but a comely chevalier fast asleep. The king ran to embrace him, and kissed him a hundred times. Immediately he returned his lands to him, and gave him many other proofs of his esteem. The lady and her paramour, who had betrayed him, were expelled the country. Many children had they in the sequel, all easy to be known by their faces: the girls were born without noses. Very true it is, strange as it may appear, that many women of the race are without a handle to their faces. The whole story is deserving of credit, and to preserve its remembrance, the Bretons have turned it into a lay.*

This superstition we have asserted to be generally diffused. It is, or at least was, to be found in these islands, in Spain, in all the provinces of France, in Germany, among the nations of Slavonic, no less than of Celtic and Teutonic descent. To select one curious illustration from the rest. According to Olaus Magnus, the Archbishop of Upsal, yearly, on the festival of our Lord's Nativity, towards night-fall, a great number of men, transformed into wolves, assemble in a stated place, and, during the same night, they rush alike on man and beast, with a ferocity never exhibited by natural wolves. Woe to such human habitations as lie scattered through the immense solitudes of the country! Strong indeed must be the doors and windows that can resist the combined attack, and when once broken, swift destruction descends on all living things within. They evince their human character by entering the cellars where ale or mead is stored, and speedily do they empty the casks, which they leave in the midst of the cellar, piled one upon another. In this they differ from genuine wolves, which have no relish for such beverage. The region which they honour with their annual presence, is said by the inhabitants to be big with fate. If, for example, a man, while travelling through it, is upset in his sledge, and immersed in the snow, it is believed that he will not live to see another Christmas-day, and indeed this has been often experienced. On the confines of Lithuania,

* *Lai du Bisclaveret*, v. 1 to 319 (Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*, tom. i. p. 178 to 200.)

Samogitia, and Courland, (proceeds the Archbishop,) there is a wall belonging to a ruined castle; and here also, on a certain day, some thousands assemble to try the agility of each individual among them: the one that cannot clear the wall at a bound, as is generally the case in regard to the fat ones, is immediately beaten by the chiefs. Among these men-wolves, it is confidently affirmed that there are some nobles of the land,—some even of the highest nobility. This metamorphosis, so contrary to nature, (it is still the Archbishop who speaks) is effected by any one versed in this species of magic, and the medium is generally a cup of ale, which the victim must drink before the charm can have any effect; and certain words must, in addition, be spoken. When the transformation into the wolf is to be made, the man seeks some cave, in the depths of the forest, and there the human form is exchanged for the brute: in like manner, after a certain space of time, when the change is to be made from the brute to the human, the same retirement is sought. But the venerable prelate is not satisfied with the general description of the wolf-men: for our farther edification, he has individual examples.—As a certain nobleman was travelling through the forest, accompanied by some rustics, who were not unacquainted with this species of magic, (as are most of the inhabitants of these shores), the evening approached, and there was no place of entertainment for them. They had no provisions, and hunger tormented them. When they had pitched their tent for the night, one of them requested the others to express no surprise at whatever they might see. There was a flock of sheep quietly feeding at a distance; but what human feet could be swift enough to secure one of them for supper? He went into the thickest part of the forest, and there transformed himself into a wolf. Then rushing on the flock, he selected one, and returned with it to the tent. His companions received it with much gratitude, and hid it in the tent; while he again plunged into the forest, and re-assumed the human form. The good Archbishop has evidently no distrust of the story; but he is still more confident of the following.—Not many years ago, there happened in Livonia to be a dispute between a lady and one of her serfs, whether this transformation was possible. To convince her of the possibility, the serf retired to the cellar, and soon came out in the shape of a wolf. Unfortunately for him, he was immediately pursued by the dogs, who chased him for many miles without mercy, and destroyed one of his eyes. The day following, the serf returned to his mistress with one eye only. A third anecdote we shall translate from the same prelate.—

Within the memory of men now living, it happened that a duke of Prussia, being incredulous as to the existence of this magical power, caused one that had the reputation of possessing it to be fettered, and to be told that he should not be released until he exhibited some proof of his skill. The man thus constrained immediately transformed himself into a wolf. The duke was satisfied with his skill, but committed him to the flames.

But we must dismiss this entertaining poetess: unfortunately, too, we must omit the examination of many other poets, whose productions we have analyzed, and whose character we have attempted to ascertain. The subject, however, will not lose much by delay; and we propose reverting to it on some future occasion. Owing to the ardour of the French for Anglo-Norman literature,—an ardour with which our own indifference cannot be very favourably contrasted,—we are not likely to want text-books. Every year adds to the store of materials necessary for a history of that branch of European poetry. So vast, however, is the field, that a century will hardly suffice for its exploration.

ART. VI.—1. *An Introduction to the Scientific Labours of the Nineteenth Century.* By Henri de St. Simon. 2 vols. Paris. 1808.

2. *L'Industrel.* By the same. 3 vols. 1817.

3. *Literary, Philosophical, and Practical Opinions.* By the same. 1 vol. 1817.

4. *New Christianity.* By the same. 1 vol. 1808.

5. *Statement of the St. Simonian Doctrines.* 2 vols. 1831.

6. *Teaching of the Supreme Father.* 1 vol. 1831.

IF it be true that the Catholic Church has too often had to lament over the superstition which the lower orders of her people have ignorantly mixed up with the truth; if it be true that many Protestant sects have found in the misuse of the Holy Scriptures, a stepping-stone towards Bedlam,—yet, for all this, we will not admit that modern philosophy can reasonably impute to Christianity, abuses which prove only the weakness of the human mind. Assuredly, nothing can less resemble the religion taught by the gospel than the St. Simonian doctrines, or, in other words, many of the feature of the Utilitarianism of Jeremy Bentham, whose most zealous disciples made it their boast, that they were not Christians. Many of the new sect had already acquired

some reputation for the extent of their acquaintance with political economy and mathematical science; many had received their education in the Polytechnic schools, and were certainly not prepared by their preceding studies, or their private habits, to compete in credulity with the rude peasantry of Spain, or in extravagant enthusiasm with the followers of Johanna Southcote. Nevertheless, men thus enlightened, thus prepared for the unbiassed exercise of their mental faculties, have far outstripped, in the race of human folly, not only the blind fanaticism of our ranters, but even the wildest aberrations of Indian idolatry. Will philosophy, who cannot refuse to acknowledge them as her disciples, avow herself the accomplice of their absurdity? or if she refuse to be responsible for their theories, with what justice can she impute to Christianity the wild fancies of the ignorant Catholic, or the far wilder vagaries of sectarian madness? Certainly St. Simonism, considered as a practical proof that incredulity is no preservative against complete degradation of the intellect which God has given us, nor yet against the most absurd opinions, is an interesting study; and on this account alone, we think, we should be justified in examining this system—although already condemned by public indignation. But other considerations may be added, which will place in a more striking point of view the importance of the enquiries we are about to make. St. Simonism is, in fact, but a branch of political economy, or rather that science itself raised to the dignity of a religion; for the first object which the authors of this new faith proposed to themselves, was, that of solving the difficult problem of pauperism, by the assistance of their favourite science. By degrees their views enlarged, and they perceived, that a nation without religion—a nation corrupted by the opinions of Voltaire to the degree that France was, could not long support itself under the baleful influence of modern infidelity; and this they undertook to counteract by giving her a new faith, a new system of morals, and a new hierarchy. Animated for the most part by pure philanthropy, they began their work with courage and fervour; but their path was unenlightened by revelation; for they rejected all help save that of human reason; they resolved to act otherwise and better than God—and God so abandoned them to their own follies, that at length Atheism itself, like Sin before her first-born Death, recoiled with disgust and horror from the monster whom they brought into the world. No reasoning could prove so forcibly the necessity of revelation, and the insufficiency of mere human reason to govern, regulate and discipline the world, as the fact, that such should be the result of

the labours of such eminent men. Considered in this light, the study of the St. Simonian doctrines is both consoling and edifying to those who have held fast the faith of their fathers: and to Catholics it will be an especial ground of satisfaction, to see, that these innovators who were to change the face of the earth, were obliged to have recourse to the institutions of our Church, although, by their imitation, they disfigured and degraded them.

Strange as it may appear, the St. Simonian Utopia implied the existence of a sovereign pontiff, and of an episcopacy of priests: it also required auricular confession; and it was while searching out the means most conducive to the material prosperity of the human race, that these speculators became convinced of the temporal utility of those popish innovations. But before arriving thus far, the St. Simonians had made profound investigations in political economy, from which the statesman who studies their earlier productions may receive much information. Before they propagated their new worship, they had explored all the sources of national wealth; and France is indebted to them for the weakening of those prejudices which have frequently obscured the views of so many of her rulers. They almost entirely destroyed the sort of superstitious veneration so long entertained in this country for the system of the sinking fund; by them the system of commercial restrictions was first strongly attacked; and through their influence, railroads, combined with immense internal improvements, became popular with our neighbours. The strong impulse given on the other side of the Channel to industry and commerce, and the adoption by government of more enlightened and more liberal views, may, in part, be attributed to their first writings. They have thus acquired some title to the gratitude of their countrymen; and although their system in the last and most logical of its forms, tended directly to produce frightful immorality, and the destruction of all the rights of property, yet we are bound in candour to admit, that they have concentrated a stronger phalanx of youthful talent, and a greater mass of historical science and practical knowledge, than had ever before been brought to bear upon the illustration of political economy.

Those who see in the St. Simonians nothing but dreamers, such as our New-lights and Methodists; and who suppose that amongst the follies they have imagined, there is no mixture of any thing useful and worth consideration, should be reminded of such names as Michel, Chevalier, Pereire, Buchez, Comte, and many others, who, having first created, and then abandoned, the new faith, are now to be found at the head of most extensive

commercial undertakings, or enlightening the government of France by the extent of their real and practical knowledge. But before giving our readers an account of the Saint-Simonian doctrines, or a history of their progress, we think it right to point out the causes which procured them (although for a short time only) such decided success in that country, where, of all others, one would be the least inclined to expect any of the enthusiasm of religious zeal. It is certainly not in France that one would have anticipated any success for a form of worship that set out by abolishing all right of private property, and required of its followers to give up what they already possessed. Nor could anything seem less probable than that France, of all countries, should give birth to a religion, which began by establishing an absolute authority, under the name of Supreme Father; round whom his disciples, the humble satellites of their chiefs, should learn to group themselves at his caprices with all the docility of the Lamas before the incarnate God whom they adore. And yet there was a time, towards the end of 1831, when the Catholics on one hand, and the government on the other, felt serious alarm at the increasing number, and the blind fanaticism of the proselytes to St. Simonism; so great a change in the cold, ironical, and selfish habits of the unbelieving portion of the population; such a subjugation of men heretofore so easily excited, by their democratical passions, to resistance against royal authority; so easily irritated by any appeal to their anti-Christian prejudices, is not the least remarkable circumstance in the new doctrines. Indeed, there would have been something quite miraculous in it, had not a concurrence of circumstances for some time past been preparing the way for what had otherwise been perfectly impossible. If there is one fact more than another which is demonstrated by history, it is certainly the aristocratical character of Protestantism at its commencement. The Catholic clergy were then possessed of immense wealth, and the nobles who had been ruined by civil war, or by their own prodigality, saw, with displeasure, in the hands of the priesthood, wealth which had been bestowed on them by their own ancestry. The reformers offered the nobles an easy method of realizing, under colour of conscientious scruples, an immense system of confiscations; and they thus raised up a great part of the lay barons in opposition to the ecclesiastical barons. This was the talisman which gave such power to the innovators of the sixteenth century; and neither Spain nor Italy could have escaped their influence, if the aristocracy had been as powerful in those two countries as in England and the north of Germany. For every where the populace were Catholics. It was the lower

orders, assisted by the citizens of the great towns, who, in France, formed that famous association known by the name of "The League," and triumphed over the Huguenots, whose strength, in fact, lay in a party amongst the nobles and the vassals whom they could influence. Henry IV himself, in spite of his courage and personal popularity, could only date the commencement of his reign from the day when he became Catholic; and such was the aversion felt by the mass of his subjects for the religion he had so long belonged to, that it was not without some hesitation that he ventured to promulgate the famous edict of Nantes in favour of his old co-religionists. Unfortunately for the Calvinistic party, this edict stipulated in their favour not only for liberty of conscience, but also that they should have possession of several fortified towns, in which garrisons were to be maintained by government, but to be at the disposal of that party. There was thus, at the death of Henry, a state within a state, *imperium in imperio*; and one cannot be surprised that the Catholics, who, by their numbers, constituted the nation, should have felt at once indignant and alarmed at such a division in the forces of the empire. They, therefore, continually tended towards driving the Huguenots from their strongholds; and these, too weak to defend themselves, naturally sought, in their turn, for support in Protestant nations, in England and in Holland. The French Calvinists thus became an anti-national party; and the patriotism of their fellow-subjects became more and more irritated against them, in proportion as the foreigners, whose alliance they had solicited, took a more hostile part against their common country. The assistance given by Charles the First to the rebels of Rochelle, occasioned, at a later period, the revocation of the edict of Nantes, when the weakness of Spain had changed all the political relations of Europe; until then his Catholic Majesty had been the chief enemy of the Kings of France, and they could depend on the fidelity of the Protestants against Philip and his successors; but this fidelity was no longer so secure, when England and Holland, far more to be dreaded as rivals than the cabinet of Madrid had ever been, commenced those wars against the despotism of Louis XIV which ended so fatally for that prince. When he entered upon a struggle with such formidable external enemies, it became, by all the rules of human prudence, his duty to release himself, at whatever cost, from his discontented subjects, who were their natural allies, and who had it so much in their power to embarrass him by internal disturbances. There is no doubt that royal bigotry had a great part in the detestable persecutions the Huguenots had then to undergo; but those Protestant writers abuse the credulity of

their readers, who endeavour to prove that the influence of the Catholic clergy produced this flagrant violation of liberty of conscience. Louis XIV listened to his ministers, not to his bishops, when he expelled from his states the reformers who preferred their creed to their country. He acted then as Elizabeth did when the Spanish Armada was upon our own coasts;—but justice requires us to draw this distinction, that the English Catholics had never given battle to their sovereign, nor concluded public treaties with his declared enemies. The very different conduct of Louis XIII, and of Louis XIV himself, during a part of his long reign, shews how much the gradual decline of Spain influenced the fate of the French Calvinists. The first of these two monarchs, in obedience to the wishes of his people, took away the strongholds that had been left to the Calvinists, and reduced them to an equality with his other subjects; but if they no longer possessed exclusive privileges, at least they laboured under no disabilities; the highest functions of the state were as open to them as to Catholics; and there were Huguenot Marshals of France, governors of provinces, and ambassadors.

No one as yet thought of converting them; not even Cardinal Richelieu, who died satisfied, that in destroying their power, he had broken down the last bulwark of the ancient feudal system. Louis XIV at first followed the same plan, and did not begin in earnest to favour the missionaries, whose zeal led them to those provinces where there were most reformers, until the Protestant nations had excited his serious alarm. He then, in the first instance, had recourse to persuasion and court favour to bring back the Protestants into the Church; and he the more confidently reckoned on success, because their number was comparatively small: conversions multiplied; the courtiers exaggerated their number; and the proud monarch, who, not unreasonably considered every French Protestant as necessarily the ally of his future enemies, determined at length to drive from his kingdom, by a legislative act, those Calvinists who remained obstinate, resisting alike the eloquence of his preachers, and the seductions with which he had surrounded them. The exiles, who were principally of the middle classes, and some gentlemen, took refuge in the neighbouring countries; and by their ardent hatred against the nation which had banished them, seemed, in some sort, to justify the precautions to which they had been sacrificed. Meanwhile, the new converts, who had too often yielded only to fear or to ambition, had rather become bad Protestants than good Catholics; and the recollection of the violence thus done to their consciences, prepared their posterity for the atheistical corruption of the regency, and still later for the lessons of in-

credulity they were to receive from the philosophers of the eighteenth century. By these, however, the defence of the reformation was warmly undertaken; and they thus reconciled themselves with such Protestants, as had had the good fortune or address to escape the enquiries of government in the preceding reign, or who had returned to profit by the toleration of the Duke of Orleans.

Thus was cemented a close alliance between the unbelievers and the Protestants in France, and the bond of union was their mutual aversion for the Church of Rome. Unhappily no unbeliever embraced the doctrines of Luther or of Calvin; but of the reformed Church many became unbelievers, retaining only the name of Protestant; while many free-thinking philosophers were called Catholics, because they had been born within the pale of the Church. But they rivalled each other in ridiculing revelation, and treated with equal contempt the doctrines which are common to both persuasions. No doubt there were still sincere reformers in France at the outbreak of the first French revolution; and those provinces which had been spared in the revocation of the edict of Nantes,—Lorraine and Alsace,—contained many such. Still the reformation had suffered amongst our neighbours more perhaps, in proportion, than Catholicism itself, from the effects of philosophy. What took place when liberty of conscience was proclaimed by the unhappy Louis XVI, and during the fury of the revolutions which succeeded, would seem to make out this proposition. The Jacobins respected Protestant churches, yet they did not multiply; and the number of Protestants rather diminished than increased. Such Catholics as continued to stray out of the pale of their own Church, little thought of seeking a shelter within the precincts of any other; whilst not a few Protestants who mingled with the crowd of unbelievers, lost even the denominations by which they should have been distinguished in the Christian community. The fifty years that have elapsed since that period, have changed nothing in this direction of opinions; and we defy any well-informed traveller in France not to confirm our assertion, that the number of Protestants in that country, who have in any degree retained their religious faith, is so small, as to form only an exception, which rather strengthens than invalidates the rule. This decay of Protestantism amongst our neighbours is a fact not sufficiently well known. In England, we are not aware how little Catholics abroad concern themselves with those controversies amongst different branches of Christianity, which are so active amongst us. With them Christianity is Catholicism; and that even by the avowal of the philosophers, who are competent judges. It

follows, that there are few discussions upon the meaning of texts of the Holy Scriptures, as to the authority of the Church. The question debated amongst them is, whether there is, or is not, a God and a revelation; so that in the multitude of books published by Catholics on the Continent, during the last thirty years, in defence of their cause, there is scarcely one which has been directed against the reformed Church. Dr. Wiseman's admirable lectures upon the *Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion*, have already gone through several editions; whilst those—not less admirable—which he has written on the principal doctrines of the Catholic Church, have not, so far as we know, been ever translated; and for this reason; that they defend our holy religion only from the attacks of our dissenting brethren; while in France, generally speaking, none are considered Christians except the Catholics. Upon this subject public opinion is so decided, that the conversions to Protestantism, which occasionally, but seldom, happen, are considered only as official declarations of unbelief. If the inhabitants of a parish are chiefly free-thinkers, and at the same time discontented with their pastor, they address the government with a request for a Protestant minister. Such are the prodigies of grace which form the boast of our Bible Societies! But let them ask their new converts their belief respecting the mysteries of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Redemption, the replies they will receive will speedily silence their exultation. Thus, the population in France may be divided into two classes; the one composed of Papists, who believe in all that the Church of Rome believes; the other of free-thinkers, who belong by birth either to the Catholic Church, or to the different Protestant sects. Superior in activity, ardour, and talent, the first class has long governed the country; and from the beginning, whilst persecution was most sanguinary, its very advocates and promoters acknowledged the necessity of a Religion. Robespierre himself attacked Atheism during the deplorable days of its triumph. He sent to the scaffold the faction who strove to found the creed of the nation upon materialism: he officially proclaimed the existence of a supreme being; and it was evident from the papers found after his death, that he had intended to establish a new worship, of which he himself was to have been the Mahomet. After his death his projects were resumed by the Directory;—or rather, the men who succeeded him, understood, like himself, that no people can exist as a nation without a religious faith of some kind. Then appeared the Theophilanthropists, under the direction of La Reveillère-Lessaux; several churches were given up to them; and they instituted feasts and liturgies. But the free-thinkers

laughed at their mummeries; Christians turned from them in disgust; and the new religion had died a natural death before the return of Bonaparte from Egypt. This extraordinary man saw at once, as his forerunners Robespierre and the Directory had done, that the edifice of his power would be founded upon a quicksand, if he could not revive in the French nation the vital principle of morality, based on revelation. Had Protestantism at that period still retained in France the energy which it had possessed in the sixteenth century, no doubt Napoleon would have declared himself a Protestant, were it but to punish the perhaps too exclusive attachment of the Catholics to the dynasty of Bourbon: but his eagle-eye perceived at once that the only faith which still had followers was the faith of Rome; and, overcoming all opposition, he concluded a treaty with the Pope—a treaty by which the Catholic religion was once more officially declared, what it was in fact, the religion of all Frenchmen who had a religion. On the part of their new chief, the concordat was certainly only an act of policy; and it is in this point of view that it is so highly important, as it shows us how deeply this great genius, although himself an unbeliever, felt the necessity of a religion which should be based on revelation, and not the offspring of philosophical inquiries; and also his full conviction that Catholicism was the only faith which could sustain itself in the country. As the princes of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon were themselves sincere believers, we can draw no inference with respect to the state of France from their steadfast adherence to the Roman faith. We will only say, that their meddling and imprudent zeal revived the ancient attachment which the Catholics had vowed to them, and this of itself was sufficient to give fresh vigour to the hatred entertained by the liberal party for Christianity. The name of royalist became synonymous with that of Catholic, as that of Christian already was: and, during fifteen years, the French press ceased not to attack, with unexampled violence, the throne and the altar,—or in other words, the monarch who loved the priests, and revelation as represented by the priests. But during the restoration, incredulity assumed a new form; for the rising generation, tired and disgusted by the obscene immorality of the eighteenth century, were gradually adopting, under the guidance of MM. Royer Collard, Benjamin Constant, Guizot, and Cousin, a system of spiritualism, which was more elevated, if not less hostile. These were unanimous as to the impossibility of governing any nation without the assistance of something in the shape of religious doctrine; and indeed, they went so far as to admit that their great, if not only, objection to the Catholic faith,

was, that its tenets were no longer appropriate to the wants, habits, and knowledge of the present generation. They soon expressed a desire to see the appearance of a religion which should be more in harmony with modern civilization; and they even went so far as to predict that human intellect would ere long discover a doctrine which should be independent of all revelation, and demonstrable in the same manner as a mathematical truth; and in which men would find a rule for their belief and their morals, which would be more consistent than the gospel with the progress of modern intellect. Two things are particularly remarkable in the writings of that period. In the first place, according to the eminent men whom we have mentioned, the practical utility of a moral and religious doctrine should be considered as the proper criterion of its truth; so that the same worship may be true during a certain number of ages, and may cease to be so at a later period, when no longer in conformity with the well-understood interests of the human race. In the second place, unbelief, though excellent when it serves to destroy a religion which has lasted its time, is, nevertheless, what Robespierre, La Reveillère-Lessaux, and Napoleon, had believed it to be, an inevitable cause of destruction to the country where it takes up its abode. At the same time that the more philosophical spirits of France were following this new direction, the nation profited by the peace of the restoration to develop its immense resources; manufactories arose, and the French exerted themselves upon their internal improvements with all the impetuosity of the national character. By a natural consequence, political economy became a popular science; and Say's treatise, which had been published, first in 1802, and forgotten amidst the wars of the Empire, was now reprinted, and became universally known. A multitude of other writers followed his track, and the science which he taught was cultivated with especial care; but the rapid progress of industry was checked; the French market became over-stocked; the price of labour fell; and the comforts of the lower orders decreased, whilst the general wealth of the nation was rapidly increasing. The cause of this deplorable anomaly became a question of great importance; and the French political economists, who at that time were all liberals, chose for the most part to attribute it to that dynasty, which in truth had revived the commerce of the country; and to the Jesuits, whom they accused of being the royal counsellors. In fact, their language to the workmen might be condensed into these words: "Drive the Bourbons and the priests out of the country, and you will have good wages."

Meanwhile, amongst the young philosophers of France, there

were many who were engaged in the study of political economy, and who imagined that, by the help of that science, they should succeed in finding their grand desideratum,—a doctrine which should be in accordance with modern civilization, and at the same time able, by taking the place of Catholicism, to save the world from the dangers that threatened it from the progress of universal scepticism. In their hands, political economy became divided into two distinct branches. To the first they gave the name of “social economy,” because it is the science of all those institutions by the help of which societies subsist, beginning from the family and mounting up to the state; and because we learn from this science what should be the nature of those institutions, in order to secure the greatest possible quantity of general prosperity. The second branch, moving in a humbler sphere, was the science of Smith and Ricardo—political economy in its strict sense,—or, in other words, the science of the elements of the wealth of nations, and the means of increasing it, when a nation is constituted. This division, which at first seemed imperfect and obscure, but which was in fact a correct one, tended much to promote the birth of St. Simonism. The study of social economy in a country essentially democratical, led to an inquiry into what was the greatest good to the greatest number; and this, by a necessary consequence, brought under discussion a division of the fruit of common industry. The philanthropy of the young philosophers grew wonderfully zealous; and declamation abounded upon the fate of the workmen. Their great point was to meliorate the condition of the majority, by the foundation of a new worship; and, at the same time, to save society from the dangers of unbelief—dangers which had been rendered more alarming and more manifest by the revolution of July. They sincerely believed that Catholicism was extinct; and they had no idea of Christianity under any other form. Love of their fellow-creatures, ambition, vanity, and the reasonable hope of succeeding by the assistance of the lower orders,—everything concurred, at the beginning of 1831, to gain numerous proselytes to St. Simonism. It is a singular fact, that the man who has given his name to the new sect, and has been deified by it, never suspected during his lifetime the part he was to play after his death. Count Henri de St. Simon belonged by birth to the family of that famous duke of the same name, who was contemporary with Louis XIV, and who has left us his interesting memoirs. He was born the 17th of August 1760; entered the army; served with Lafayette during the American war; and returned to Paris to enjoy all the amusements he could command by his high birth (of which he was excessively proud), and by a large fortune.

But the excesses of all kinds to which he gave way, could not extinguish his vanity, or his ambition; and his servant had orders to awaken him every morning with the words: "Arise, my Lord Count, you have great things to perform." These "great things" were confined at first to speculations in assignats and on the Bourse,—which were ruinous to his fortune, already much impaired by his dissipation. He however collected what remained, and travelled in many foreign countries; connected himself with the learned atheists, so numerous in France towards the close of the eighteenth century; and at length applied himself to a project for the reorganization of all the sciences, by uniting them into one, with the aid of a theory which should be common to all. His writings increased in number; but they were unattended to until 1814. He then embarked in politics, and continued writing and publishing upon this subject, until at length, forsaken by his family, and ruined by his publishers, he fell into such extreme distress, that in 1820 the unhappy man endeavoured to destroy himself; he was wounded by the pistol which he fired, but he recovered; and it was then that he laid down more clearly the foundations of the system which has since been so strangely applied, extended, and disfigured by his disciples. We say his disciples; for now he began to have some; and amongst them were, Augustin Thierry, author of the *History of the Norman Conquest*; Olinde Rodriguez, a Jew; and several young men, most of them belonging to the Polytechnic School. St. Simon died in 1825, leaving to his heir, Olinde Rodriguez, all his papers, and amongst them the unpublished work entitled *The New Christianity*—a title which will surprise such of our readers as do not know how familiar to the free-thinkers of the Continent is the idea of engrafting upon Christianity the new worship, which they so fervently desire. It is certain, however, that their ideas do not turn upon the foundation of a new sect. Their project is to give to the gospel an entirely philosophical character; to assimilate it to the books of Confucius, by rejecting from it whatever is miraculous and divine: and thus to make of it a code of morality not yet explained, but which they were to interpret in a new manner, by the help of the progress of existing civilization. But before arriving at this point, the author had attentively examined the moral and intellectual state of Europe, and had been chiefly struck by the incoherence which existed in the ideas and the labours of the learned in his time. He bitterly reproached them for not co-operating in their efforts, and that some pulled down, by their investigations and studies, what others had laboured to build up: and he was earnest for the creation of a sacred college, whose members, while seeking for

truth each in his especial science, should nevertheless be united to each other by the bond of a common rule. He wished for unity in science, in order that he might attain to it in morals; because, in his notion of moral duties, human reason alone had the right to seek them, and the power to demonstrate their reality. As early as 1808, he so confidently believed in the social utility of associations of this kind, and in the necessity of a common creed, that he addressed to the *Bureau des Longitudes* the following remarkable words:—

“ Since the fifteenth century, that institution (the Catholic Church), which, till then, had united the nations of Europe, and curbed the ambition of people and of kings, has been gradually becoming weaker. It is now completely destroyed; and a general war, a frightful war, a war which threatens to swallow up the European population, has already existed for twenty years and swept away millions of men. You alone can reorganize society in Europe. Time presses; blood is flowing—hasten to declare yourselves.”

The Herculean labour which the French academies would not undertake, M. de St. Simon has sketched out in his *Introduction to the Scientific Labours of the Nineteenth Century*, which appeared about the same period, of 1808—a work which is more calculated to raise questions than to resolve them, in which the author has engraved an encyclopedical tree, and has occasionally abandoned himself to the strangest hypotheses. But amidst the wild fermentation of his mind, one idea predominated over the rest, and was to him, or at least he believed it to be so—what, according to some grey-bearded old women, the fall of an apple was to Sir Isaac Newton—the cause of a discovery which he considered far more important than that of the principle of gravitation. This marvellous discovery, which was no other than the unlimited perfectibility of the human race, had already been made by Vico, Kent, Condorcet, and many others; but we must acknowledge that the future god had made it his own by the manner in which he enlarged and applied it. As the doctrine which bears his name is entirely founded upon this theory, we will lay before our readers some account of the way in which he explained the first steps of man in his progress to perfection.

“ Man was not originally divided from other animals by any strong line of demarcation; on comparing his structure both internally and externally with that of other animals, it is clearly, upon the whole, the most advantageous of all. Why attribute his moral superiority to any other cause? The line of demarcation between the intelligence of men and the instinct of animals, was not clearly defined until after the discovery of a system of conventional signs, either by speech or writ-

ing. If the difference is now immense between the intelligence of men and of other animals, it is because man has placed himself, since the first generation, in the most advantageous situation for perfecting his faculties; the number of his race has always increased, while that of animals, even the most intelligent next to himself, has constantly diminished. In all the relations of man with the brute creation, he has impeded the progress of their mental faculties; forcing some to conceal themselves in the deserts, reducing others to slavery, and constantly resisting the development of such of their faculties as might enable them to struggle with his own dominion; while he has favoured with all his power the improvement of such as might make them more serviceable to himself; so that the moral nature of man has always tended to perfect itself—and that of animals as constantly to deteriorate. If the human race should disappear from the earth, that species whose organization is, after his, the best, would gradually go on improving. It is essential for the correctness of certain political reasonings, that mankind should be considered as divided into many varieties; and of these the European variety is undoubtedly the first, since it has established itself in that part of the globe which produces the largest quantity of corn and of iron."

Thus St. Simon supposed, that a first age of humanity had terminated with the discovery of language and of writing; and that these discoveries had permanently secured to mankind a superiority over all other animals, and, that thenceforward, (to use a form of classification adopted by some naturalists), the genus *homo* became that point upon which were concentrated all the powers of perfectibility which had previously been distributed over the universe—that thus, Plato's biped without feathers was carried on, by an internal and irresistible impulse, from progress to progress. In this inevitable and ascending march, the author of the *Introduction to the Scientific Labours of the Nineteenth Century*, distinguishes the members of the human family from the family itself, and, like Condorcet, draws a parallel betwixt the general growth of society, and the growth of the individual, rising up from childhood to adolescence; and at length, with years, to the full vigour of manhood. The reader will see at once, that this comparison—so much admired by modern philosophers, and which forms in fact the principal argument by which they endeavour to prove Catholicism no longer in harmony with the age—by no means goes to prove that the perfectibility of the human race is unlimited; for if the individual gains strength and perfection up to a certain time, there follows then a period of decline; and, if we admit the parallel, our philosopher will have to prove that it should not be carried to its full extent—and that civilization is not subject like ourselves to the sad necessity of decay and death. For our own parts we should

almost be sorry, if the animals — our former equals — should thus lose all chance of entering upon the career of “progressive improvements.” Why should not all the brutes reign in their turn? *that* would be more just and more logical, if we admit an intrinsic equality in the nature of all living things; and this hypothesis once established, why should not our philosophers employ themselves, in preparing means for the intellectual progress of the beasts they have the greatest liking to? The last act of absolute authority is, to appoint its successors; and modern philosophy would show the high idea it entertains of human dignity, by determining before hand, which of the four-legged species shall, in a few centuries, philosophize in its place. Nay, who can say that it is not with some such view, that stage-managers have lately been so anxious to choose their actors from amongst animals? Dogs and horses, lions, elephants, and even fleas, have appeared in succession upon the boards; and now that we are acquainted with their respective talents, we are able to assign to the best-qualified the post of lords of the creation, which hitherto Christians have believed themselves to hold in virtue of the divine will, and of the superiority of their essence.

Unluckily, modern philosophers, instead of holding the balance equally between all living creatures, destroy the force of the only argument they have to prove the perfectibility of our species, by supposing this perfectibility unlimited; in other words that the human race is to continue eternally to improve, and *that* so decidedly, that although external obstacles should succeed, for a time, in compressing the progressive power which is innate in us, it must nevertheless in the end surmount every difficulty it meets in its way. To prove this theory, St. Simon, and after him his disciples, have made immense historical researches, and it would be unjust to deny that they have greatly contributed to the taste at present prevailing for this species of study. In order to catch the connexion of particular facts, St. Simon divided them into distinct series, which comprised the successive improvements made in the sciences, in the arts, in commercial industry, in religion, in morality, and in social organisation; and these he summed up into what he called the general or predominating influence of each particular epoch. According to him, mankind, taken as a whole, has constantly gone on improving; and this assertion, developed by his disciples, has contributed prodigiously to weaken the prejudices entertained against Catholicity; and, indeed, if their hypothesis were true, then every religion, as we follow the course of time, must have been better than that by which it was preceded. And the faith of Rome being the most recent, at least among civilized people, the consequence is that it

must be greatly superior to all that have existed before it; accordingly the St. Simonians have always spoken with respect of our Church, have rejected with bitter contempt the sarcasms and lies of the eighteenth century, and professed a high veneration for those Popes who are most detested by Protestantism,—the famous Hildebrand for instance, whom many St. Simonians have not hesitated to class amongst the great benefactors of the human race. Perhaps the reader will be surprised that, according to this theory, they should not have admitted the reformation as an amelioration of Christianity; but they have never considered the reformation as proving anything but that mankind had outgrown Christianity. To explain this it is necessary to state that they divide the different periods of history into religious epochs, or epochs of organization, and epochs of enquiry or incredulity. Each period of organization begins by the introduction of a new social theory or general idea; and terminates when this theory has been completely fulfilled and applied, by penetrating and embuing the morals, customs, and social and political organization of the most advanced nations. Then comes a period of incredulity, or a critical epoch, arising from the inability of these people to make farther progress without the help of a new theory. But this new theory cannot be applied until the destruction of the worn-out forms of the old system; and till the opinions by which it was characterized have been abandoned. In the first instance, therefore, the ancient edifice must be demolished, and even its ruins cleared away, that upon the unencumbered soil a new edifice may be erected, able to meet the increasing wants of an expanding race. Such then is the task allotted to these critical periods, or periods of incredulity; a task of destruction and not of construction. This task was fulfilled, and this destruction accomplished, as regards Paganism, by the ancient philosophers; and they had prepared the way for the Gospel, in the same manner as, according to St. Simon, Protestantism and modern philosophy have in their turn performed their duty, by shaking, and at length overthrowing, the papal superstitions. Not that Paganism and Christianity, (*i. e.* Catholicism) were not excellent in their time, and exactly what would have been most advantageous to humanity in infancy and afterwards in its adolescence; but as the first was not suited to the youth of mankind—so the second has ceased to be fitted to its riper age.

And thus philosophy on the one hand and reformation on the other—equally incapable of organizing anything—have nevertheless done immense service in their own way by their implacable hatred of that mode of worship which has produced the present state of civilization, with all its prodigies.* But the epochs of

enquiry must themselves come to an end, and a fatal one, when their work is done; and philosophy (which believes in nothing), as well as the reformation—valuable only as the destroyers of Catholicism, must now perish themselves, since their victim is deceased. Alas, poor papistry! from the emperors who caused medals to be struck *pro superstitione delicta*, down to the reverend divines in lawn sleeves who took it for the great whore of Babylon, and fixed, by the help of the apocalypse, the preordained hour of its demise, how often have its enemies seated themselves triumphantly upon the coffin where they believed they had inclosed it!—and each time, like its divine founder, it has cast off the winding sheet they had wound around it, more youthful, more majestic, and more powerful than ever! Has that giant grown old who, even in these days of universal scepticism, has, with a word of its mouth, crushed the rebel genius of a Lamennais, perhaps the greatest writer in France? That Lamennais, whom the reader will find thus named in the following extract from the exposition of the Saint-Simonian doctrine:

“The best interests of mankind are waiting for us, as I wrote to you in my last letter: shall we serve them by consuming our useless lives in idle attacks upon the tottering chair of St. Peter?”

“The present is but an instant in the duration of time; our’s is an age of renovation; the stamp of age and dotage is upon it: why should we stand by, watching the dispersion of its remains? Let us carry back our imaginations to the times when that edifice, whose ruins we behold to-day, was erect, anticipating proudly an eternal duration: then, over-leaping an immense space, let us soar with daring flight over the future, and, from this point of view, let us henceforward interrogate the past, and re-demand from it the faith, the hope, the love, which it has neglected to preserve for us. No, I can never admit,—and you now know why I return to this subject—that the Protestant clergy, or rather the agglomeration of men who bear that name, exercise with respect to authority the same prerogatives as the clergy of Rome. De Maistre, l’Abbé de la Mennais, yourself, in your letters to the *Glasgow Chronicle*, and indeed public notoriety, make it impossible I should give way upon this point.

“You say that the disciples of Saint-Simon appear to you in the commencement to have been Roman Catholics; I thought I had better informed you on this subject; but since you cling to such an opinion, let me hope that you will be convinced by the two following reasons.

“In fact, the disciples of Saint-Simon may be divided into converts from the Jews and from the Catholics. In principle they are before all things disciples of Saint-Simon; and the old man, whatever he may have been, has disappeared in them. All the religions of the past have been preparatory and successive states for humanity, and it is as the last link in the chain of improvement that we admire Catholicism, although condemned to extinction.

The past may be divided into religious and irreligious epochs, and of these, history points out to us the four last periods.

"Religious antiquity: Paganism and Judaism: Irreligious antiquity: Greek and Roman philosophy, and Sadduceeism.

"Modern religious epoch: Catholicism. Modern irreligious epoch: Protestantism. This nomenclature once established, it would be correct to say that the disciples of Saint-Simon have all begun by being Protestants; a result which you certainly did not foresee."—*Letter to an English Protestant* — Vol. ii. p. 259.

In England, two men of great talent, and who by different methods have attained some celebrity, Mr. Owen and Mr. Irving, have perfectly agreed with Saint-Simon and his school as to the fact of an approaching regeneration of the human race. All, moreover, have agreed implicitly or explicitly, that European society could not exist much longer in its present state, but must fall into universal chaos if it were not saved by the infusion of a new life, manifesting itself by new forms. It is worthy of remark that they all were led to these desolating conclusions by considerations drawn from political economy, and which were in the first instance suggested by the distress of the working classes. The gradual decline of wages, connected as it is with the growing knowledge and importance of those whose comforts are constantly decreasing, is an evil, the magnitude of which they fully understood, and as they were satisfied that it could be permanently mitigated neither by a political change, nor by any other device within the present reach of human ingenuity, they dived boldly into futurity, with the hope of discovering, far beyond the limits of existing facts and institutions, an adequate remedy. Mr. Irving, in whom religious enthusiasm predominated, sought it in the second coming of the Messiah; Mr. Owen, in his Co-operative Societies; and Saint-Simon in the law of the necessary development of human nature. More learned, bolder, and more imaginative than the other two, his mind embraced the history of the past, and sought in it a formula explanatory of the present, and a rule which should be applicable to the future. He had studied the subject of industry in all its branches, and made it a part of his system of unlimited perfectibility; assigned to it a first-rate place in the destiny of mankind, and traced its progress from its origin, when manual labour fell exclusively to the share of the slave. He followed the slave in all his transformations, into a serf in the first place, then into a free man; and he perceived that, at each change in the condition of the working classes, industry had attained a higher station, and manifested greater energy. In his opinion, this progressive improvement could no longer continue without a radical altera-

ration in the existing relation between the labourer and his employer; and he considered that the want of this alteration accounts for the ravages of pauperism. The periods, both of wages and of slavery had passed away, and by the force of events the approaching epoch of organization was to give, with a new religion and a new morality, a new form to the rights of property, and was to substitute the system of copartnership for that of daily wages. We say a new morality,—for the author allows us to perceive in all his works, that the moral duties are not more unalterable, nor more out of the reach of perfectibility, than any thing else. And in this, be it observed, Saint-Simon has done little more than follow up and rigorously apply a principle which is pretty generally admitted, by those who are not Christians, and who derive their notions of what is just or unjust, not from the divine will, but from the nature of mankind in general, or in other words, of society. They, therefore, see nothing in morality but subordination, the sacrifice of individual to general advantage. And, if this hypothesis were once admitted, we should see no reason why the precepts of morality should not change with the lapse of ages; for the common weal undoubtedly changes its character at different times: requiring at one time what at another might be highly injurious. No doubt a Catholic will laugh at a theory, according to which what was right before the introduction of rail-roads, may become wrong after this discovery has taken place; because the Catholic seeks his criterion of good and evil beyond the sphere of mortality,—in the imperishable and unalterable determination of his Maker: but he who rejects revelation must take for his rule of morality either the statute book, with Hobbes, or the general welfare of his species, with Saint-Simon and Bentham. Saint-Simon, however, never undertook to define the worship and the system of morals which were to replace the faith and the decalogue of Christians; although, in his last work, published after his death, which took place 19th May 1825, he promised to the world this important revelation. His *New Christianity* in its present state contains little else than a long charge of heresy against Catholics first, and then against Protestants; Christians of all denominations having, according to him, deviated from primitive Christianity; making themselves accomplices of the higher orders, in their unjust oppression of the labourer; that is to say, of those very classes whom the Gospel was intended to liberate. Amongst his complaints against Luther, whom he looks upon as the representative of the entire Reformation, there is one so curious that we shall give it in his own terms.

"Luther was a very powerful and energetic man for the purposes of criticism or inquiry, but it was only in this point of view that he showed very great capacity; thus he proved in the most complete and nervous manner that the court of Rome had quitted the direction of Christianity; that on the one hand she sought to constitute herself an arbitrary power—that on the other she strove to combine with the powerful against the poor, and that the faithful should oblige her to reform herself. But the labour which he gave to the reorganization of Christianity was much less than it should have been. Instead of taking the necessary steps to increase the social importance of religion, he has caused it to retrograde to its starting point; he has placed it again *without* the limits of social organization—he has thus recognised the power of Cæsar as that from which all others emanate; he has reserved to his clergy only the rights of humble supplicants to the temporal power; and has thus condemned pacific minds to remain in perpetual dependance upon men of violent passions and military capacities."

One other extract will contain all that there is of consequence in his book, upon what he more than once calls "the future religion of mankind."

"The *New Christianity* will be composed chiefly of the same elements as now make up the different heretical associations of Europe and America. The New Christianity, like the heretical associations, will have its worship, its morality, and its dogmas. It will have its clergy; and this clergy will have its chiefs; but notwithstanding this similarity of organization, the new Christianity will be purged from all actual heresies. The doctrines of morality will be considered as of first importance; Faith and Doctrine will be looked upon as accessories, the principal object of which should be to fix the attention of the faithful of all classes upon morality.

"In *New Christianity* all morality will be deduced directly from this principle, '*that men must act like brothers to each other.*' And this principle, which appertains to primitive Christianity, will undergo a transfiguration, after which it will become the appropriate object of all the religious labours of the present day.

"This regenerate principle will be presented in the following manner:—*Religion must direct society towards the grand object of the most rapid possible melioration of the fate of the poorest class.* Those who are to found the new Christianity, and to constitute themselves chiefs of the new church, are those who are most capable of contributing by their labours to increase the welfare of the lower orders; the functions of the clergy will be simply teaching the new Christian doctrine, in the perfecting of which, the chiefs of the church will labour without ceasing."

The importance of unity in scientific labours; the necessity for a social regeneration, by the aid of a new religion and morality; the substitution of the principle of association for that of wages;

the supremacy of capacity of every kind over all other social distinctions; the dominion which the peaceful labourer should have over the idle;—these are the consequences that Saint-Simon would draw from his great law of the unlimited perfectibility of man, and which he left as his only heritage to the small number of disciples who surrounded his death-bed.

They were faithful to him, and very shortly afterwards they produced a monthly journal, entitled *Le Producteur*; and that paper, though little noticed at the time, contained very remarkable articles upon political economy and history; in it there were also original views upon the nature of property; and amongst the conductors were already found the names of MM. Bazar and Enfantin; the first, a decided republican and one of the principal members of the French Society of Carbonari; the second, merely an agent of the “Caisse hypothécaire,” a sort of territorial bank. Dissensions, however, began to appear; the most enthusiastic thought that the others were too anxious about the material wants of society, and not sufficiently so for their moral necessities. They affirmed that the critical or irreligious period, begun by the reformation and continued by modern philosophy, had lasted long enough; and they accused their dissenting brethren of giving all their attention to man, forgetting that the feminine sex made so great a part of the human race. They separated; and *Le Producteur* was replaced by another journal, entitled *L'Organisateur*; in this the Saint-Simonian doctrines took quite a different character; a religious feeling was more clearly displayed in it, and the necessity for a new religion was openly avowed as a fundamental principle by the editors. They sought it in the material wants of society, and in the necessity for making all institutions—moral and political—the hierarchy of ranks—and even the rights of property—subordinate to the welfare of the majority; they affirmed that a powerful and revered priesthood was a condition necessary to this welfare; and they summoned to this priesthood persons of all capacities and of all sorts of employment; for the priest in this new society, from whence the idle were to be expelled, was to be the most learned, the ablest, and the best, from amongst those who labour in the field, or in the workshop, or who cultivate science or the fine arts. In short, they were to be at once apostles and political economists. As apostles, they promulgated the advantages of a priestly hierarchy who should rule the world for the benefit of the lower orders. As economists, they declared that capital of all sorts is but an instrument of production; and they asked why the landlord and the monied man, whose only office was to furnish the labourer with this instrument, should receive, under

the names of rent and of interest, such an exorbitant reward for such a trifling service rendered to the community. Give, they continued, to the priests of the future, all the lands and money in the world, and they will ask from the labourer neither rent nor interest; they will seek out only the most skilful; and production, released from a great part of the heavy expense by which it is now burdened, will become infinitely more fertile than at present, to the great benefit of the laboring classes, and to the detriment of none but the idle. This principle, confused as yet as to its practical details, but sufficiently clear to the understandings of those who were to profit by it, was wonderfully adapted to the state of public opinion in France, at the time when the revolution of July broke out. The great commercial crisis of 1825-26 had shaken the general confidence in the political system of Say and his school; the situation of the working classes became more and more alarming, and the want of some religious curb was, as we have already said, felt even by the freethinkers, who, however, were determined not to return to Catholicism, and yet felt unable to become Protestants, without going farther, and adopting the Catholic principle, by receiving along with the Holy Scriptures, the authority of a living and visible interpreter. If to these favourable circumstances, we add the existence of multitudes of young men of great talents but of small means, who saw a brilliant career opening in the priesthood of the new religion,—if we consider the enthusiasm of many philanthropists who were ready to sacrifice at least a part of their fortune to the general good—we shall not be surprised at the success which attended Saint-Simonism in the early part of 1830. It was, indeed, very great; and the prime support of all infant associations—money, was not wanting. Besides *L'Organisateur*, they were then able to support a daily journal, entitled *Le Globe*, and they held public sittings, where they explained their doctrines. These doctrines, although veiled in part from profane eyes, may, we think, be defined in the following manner.

“That men are all equal; and that the two sexes are entitled to the same rights and privileges, making an exception, however, for the difference in natural capacity, and for the use which each individual, male or female, may make of that capacity; that society was established in order to secure to its members the greatest possible quantity of material happiness; and that its organization will be perfect when the sum of enjoyment allotted to each individual shall be according to his ability and his works, and without reference to his birth; that from the beginning the human race has been advancing to this point; and the different religions which have succeeded each other, have brought it

nearer and nearer to this final object of all social institutions; that all the progress hitherto made, man has owed to those religions which have made a ruling priesthood, and a supreme spiritual authority, indispensable; for such religious opinions as want these two requisite instruments—and *a fortiori* human philosophy—are powerless to associate, and can only destroy what exists. That paganism was, and must have been, exclusively sensual, because it received the human race at its first emerging from a state of nature; and that in this sense it was an improvement. In its turn Christianity came to meliorate the pagan world: it was and ought to have been exclusively spiritual, because the worship which it replaced had fallen into the other extreme. The one had changed brutes into slaves, the other elevated slaves into free men; but it allowed the possessors of capital to make use of the class it had enfranchised; it retained the privileges of birth and property, even while it opened a career in the priesthood to plebeian talent which it had never before possessed; it sanctioned the inferiority of woman, and finally established a fatal opposition between the flesh and the spirit; condemning the former, and thus consuming the life of man in one long and painful struggle between these two great sources of strength. That Christianity has lasted its time, since the defects of this institution are now perceived and felt; and that they could be remedied neither by the reformation nor by philosophy, since neither possessed the principles of authority, which alone can bind together individuals, and cause them to co-operate. That in the meantime society falls to pieces and can only be saved by a new religion; that Saint-Simonism is that religion; and is true because it satisfies all the actual wants of perfected humanity. Its practical dogmas are the organization of the whole human race into one vast family of labourers; that this family shall be ruled and governed by a sacerdotal hierarchy, which shall itself be subject to a supreme head. That property and inheritance shall be unknown, because every individual shall be remunerated from the common revenue according to his ability and his labour; that the priests will distribute justly, because they will themselves be the most loving, the best, and most enlightened. The idle will cease to be, consequently there will be an end to the employment of the poor by the rich; no longer will talent, whether for arts, science, or laborious industry, be condemned to languish, scorned by wealth or hereditary rank. Christianity had emancipated man alone; the new creed is to set woman also free, and summon her to an equal share in all the rights which the other sex have till now unjustly kept possession of. She will be priest, magistrate, doctor, and savant; or rather, the human

race is to divide itself into couples formed of man and a woman, and each individual in the new society will be a couple; an *androgynæ* composed of two elements, freely uniting, and freely separating when other affinities shall cause them to disunite and to form new combinations. These two elements are to be equal in power, honour, and prerogative. The woman is no longer to be slave to a father, who sells her to a husband,—to a husband whose contempt for her may throw her into the arms of a lover;—the body will be re-instated in its rights, and there will be no more sin, because no farther opposition between flesh and spirit, and evil is impossible when this opposition does not exist. The pleasures of the senses will be things holy and moral, and the opera will become the church of the true believers. The truth of Saint-Simonism is already scientifically demonstrated by history and political economy; and nothing remains but to constitute the sacerdotal hierarchy, whose duty will be forthwith to fix, upon these bases, the moral and religious dogmas which are destined to regenerate the world.

This sacerdotal hierarchy, who were to exercise such absolute sway, and at the side of whose authority that of Rome was to be thrown into the shade, was at length constituted immediately after the revolution of July; and the *believers* took the name of the *Saint-Simonian Family*; this singular family, in which every thing should have been new, began by servilely copying the institution of the Roman Church; for it was composed of a chief called Father Supreme (Pope); of a College of Apostles (Cardinals); of Disciples of the first degree (Bishops); of Disciples of the second degree (Priests); and of Disciples of the third degree (Lay). Without, were the visitors (catechumens) or aspirants to the title of members of the family. There was, moreover, a deaconry, composed of apostles or disciples of the first class, having the Supreme Father as president. To him was entrusted the charge of the *budget* of the society, which was considerable; for at the end of 1831 the number of disciples of the third degree and of visitors amounted to upwards of three thousand, and the society could afford to distribute gratis its journal, *The Globe*. It was by the gifts they received that they covered their expenses; and these gifts, at least those which were announced by the *Globe*, amounted in 1831 to the sum of 336,816 francs, 72 cents. (£13,292). This will appear enormous, when we consider that in the course of the same year the Saint-Simonians went through many internal revolutions; and that their devoted family had been more than once on the point of breaking up. In the first place, it was not without extreme reluctance that many of them would consent to make a religion of Saint-

Simonism; and when it was so determined MM. Conste, Buchez, Lerminier, and many others, left the society. The secession would have been greater, if the necessity of invoking the freedom of conscience promised by the charter, in order to escape the effect of the two hundred and ninety-first article of the penal code, (which allows government to disperse all unions of more than twenty persons,) had not furnished a powerful argument to the more zealous. The construction of the hierarchy was a new cause of discord; and the family, divided between the claims of two candidates, were obliged to have recourse to a *dum-ririte*, by electing Messieurs Bazar and Enfantin to the high office of Supreme Father, the functions of which they fulfilled together. The last of these was unquestionably the most ambitious and the least disposed to shrink from the consequences of the Saint-Simonian doctrine. The throne on which he sat he found too narrow to admit a colleague, and on the 19th of November 1831, after a memorable discussion, of which we shall have more to say by and by, M. Bazar withdrew, followed by a rather large number of partizans; and Enfantin was left alone, the Supreme Father of the Saint-Simonian family. However, in spite of internal disagreements and quarrels, as yet secret from the public,—which were destroying the unity of their college,—the Saint-Simonians were gradually defining their religious theories, and their morality. The first part of the task was not easy; and in the short space of two years, their creed underwent more variations than have happened to Protestantism in as many ages. The two chief points they had to settle were, the nature of God, whose existence they all admitted, and the future state of man after death. As to the first point, they were evidently Pantheists, although their profession of faith, drawn up by Enfantin, was couched in the following terms:—

“God is all that exists.
 All is in him; all is by him;
 None of us is out of him;
 But none of us is him;
 Each of us lives by his life;
 And we all communicate in him;
 For he is all that exists.”

But what is ambiguous in this symbol was sufficiently cleared up by the language of the Apostles who were charged with the weekly preaching at Paris. We quote the following passage from a sermon preached by M. Tronson on the 11th of April 1831:—

“The universe,” he says, “and the immensity of worlds which fill all space, and in these worlds all that loves, thinks, or acts; this earth, and

upon it all the human family—you who listen to us, and we who teach you—all that exists, exists in one unique, individual, infinite, being—and this being is God."

Their idea of the future life, so far as we can ascertain what it was, shows with equal clearness the Pantheistic character of their ideas. They thought that the dead were born again or rather revived in their fellow beings, to receive an increased degree of perfection; this opinion they have never formally defined, but it is easy to trace it in their writings, and to see that time alone was wanting to its development as an article of faith; and, indeed, in another sermon, preached the twenty-first of January, M. Jules le Chevalier, addressing himself to humanity in general, uses the following terms:—

"Thou wilt love to *live* in the present, developing thy body as well as thy mind, and thou wilt love to remember thy past life, and to prepare thy life to come. And, then, in the divers generations of the double family, thou wilt *grow* eternally in love, in wisdom, and in beauty—and thy life always renewed at each of its phases, a journey of initiation through ages and in the midst of worlds, thy life at once individual and collective, will have no limit but immensity; no end but eternity. Then the spirit will no longer be mortified by the flesh, nor the flesh subdued by the spirit; nor shall the kingdom of earth be separated from the kingdom of heaven; nor suffering be endured in time, to secure happiness in eternity; but there will be a holy harmony of all human desires. And then there will be no more the hell, nor the paradise, the eternal repose, nor the eternal damnation of Christianity; neither will there be the absolute death of materialism—but the *progressive evolution* of man in humanity—of humanity in God. Humanity! behold thy religion, behold thy law, behold thy life!"

There is, however, great incoherency, both as to the existence of God and the future state of man, in the Saint-Simonian writings. They constantly admit that the doctrinal part of their worship is yet to be arranged, but they comfort themselves for the slight inconvenience of having a religion without religious faith, by frequently repeating that in every religion the only point of any real consequence must be the morality which fixes the duties of individuals to one another; to this point, therefore, they directed their chief attention, and on this side lay the rock that shipwrecked them. The popularity they maintained in the most democratical country in the world, while they kept to their watchwords,—“Abolition of inheritance and private property,” “Talent the only rule for classification.” “To every one according to his ability, and to ability according to its works,”—forsook them, when, under the pretext of enfranchising women, they gave publicity to a theory so audaciously infamous that we dare scarcely do more than indicate its principal features. They had

organized their priesthood, they had obtained disciples so fanatical, that they came cheerfully to lay at the feet of the Supreme Father the greater part of their fortune; they had invented a costume which they wore fearlessly before the astonished or sneering crowd; they had established workshops where numerous workmen laboured in common for the benefit of the family; but the power they had acquired vanished like a dream, from the moment they dared to give a new character to the conjugal union, or rather to abolish it entirely, and to substitute for it the unbounded and disgusting liberty of the brute creation. Yet it was by considering, as they believed, the actual wants of humanity; by consulting reason, when released from the trammels of revelation, that they reached this degree of monstrous folly: one would say that Providence had deputed to them the task of proving the insufficiency of the mind of man when left to himself, without other lights than those of philosophy and science.

We have already said that the Saint-Simonians had constituted their hierarchy; and, according to their theory, the world was to be governed in the following manner. At the head of the whole human race they placed the Supreme Father; in immediate contact with him was the College of Apostles, whose members he was to select, and *they* were to divide among themselves the superintendence over the whole human race. Each Apostle was to have had under his orders a certain number of disciples of the first degree, or bishops,—who in their turn were placed over a certain number of disciples of the second degree—or priests. These, who stood exactly in the position of curé, were each to have had his parish, inhabited by disciples of the third degree—or laity. As inheritance was to be done away with, the ecclesiastical superior, was at the death of each priest or layman, to bestow his possessions on the best entitled, that is to say, on the most talented; and the Supreme Father, armed with boundless authority, would have controlled this immense machine, becoming thus a thousand times a more despotic sovereign, than the emperor of China; and the monarch of the world, in fact, from whence all political power would have been banished, to make way for his. This power, however, and that of the whole priesthood, was to be founded in *love*; and, as the pleasures of the senses were declared holy—it consequently followed that physical beauty was to become a *capacity*—a title to command. It was as the most beloved, and in some degree as the most beautiful—that they had chosen the chiefs of their priesthood. But, according to their theories, these chosen individuals were as yet incomplete, and must continue so until each had united himself to a woman who should have the same rights

to the ministry as her associate, and was to exercise them conjointly with him. This perfect equality being established between the two sexes, there arose immediately a necessity for regulating the reciprocal duties of the Saint-Simonian Androgyne—of the couple, whether clerical or lay—which should be composed of two parts, equal and perfectible, but not necessarily perfecting themselves in the same time or to the same degree: were they to be constrained to continue indissolubly united, when the harmony which first caused their union had been destroyed by the improvement or the backsliding of either party? And, if the flesh was indeed re-established in its rights, and sensual pleasures had become holy, was adultery to continue an evil, because Christians consider it a heinous crime? These two grave questions long divided the college; and the *duum-virate*, who exercised together the functions of Supreme Father, as well as the college, divided upon the second; Bazar, who was father of a family, had no objection to the separation of the couple: he allowed divorce, and consented that the woman should have the same rights respecting it as the man; but he recoiled with horror from the consequences of carrying out his doctrine.

Vainly was he reminded that, as St. Simonism had done away with even the notion of sin, he would be in fact returning to Christianity, and abjuring the religion at whose head he was placed—if he should persist in affirming that fidelity between man and wife was a *virtue*. Bazar's internal conviction, his conscience, all his feelings, revolted from this idea, and he obstinately continued to answer all objections by the words: "I insist that every son shall know the name of his father."

Enfantin was more consistent; he saw that when once inheritance was abolished, and absolute equality established as of right, between all children from the moment of their birth, it would become necessary, in order to substantiate this equality, that fathers should not know their own children, lest they should favour them at the expense of the others. Even this was not enough; as the mother-priest would always, it was to be feared, show partiality to her own. Enfantin did all that could be done to maintain the principle of absolute equality; and the frightful, yet logical, consequences which he deduced from the abolition of inheritance, are not the least of the objections which may be brought against the system of universal levelling.

The first result of these dissensions (which as yet were known only to the college) was, that Bazar was degraded to the post of *doctrinal chief*—which post he soon threw up, and separated from Enfantin, who remained alone as Supreme Father. It was on the 19th November 1831 that this secession took place; when,

before a general assembly of the Saint-Simonian family, Enfantin, hard pressed by the inferior disciples, allowed them to suppose, rather than fully explained to them, a theory, which the public already suspected, but which was fully understood by the college alone. We shall enter into no details, although all have been printed in the *Instructions of the Supreme Father*. Suffice it to say, that many of those present testified their abhorrence—that the charge of *promiscuous intercourse* was broadly and distinctly made—and that Cecile Fournel, a disciple of the first order, protested in the name of all the women of the Saint-Simonian family, against the installation of vice;—the organization of adultery,—which was now proposed, under the pretext of establishing, by the ministry of the priest-couple, a harmony between *beings of profound affections, and beings of quick but inconstant affections*. Many disciples, and some apostles, withdrew with Bazar; and the family received a check which foreboded its speedy dissolution. So great, however, was still the enthusiasm of Enfantin's adherents, that Olinde Rodriguez dared to proclaim him the most moral man of the epoch; and the *Globe* declared that the Supreme Father had never appeared so imposing, so priestlike, so *beautiful*, as during this discussion. This meeting was remarkable in another respect. The preacher, Abel Tronson, complained bitterly that Enfantin had revealed the secret he had entrusted him in confession; and the anti-catholic part of the public learnt, with no small surprise, *that, for the good of humanity, and as one of the conditions of the general progress*, the Saint-Simonians had borrowed auricular confession from the Catholic Church: they had already *invented* a sort of baptism, a marriage, and a service for the dead,—they exacted an implicit and unarguing faith in their words. So that their religion was not unreasonably compared to what Catholicism might be, if she could fall into dotage, and disfigure, by idiotic drivelling, the truths that had been entrusted to her. A new era—an era of perfect extravagance—took place in the short life of Saint-Simonism. The *free woman*, the *female Messiah*,—the representative of her sex, as Enfantin was of his,—the woman who was to be the future spouse of the Supreme Father, became now the phoenix whose apparition was to disperse all doubts, and secure the universal triumph of the doctrine. A seat was reserved for her beside the Supreme Father, in all the ceremonies of the family, and M. Duvergier, the poet of the family, and now one of the most distinguished dramatic authors of Paris, put the finishing stroke to the *reinstallation of the flesh*, by announcing that the wonderful woman, who was so impatiently expected, might even then be wandering, in the

streets of the capital, a victim to the Christian prejudices, which beheld in her only a common prostitute. Pecuniary difficulties now began to embarrass them; they had sent missionaries into the principal towns of France, Belgium, Germany, and even England, where, however, their presence was scarcely perceived. At Toulouse, Bordeaux, Metz, Marseilles, and Lyons, they succeeded in collecting a certain number of disciples; but they were not so fortunate in Belgium,—their theories respecting women met with the most violent opposition. At Brussels and Liege, the people rose against them; and, to the honour of the Catholic clergy—of the clergy who had been decried as so intolerant—it was they who, in the Belgian congress as well as in the midst of a furious populace, insisted upon the right of the Saint-Simonians to the protection of the police, and also that they should be allowed to preach their doctrines freely. But all these missions—the expense of workshops—the publication gratis of a newspaper—and the luxury of the Supreme Father, who considered it a duty by no means to mortify his flesh,—had soon exhausted the resources they had found in voluntary gifts. Olinde Rodriguez, the heir of Saint-Simon, and who had greatly contributed to the elevation of *Enfantin*, now determined, in the exercise of his functions as *ruler of the worship*—that is to say, as director of traffic and industry—to raise a loan without payment of any interest (*fond d'amortissement*)—a thing which the family held in detestation. As a security, all the adherents of *Enfantin* placed at his disposal an authority to sell their property, and on the 1st January 1832 a large quantity of bonds were thrown upon the market. This scheme was unsuccessful, as no more than 82,400 francs were obtained, and its failure proved fatal to the new establishment. The police was then almost powerless against the republican party, who had contributed so much to the Three Days of July, and had not dared as yet to interfere with the Saint-Simonians, although the alarm they excited was considerable; they had waited till public feeling should change towards them, and now took instant advantage of the ill-success of their money project. On the 22d January 1832, the *family* were dispersed by an armed force; seals were applied to their papers; and the Supreme Father and Olinde Rodriguez were summoned before the tribunals as guilty—1st. (and this was their great crime in the eyes of government) of having organized associations among the workmen; 2ndly, of seizing upon inheritances: and 3rdly, of defrauding the public by raising a loan, of which they could neither replace the capital nor pay the interest. The prosecutions were however abandoned, and the *family* might have subsisted some time longer, had not

quarrels arisen between the Supreme Father and Olinde Rodriguez. The future rights of women were the cause, or the pretext of this new revolution. Enfantin had gone still greater lengths than at the meeting of the 19th November, and had defined in so frightful a manner the functions of the priest-couple—he had so publicly declared it to be their duty to be beautiful, and their right to live in the most unbridled license—that Olinde Rodriguez drew back, perhaps from shame, and perhaps, too, to free himself from pecuniary liability. Enraged at the opposition he met with, Enfantin degraded Rodriguez, who, on his part, endeavoured to give a new form to Saint-Simonism, and succeeded only in depriving his antagonist of the support of a few influential men. We are wrong; he went farther, and claimed as his property all the works of Saint-Simon. Bazar followed his example, and claimed to be the owner of the *Explanatory Statement of the New Doctrine*: this was a heavy blow; for the sale of these books was thus stopped:—but a heavier still was dealt them by the government, who recommenced the prosecution they had laid aside; this was exactly at the time when the cholera broke out, in 1832. The Saint-Simonians proposed in their newspaper, *Le Globe*, that immense public works should be undertaken as a remedy, to be carried on to the sound of instruments, and presided over by the loveliest women. One might have supposed that they were given up to madness, and this whilst the Catholic priests, and the Sisters of Charity, who had no faith in the re-installation of the flesh, gave their time and their lives to the service of the sick. Enfantin, meanwhile, completed the ruin of the finances of the family by his balls and dinners, and was at length obliged to give up the publication of the *Globe*, and to leave Paris. Under pretext of preparing himself for a new mission, he withdrew to Menil Montant, a village near the capital, where he took up his residence in a house which belonged to him, along with such apostles as remained faithful to him, and who had devoted themselves to pay him, in every sense of the word, an idolatrous worship. But before retiring to his “holy mountain,” he published the following proclamation, in the last number that appeared of the *Globe*, on the 22d April 1832, which was Good Friday:—

“God has appointed me a mission to summon the *proletaires* and liberated woman to a new destiny,—to bring back into the human family such as have hitherto been excluded from it, or only treated like aliens in it,—to realize the universal association which, since the beginning of the world, has been called for by the cries of all slaves,—whether women or men *proletaires*. One phase of my existence is

accomplished to day. I have spoken ; I will act ; but I require a time of repose and of silence. A numerous family surrounds me ; the apostleship is founded. I take forty of my sons with me : I confide to my other children the care of continuing our work in the world, and I retire. The day on which I speak has been a great day in the world during eighteen centuries. On this day died the *divine liberator of slaves*. Let us sanctify the anniversary by the commencement of our holy retreat ; and from amidst us let the last trace of servitude—*domesticity*—be expelled."

In the same number, Père Barrau, the most eloquent of their preachers, expressed himself, or rather blasphemed, as follows :

"Enfantin is the Messiah of God—the *king of the nations*—where his sons now exalt him, as the world shall one day do. *The world sees its Christ, and knows him not*. And therefore he withdraws himself with his apostles from among you. Our *word* is in the midst of you ; you will incarnate it in yourselves. The world is ours. A man shall arise, having the brow of a king, and the entrails of the people, because he has the heart of a priest,—and this man is our Father."

We shall not follow the *family* into its new habitation, where all laboured in common ; and young pupils of the Polytechnic Schools, distinguished military men, and the sons of bankers of enormous wealth, cleaned boots, and filled all the offices of servants ; while other Saint-Simonians, no less distinguished by their social rank, joined the workmen upon the roads, and broke stones with them. A considerable crowd came from the capital to visit these new hermits, as soon as their forty days were expired, which were a detestable parody upon the retreat of our Lord. But the government had now vanquished the republican insurrection which took place in June, and was no longer disposed to spare the Saint-Simonians. On the 1st July, the gates of the gardens of Menil Montant were closed by the gendarmes against all curious visitors ; and on the 27th of the following August, the Supreme Father, Rodriguez, and several others, were put upon their trial before the Court of Assizes at Paris. Nothing could exceed the ridicule of Enfantin's behaviour during this process. He had brought two women as his counsel, but the court would not allow them to speak. He forbade his disciples, who were called on as witnesses, to take the oaths required by law, and he himself pronounced a discourse which convulsed with laughter all his audience. "I wish," he said, "to show the Attorney-General the influence of beauty—of the senses—of the flesh ;—and for that purpose, I will make him feel the influence of a look ; for I believe that I shall reveal all my thoughts upon my countenance." And thereupon he looked steadily for a long time at the judges, the lawyers, and the spec-

tators, supposing that he was to fascinate the public as he had managed to fascinate some young enthusiasts. Michel Chevalier, however, Duverrier, and Barrau, had retained all the power of their talent, and they eloquently defended the cause of religious liberty. It was a singular thing, that their defence was chiefly a defence of Christianity,—that is to say, of Catholicism; for we have already explained that they are identical in the minds of all Frenchmen. Accordingly, Michel Chevalier, pointing to the green cloth which, since 1830, had concealed the figure of Christ, that, by Napoleon's orders, had been placed above the bench, addressed the jury as follows :—

“ Catholicism! Gentlemen, there is here a symbol of its actual power. Modern Catholicism is the picture you have before your eyes, it is veiled—and, singular circumstance! those who, by concealing it, abjured their religion without embracing a new one, are the same who now set themselves up as arbiters of conscience, and venture to affirm that we are not a religion; but fifteen centuries have elapsed, during which, Christianity, for the happiness of the world, was not veiled, nor yet banished from public policy. When hordes of barbarians, eager for conquest, and crowding upon each other, came dragging themselves from the steppes of Asia, from the Oural, and from the Altai, to the Rhine, and inundated all Europe to the south and west, who met them half way and civilized them? Christianity. Who mediated successfully between the conquered people, and their brutal conquerors, Goths, Vandals, Suevi, Alani, Burgundians, Saxons, Franks, Heruli, and Huns? the Catholic bishops and clergy. Who was the man before whom Attila stood still, filled with respect—Attila the scourge of God? It was a Christian Pope, it was Saint Leo! If Christianity had not mixed itself with politics; if the bishops had taken no part in temporal affairs, there would have been no chance for civilization.—Mankind must have retrograded to the times of Nimrod. Above all, the origin and history of the French monarchy may be comprised in the words of a learned English historian; ‘the kingdom of France is a kingdom made by bishops.’ ”

The court condemned Entantin, Michel Chevalier, and Duverrier, to a year's imprisonment each, and to a fine of one hundred francs, as guilty of outraging public morals, and as having formed part of an association of more than twenty persons. They were acquitted as to the charge of obtaining money on false pretences, and it would be unjust not to admit that they deserved this part of the verdict. By the help of voluntary gifts, they had honourably fulfilled their engagements, and discharged the financial liabilities of Olinde Rodriguez. The *family* was now thrown into complete anarchy, by the imprisonment of Entantin. Barrau, the maddest amongst them, despairing to find the free woman, the female Messiah, in Europe, set off for Constantino-

ple, announcing to the public, that he should find in the harams of the East, that pearl whom the Father had vainly sought in the streets of Paris. Several of his fellow disciples accompanied him, and others embarked at the same time, and in the same hope, for Alexandria. The family was falling to pieces on all sides, and we shall not follow it to its final dissolution. Enfantin accepted his discharge after seven months' imprisonment, and went to Egypt, from whence he is recently returned, and languishes in deserved obscurity. As for his disciples, at last undeceived, many became Mahometans; and now serve in the armies of Mohamed Ali, or amongst his civil engineers. M M. Stephane, Flachat, and Pereire, are the directors of the rail-road to St. Germain; M. Michel Chevalier, who was sent by the French government to the United States, published, on his return, a very interesting work upon that country, and is pointed out by public opinion as a future candidate for the high office of Minister of Public Works. A great many others had resumed the professions they had abandoned—as the bar, the army, or manufactories: nor must we, in this brief account of the present character of those deluded young men, forget to notice the important fact of the numbers converted to Christianity. We say converted, for in France, whole families lived and were brought up under the influence of the anti-Catholic prejudices of the eighteenth century. To the young people of these families, Catholicism was represented from their childhood as one immense lie, and upon the word of their parents and their teachers, they remained so firmly convinced of this, that all enquiry, or discussion, seemed to them useless; they were, therefore, like many English Protestants, in a state of invincible ignorance; yet, many of them hungered and thirsted after truth; it was in their search for her, that they had fallen into the errors of Saint-Simonism. From their new masters, they learnt to feel a profound contempt for the opinions of Voltaire and his school; to admire, at least in the past, the wisdom and the wonderful civilizing power of the Church of Rome; they were taught also, that Protestantism, and unbelief, under all its forms—were valuable only in preparing the way for a new doctrine, but could, of themselves, accomplish nothing for the material welfare of the human race; and they were made so clearly to perceive the anti-social character of both the one and the other, as well as the necessity for an absolute and infallible spiritual authority, that doubts were naturally excited in the minds of those young enthusiasts; and they began to ask themselves, if, indeed, Catholicism hitherto so useful, to mankind, were really false. Then came the wild absurdities of Enfantin, all, however, logically deduced from the

law of the illimitable progress of our species; and their consciences, unsoiled by vice, revolted from such abominations. Thus prepared, they could hardly fail to discover the truth, in a country, where reason has no choice, if we may so express it, but between Catholicism and infidelity. Accordingly, conversions were very numerous. Bazar, himself, who died the 29th July 1832, had burned all his manuscripts, *not wishing*, he said, *to leave behind him arms for the defence of Pantheism*. His wife and daughters, happier than himself, are now exemplary Catholics; the youngest had married, after the Saint-Simonian fashion, M. de Saint Chéron, a young man full of talent, and the adopted son of Bazar; this union, as yet unhallowed, has since been ratified by the Church, and the archbishop of Paris himself officiated in this touching ceremony—the more highly to honour the return to truth of two persons so distinguished, the one for his noble character, the other for all the virtues of her sex. M M. Margerin, Paul Rochette, Dugied, Rousseau, and many others, have either preceded or followed this example. The errors of Saint-Simonism had prepared them for the reception of evangelic truth, and the Church may now present them with equal pride and confidence to her friends or to her enemies. We shall here conclude the history of this memorable attempt to meliorate the condition of the working classes, by the assistance of scientific principles, without the light of revelation, by the creation of a new society and a new morality. These bold innovators had at least the merit of understanding and practically demonstrating, the necessity for a spiritual authority, which should be absolute, and must, therefore, be infallible. A necessity so imperative in their opinion, that it constituted the only ground for the unlimited power they allowed to Father Enfantin.

As for their fundamental doctrines, namely the substitution of a system of partnership for that of wages given to the workmen, the abolition of all inheritance, and the enfranchisement of women, few words will suffice for them: for, setting aside all religious truth, the realization of their projects would have done infinite mischief to those of whom they considered themselves the only friends. Our readers will remember the shepherd boy, whose defence was so valorously undertaken by the hero of La Mancha, and who gained nothing by the protection of the knight of the doleful countenance, but an increased severity on the part of his master. We shall see that the Saint-Simonians, who believed themselves the benefactors of humanity, were in fact only its Don Quixotes. If we analyse the nature of wages, we easily arrive at the conclusion, that they imply a partnership between the master and the workmen, who, bringing their labour into the com-

mon stock, have a right to a share in the produce. The master buys this share, and pays the price in wages, which represent to each labourer his dividend in the common profit, after deduction has been made for security against risk, and for interest; for these belong in justice to the master, since the risk is all at his charge, and he advances to the workman money which he himself will only recover after a distant sale, and perhaps long credit. As to that part which falls to the share of each person employed by the master, it is subject to all the vicissitudes occasioned by fluctuation in the demand or supply of labour, and we do not see how the copartnership system would have the effect of increasing it. In some parts of the continent this system now prevails in the cultivation of the earth; the farmers, under the name of *metayers*, keep for their share the half of the produce of the land; since, however, population has increased, the *metayer* gives the landlord nearly two-thirds; the same cause would produce the same consequences everywhere, because the supply of masters possessed of the immense capital required by modern machinery has not and cannot increase as rapidly as the supply of labour. In the copartnership system the workman's share would equally have become less, and as he could not have received it until after the sale of his work, he would have been obliged to dispose of it to an usurer, in order to live in the meanwhile. Would the purchaser estimate his risks and his interest at a less high rate than the master? Clearly not; and however low wages may be, they must always be more advantageous, so far as the lower orders are concerned, than the co-partnership system. Nor would their situation be improved by the introduction of Mr. Owen's plan. A co-operative society must borrow money until it has accumulated a capital, and, on such security as it can offer, interest will always be very high. Moreover, all the partners are not entitled to, and many would not be satisfied with, an equal division of the profits. These must be apportioned according to the skill, assiduity, and duties of each member. The directors will claim more than the common mechanics, and ultimately they must receive in full what is now the master's right. The only difference being that no trust is given by the operative to the master manufacturer who pays their wages weekly, while they would not only have to trust their directors, but also to get that trust discounted, in order to meet their daily wants. As to the mutual assistance given or received at a *harmony society*, it implies a previous accumulation of capital, (which under any other circumstances might be as charitably employed), and an endurance of good-fellowship which is hardly in the nature of man. Our principal objection to Mr. Owen's plan is, that he ends where he ought to begin; for his

scheme, intended to turn men into angels, can be carried into effect by angels only, and those not fallen ones.

The abolition of hereditary rights must have been followed by consequences still more disastrous. Not to say that all the activity which is called forth in man by the necessity of providing for his children, and the hope of leaving them independent fortunes, would be forthwith paralysed ;—not to say that agriculture, with its slow return of capital, would be entirely neglected ; for the father of a family would be little disposed to bury in the earth, for the benefit of strangers, money which he might in many ways bestow upon his children, in spite of every law that could be framed ;—we will ask, who would those men be who would be entrusted with the charge of collecting the property left by inheritance, in order to divide it afterwards amongst the most deserving ? The priests of the new law, the Saint-Simonians would say. The priests would then be the arbitrators of every man's fortune ; and, in fact, both masters and workmen would labour for *their* profit, for no one could compel them to admit that the worthiest were not included in their own ranks, or at least amongst their friends. Even Catholic priests, who are unmarried, and restricted by the canons from engaging in commercial or manufacturing speculations, would hardly bear up against such temptations ; but the Saint-Simonian clergy—married men, agriculturists, merchants, or manufacturers,—men who, moreover, avowed it to be a point of conscience to indulge in the most costly pleasures, could certainly not withstand it. By degrees they would become a caste dividing amongst themselves all the wealth of the community, and leaving the other classes of society in frightful poverty. It was to avoid this snare and these objections that *Enfantin* invented his theory concerning woman. The degree of liberty allowed to the female sex has always been a criterion of the civilization of a people. The more women have been kept in subservience, the greater has been the degradation of the other sex ; and the rapid progress of Christian society arises greatly from the prerogatives with which it has invested woman, and which were unknown before the promulgation of the Gospel. Women are now declared equal with men in the sight of God ; they have obtained the abolition of polygamy and divorce ; in a word, the basis of a family in ancient times has been entirely changed. But how has this wonderful transformation been effected ? Had a philosopher undertaken to work such a miracle, he would no doubt have reasoned as follows : “ Woman charms the senses of her husband ; her principal strength is here ; this strength must therefore be increased, by adding to her beauty all those talents which can heighten its effect. Let her always

be an Aspasia, and instead of being a slave, she will be surrounded with worshippers. Christianity pursued a different method; it spoke aloud and austere to the woman. If it taught her that she had a soul to save as precious in the eyes of God as that of her husband, it taught her also that the condition of her eternal salvation was the fulfilment of her duties; and it placed amongst the chief of those duties, *not* the constrained chastity of the Athenian matron, enclosed in the gynæceum, but that austere and true chastity, which penetrates the most secret recesses of the conscience, expelling thence the least desire, the lightest thought, that sins against the sanctity of the nuptial tie. And it does not demand this purity from the woman in the name of her husband, but in the name of her Creator, whose eye pierces all hearts, from whom nothing escapes, and whose displeasure is excited by whatever violates the laws of the most rigorous modesty. What a security is this for the husband! what a ground of assurance for the father, who is more mistrustful still; for it was the father, rather than the husband, who had recourse to the enclosure of the haram, and the other insulting precautions of the East: and to him Christianity has given the most powerful guarantee, by throwing over the head of his daughter a veil of holy and voluntary purity. Once possessed of this virtue, woman becomes her own guardian. Man, whether husband or father, confides in her, and respects her on that account; and respect blends with the love he bears to her an imperishable affection, that habit cannot weaken, nor even the wrinkles of old age destroy. They are two in one flesh, and whilst, elsewhere, woman is but the *property* of her husband; amongst Christians she is a part of his being—she is *himself*; and this idea of marriage, which the Catholic church alone has received in its full extent, implies not only monogamy, but the absolute indissolubility of the conjugal union. But Christianity, when it raised the female so high in the eyes of God and man, did not contemplate destroying the hierarchy of the family; on the contrary, it has been preserved without derogating from the essential equality of the two sexes. For this purpose, religion has regulated their respective duties, keeping in view both the physical difference of their organization, and the modesty which alone can enable the weaker to acquire and keep an influence over the stronger. Christianity has, therefore, given to woman the authority over the domestic hearth, while to man it has assigned the care of guiding the family; the duty of maintaining and protecting it, and the burden of its external affairs. By this title, and in virtue of these especial functions, man presides and governs; but in a truly Christian union, conjugal love gives its commands to conjugal love, which cheer-

fully obeys them; and the will of the wife is so freely intertwined in that of the husband, that they cannot be distinguished.

The liberty of the Christian woman did not satisfy the Saint-Simonians; they were unwilling that the duty of obedience should be imposed on her; and would not understand that by proclaiming the two sexes equal in all respects, they rendered certain the subjugation of the woman. For if in marriage no one has the right to command, who shall give way, the husband or the wife? when those differences of opinion arise between them, which must be incalculably multiplied, if there is to be no distinction in their duties or in their attributes: they would have to decide in common upon the affairs of the state, as well as upon those of the kitchen; the moral right, being equal on both sides, the only superiority which the new law had not done away with—the superiority of brute strength—must be appealed to in every difference; and the woman, overpowered by this, must yield to fear, instead of, as now, freely submitting to her duty, when she obeys her husband in obedience to her God. She would have, it is true, the alternative of divorce—that *polygamy*, by way of succession, which the reformation has revived. But could maternal tenderness dispense with a protector for her children? and where will she find one when their own father will have rejected them with a kind of satisfaction, because, chastity being no more a virtue, he can no longer confide; he has never confided in their mother. And who would contract a union, unavoidably of uncertain duration, with the mother of another man's children, and be obliged to maintain those children? Or what could such a union be for the woman but an exchange of slavery? For these reasons the privilege of divorce would be a useless one, at least to the woman: the man alone would profit by it, to free himself from the burden of an uncertain paternity; and, certainly, even setting aside the disgust inspired by these odious theories,—we are not surprised at the universal horror manifested by the women of France and Belgium for their pretended liberators. They felt instinctively that the liberty thus offered them would become the most insupportable of servitudes. However, Saint-Simonism might have had a longer career, had not the government triumphed over the republicans: for the young men of this party had a strong tendency to the new religion; and under another National Convention, its professors would have obtained not only toleration, but a marked protection; they might indeed have been obliged to modify their opinions, and to adopt a character more warlike than commercial; and in this respect it is evident that the gradual consolidation of Louis Philippe's throne had so early as the middle of 1831 produced a great change in the

direction of Saint-Simonism. At every division amongst the chiefs, it was always those who were most inclined to violent methods who withdrew, and *Enfantin* always represented such as believed in the power of a pacific action : who had faith in conversions to be made by sympathy and by the power of a look, and who laid it down as a principle that they were the most loveable of mortals, and that they had only to show themselves in order to captivate mankind, and subjugate their reason by the double seduction of their theories and their persons. And ridiculous as these notions may appear, they have a redeeming point, in their horror of bloodshed; so that the disciples of *Enfantin* deserve to be considered as the Quakers of Pantheism.

On the other hand, logic and energy of character were on the side of the seceders. By the help of the principle of the abolition of inheritance, and that of universal association, they expected to excite the passions of the poor and of the workmen. They had in their hands a lever which, always powerful, was then so much the more so, as the revolution of July had shaken society to its foundations, and thus given immense political ascendancy to the lower orders. The following fact will give some idea of the madness which possessed a large portion of the populace. After the last disturbances at Lyons, the prisoners, who were taken to Paris to be tried by the Chamber of Peers, were less occupied with the defence of their own cause than with the nature of the social organization they were to give to their country at a later period. We were told by one of their counsel, that, at a visit which he paid to some of them, he found them extremely agitated by the discovery of a new method of securing the permanent triumph of equality amongst men. And the discoverer explained it to him with a transport that was really painful, as showing to what a degree the brain of these poor people had been touched; his method consisted in obliging, by an article in the new constitution, all tall men to marry little women, and short men, on the other hand, to choose tall wives. Thus, said the poor fellow, all inequality of height will gradually cease to exist, and no citizen will be allowed to be greater than another in body any more than in mind.

There can be no doubt that all Louis Philippe's efforts have been directed to neutralize the democratic tendency of the revolution of July, in which he has shewn great skill; but at the same time he has been powerfully supported by the alarm which the avowed projects of the republican party have excited in the middle classes. These have forgotten their ancient dislike for hereditary distinctions; they have rallied around the new throne, and now constitute the principal strength of the French Conservative

party—because, in that country, the destructives have declared war against the holders of all property, against the shopkeeper as well as the banker, against all proprietors in short, whether noble or plebeian: but the French Conservatives have no bond of union except the fear of disorder; and the society which is held together only by this feeling, is exposed to continual danger, and seldom fails in the end to be deprived of its liberties. It is owing to this fear that our neighbours applauded the flagrant violation of liberty of conscience in the case of the Saint-Simonians—that they have allowed the press to be fettered by the summary trial and exorbitant punishment of the offenders—that they have ceded to the executive government a complete control over the education of youth—and that they leave at its mercy all religious belief—permitting it to forbid, by royal proclamation, the preaching of any, whose existence is not at present recognized by law. In fact, the French have never understood the meaning of liberty—they have always confounded it with equality of citizens amongst themselves; and so long as Louis Philippe oppresses them all alike, they will believe themselves free. It would be vain to explain to them, that the letter of the law may be the same for all, while its spirit, and its practical effects, may press with tyrannical severity upon a part of the population. To this, conservatives and destructives are alike indifferent, provided that *theirs* may be the party who oppress. On all sides, there is the same ignorance of the nature of true liberty, or, if here and there are a few men of more enlightened ideas, they are *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*.

What now are the traces left by Saint-Simonism? their doctrines upon the nature of property have been gradually diffused amongst the workmen, and have singularly weakened their ancient respect for the rights of proprietors: as a counterbalancing circumstance, we must repeat what we have already said of the religious reaction that has been created by the innovators of 1830. On the one hand, those violent prejudices have given way, which were so long entertained against the manner in which the Catholic religion exercised its influence upon the past. On the other, the conservative party now perceive, that the property about which they are so anxious, cannot long remain in safety—unless it finds, in the consciences of the people, a support which religion alone can maintain there; they are aware also, that the Catholic religion is the only one possible in France; and the most impious amongst them are thus placed in a painful dilemma, betwixt the desire to transmit their wealth in peace to their children, and the horror they entertain for the lawful influence of the clergy. Were it possible to re-establish

the Catholic religion, without restoring to the Catholic priesthood the moral ascendancy which would be the inevitable result of a general conversion, they would, perhaps, be the first to frequent the churches. And this will explain to any one who studies the actual state of France, the singular conduct of its government; it heaps favours upon the clergy, points out to the Sovereign Pontiff the most virtuous amongst them, to be made bishops, and, at the same time, watches them with jealous suspicion, and tolerates in the local authorities a system of odious vexations against them. And this, because it would have a clergy who would bring back the nation to ideas of order and religious morality, for the purpose of consolidating and securing the rights of property,—but which, at the same time, should remain always dependant upon the government, and without other authority in society than what it shall think fit to grant.

ART. VII.—1. *The French in Africa*. 8vo. pp. 50. Ridgway, 1838.
2. *Correspondence with His Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, and Communications from the French Ambassador in London, relative to the French expedition against Algiers*. Ordered by the House of Lords to be printed, 10th May 1833.

IT is our earnest hope and prayer, that the peace which has now happily subsisted between England and the great powers of the two hemispheres for nearly a quarter of a century, may remain undisturbed for ages yet to come. Indeed, experience, we are sanguine enough to believe, has convinced the most civilized states, that scarcely any differences can henceforth arise amongst them, which may not be arranged much more effectually by mutual explanations, given and received in the spirit of forbearance, than by an appeal to arms. The age of "Trial by battle" has, we trust, altogether past away,—at least from amongst those communities, whose fleets and armies cannot be committed in conflict, without involving the danger of a general war.

Lord Durham's late mission to St. Petersburg, has, it is believed, been entirely successful in putting into a train of amicable settlement the questions that had arisen between this country and Russia, partly out of the Treaty of Adrianople, partly out of the separate article appended to the Convention of Unkiah Skelessi. That convention will expire in the course of two or

three years, and probably will not be renewed. Silistria, of which the Czar might still have retained possession under the arrangements of Adrianople, has been restored to the Sultan. Turkey is, and will continue to be, an independent power. There is a coterie of politicians, belonging to the *tête exaltée* academy, who are endeavouring to persuade the public to the contrary, and who seem incapable of taking rest until they behold Great Britain at open war with the northern empire. But they have little chance of seeing their visions accomplished. The commercial interests of the two countries have become so essential to their respective welfare, that neither is likely to be induced to sacrifice those interests, even for a season, on light grounds.

Our vast and increasing trade with the United States, binds that republic also in heavy penalties of peace towards England. The President has solemnly declared neutrality with reference to the Canadas. The difficulties of the north-eastern boundary, which arose out of the vague language of the original treaty—language proved by repeated investigations to be practically inapplicable to the territory forming its subject-matter—are likely to be speedily terminated, a conventional interpretation having been suggested, which can hardly fail to meet with the concurrence of both parties.

Austria has already been, or soon will be, linked in peculiarly amicable relations with us by a new commercial treaty. Against France—the only remaining power of the first magnitude—England has undoubtedly more than one complaint to make, especially as to the course of her proceedings in Africa. Nevertheless, it may be presumed that the influence of temperate reasoning,—or, if need be, of remonstrance, couched in terms not to be misunderstood,—may eventually preclude the occurrence of any events calculated to affect the alliance at present subsisting between the two nations.

The French have never been successful in colonizing, and yet there are no people more ambitious of possessing foreign settlements. Whatever they have hitherto attempted in this way, has ultimately terminated to our advantage. In war we have wrested from them colony after colony, which they have not been able to reconquer; and if we were to look forward calmly to the interests of a selfish policy, we would contemplate their efforts to establish their power at Algiers, as so many steps, more likely to involve them in a vast useless expenditure, and in national embarrassment, than to any improvement in their position as a maritime power. The possession of Gibraltar, Malta, and Corfu, will always enable us to keep up a powerful fleet in the Mediterranean. If occasion required, it would not

perhaps be impracticable for us to cut off all communication between France and the Barbary coast, and moreover, to add Algiers itself to our strongholds in that sea. But these are questions which we do not desire to discuss. If we had had any ambition to disturb the long-established relations of the Mediterranean states, we had the opportunity of anticipating France in the policy with which she is now inspired, when Lord Exmouth's expedition was projected. But although we are persuaded that Algiers cannot be long retained by France, and that, even if it be, it can only tend to encumber her energies as a continental and military power—her only natural source of influence,—nevertheless, it may become necessary to check proceedings which, though eventually destined to failure, might, in the meantime, operate with an injurious pressure, not only upon our commercial interests, but also upon the commercial and political interests of other countries, with which we are intimately connected.

Thus, when during the revolutionary war, the French Republic attempted to obtain possession of Egypt, although it was soon made evident that no force which she could afford to send to that part of Africa, would be sufficient to establish her dominion there; nevertheless we found it expedient to take measures for frustrating her designs. We do not apprehend that similar proceedings are likely to be called for with reference to Algiers. But we cannot, at the same time, shut our eyes to the fact, that it has long been a cabinet project at the Tuileries to obtain a strong and permanent footing in Africa—to establish, in truth, a sort of Indian empire there, which should embrace all the inland territory and the coasts of that continent, extending from the Gulph of Guinea to the Mediterranean.

Let us hear how this matter was treated, some years ago, by an agent specially appointed to proceed to Africa, and to make researches there, with a view to the accomplishment of this object. The gentleman entrusted with this mission was M. Xavier Golberry, a very intelligent engineer officer in the service of France. He accompanied M. de Boufflers, who was named governor of Senegal, to St. Louis, the chief seat of that government, in the year 1785. His instructions were to act as first aide-du-camp to M. de Boufflers—to perform the functions of chief engineer of the whole of that government—to reconnoître its western coast—and to report upon every circumstance calculated to ascertain the greatest advantages possible to be derived from the possession of the Senegal, which had already acquired for France considerable authority over a large portion of western Africa. Indeed, he

goes so far as to designate, under the title of "French Africa," a tract of territory extending along the coast from Cape Blanco to the mouth of the Senegal, including, in the interior of the country, a great portion of the desert of Sahara, the whole course of the Senegal as far as it is navigable eastward, and several alleged dependencies to the south of that river, almost to the verge of the British possessions on the Gambia. Over the whole of this territory, he affirms, the jurisdiction of the Senegal government, or, in other words, of the government of "French Africa," actually extended in the year 1787.

M. Golberry's office was to report, from his own observation and inquiries, how much farther than the boundaries here stated, the jurisdiction, that is to say, the political supremacy, of France, could be established in western and central Africa. The idea of colonization, he says, was altogether out of the question. The great object was to obtain influence, to extend and protect commercial intercourse, and to secure to France the glory of revealing to Europe the mysteries of the interior of Africa, which, previously to that period, had been altogether unexplored. He claims for France a priority of right to all that part of the African continent, by reason of the conquests which the Normans made in the fourteenth century, between Cape Blanco, on the western coast, and Cape Palmas, on the coast of Guinea.

After going into a variety of details, which it is unnecessary here to specify, M. Golberry declares it to be his opinion—an opinion which does not appear to have been fully matured until after the discoveries of Mungo Park were made known to the world—that it would not be difficult for France, taking the Island of St. Louis in the mouth of the Senegal as the centre of her operations, and the seat of her African power, to spread her political authority over a tract of that continent, extending from the coast of Guinea in the south, to the fortieth degree of north latitude; and from the Atlantic coast to the thirtieth degree of longitude east of the Island of Ferro; that is to say, about a third of the whole superficies of that continent, very much exceeding the number of square leagues contained in Germany, France, Spain, and Portugal, united.

This new "French Africa" would embrace the whole course of the Niger, as described by Park, Clapperton, and the Landers; of the Senegal; of part of the Gambia; a very considerable portion of Nubia, Ethiopia, and Egypt, the whole of Tripoli, the greater part of the regencies of Tunis and Algiers, and, in fact, the whole of central and western Africa, a country abounding in ivory, in gold mines, and forests which produce

the best gum in the world—a country capable, according to all that we have learned of it from our own enterprising travellers, of producing the sugar-cane, cotton, coffee, cocoa, indigo, tobacco, rice, and spices and timber of every description. M. Golberry, after setting forth the outlines of his project, proceeds in a very methodical manner to lay down a plan for the organization of a government, which should control this new empire through all its parts.*

Now, we do not go so far as to charge the present government of France with entertaining the extravagant project sketched out by M. Golberry. We conceive, however, that the late proceedings at Algiers, the extension of their conquests as far as Constantine, and the interference with British rights on the western coast by the French authorities of Senegal, to which we shall have occasion by and by to allude, are matters that require the vigilant attention of the cabinet, and legislature, and people of this country. There has been a singular degree of predominance, or rather, to give it its right name, of usurpation, attempted to be carried into effect by the Senegal government since the surrender of Algiers, upon which they never ventured before; and we can only say, that if it be submitted to by England, no schemes of aggrandizement can be imagined too gigantic for France to accomplish hereafter in western and central Africa.

Besides the old Norman conquests on the Western and Guinea coast claimed by France, it would seem that there are also two establishments on the Mediterranean coast of Africa, those of La Calle and Bastion de France, the possession of which she alleges to have been vested in her for above a century, and to be necessary for the protection of her fisheries in that direction. How those small ports became French we have no means of ascertaining. But it is remarkable that they were at first put forward by the prince Polignac, when he was at the head of the government in France, as a species of property which under no circumstances could be abandoned. The introduction of these ports into the discussions upon the subject of Algiers, indicates at once the settled system of policy which has taught the French to look towards Africa with a longing desire of conquest; and to cover their first operations in the North with a species of legitimacy, which would give them an advantage in point of argument, however inconsiderable that advantage might be.

* See *Golberry's Travels in Africa*, translated by Mudford, and published in 2 vols. 12mo. by Jones of Paternoster Row, 1803. The first chapter discloses the whole of these plans.

It was at first pretended, nevertheless, that when those operations were commenced, nothing could be farther from the contemplation of the French than acquisition of territory in that part of Africa. An affront had been offered to their consul at Algiers, for which the Dey refused reparation. Their national honour required that this indignity should be amply avenged, and it was given out that as soon as a proper apology should be received from the Dey, the expedition would return to Toulon. No army was to be sent out. If any operations by land should eventually appear to be necessary, the viceroy of Egypt was to be invited to lend his assistance for that purpose. The sovereignty of the Ottoman Porte over the regency of Algiers having been thus indirectly recognized, the next step was for the Porte itself to interfere in the dispute, by agreeing to dispatch an agent to prevail on the Dey to yield the reparation demanded of him.

It is possible that the views of the French government, in the first instance, did not extend beyond those which it then professed to entertain. If so, they were, however, very speedily enlarged. Discussion led to a very general opinion, that the time had arrived when the existence of a piratical power, such as the Algerine regency then undoubtedly was, ought no longer to be tolerated. The interests of Christendom required that it should be effectually put down. It became apparent, moreover, that the moral authority of the monarchy in France was every day becoming more feeble. It was undermined by conspiracy. It was libelled with impunity and with great ability by the press. It was resisted in the second chamber of the legislature by a powerful, well organized, and constantly increasing opposition. A diversion of the public mind from domestic politics to foreign war, might, at such a season, be particularly useful. The French people, always aspiring to military renown, and still full of the recollections of Napoleon's brilliant though transitory conquests, might be successfully courted through the hopes of a new enterprise. A similar experiment had been lately made in Spain; and though the results were equivocal, still the chance of glory which Algiers held out, was not to be declined. These farther motives of action, if not originally thought of, were undoubtedly embraced afterwards without much hesitation. Accordingly preparations, commensurate with the more comprehensive resolutions of the cabinet, were forthwith made in the ports of France, and announced by Charles X, in his speech on opening the session of 1830.

Our government demanded explanations, seeing that mere chastisement was no longer spoken of, and nothing less was avowed than the entire destruction of the regency. To this

demand an answer was given by the prince Polignac, that, in case the expedition should be successful, "His most Christian Majesty would be ready to deliberate with his Majesty, and with his other allies, respecting the arrangement by which the government of those countries might be hereafter settled in a manner conducive to the maintenance of the tranquillity of the Mediterranean and of all Europe."

In this answer was remarked a studied silence respecting the interests and rights of the Porte. It is true that many of the European states had been accustomed to treat the regencies as independent establishments, responsible for their conduct; but it was impossible to deny that they all, more or less, acknowledged the sultan to be their supreme sovereign. The king of France had, moreover, down to a very late period, expressed his disposition to avail himself of the mediation and authority of the Turkish government, in order to effect a reconciliation with Algiers. The latter state was undoubtedly still vassal and tributary to the Porte; and it was but reasonable to expect, that if the power of the vassal were to be extinguished, the rights of the sovereign should meet with attention. Nor was the answer of the French minister altogether satisfactory upon the point of territorial appropriation. What was to become of Algiers, if the war were to be converted, as it seemed likely to be, into one of extermination, and if the rights of the sultan to the soil were to be disregarded? To this question a reply became necessary, and it was expected that it should embrace an official and solemn renunciation on the part of France of all views of territorial aggrandizement.

M. de Polignac, in his reply to this interrogatory, stated verbally that he had already made it known "that the expedition was not undertaken with a view to obtain territorial acquisitions;" that "he would have no difficulty in giving upon this subject any farther assurance which might be calculated to remove the uneasiness of his (Britannic) majesty's government;" and that "he did not dispute the sovereignty of the Porte, and would not reject the offer of that government to interfere for the purpose of obtaining the redress he was entitled to expect." At the same time he begged it to be remembered, that "he did not mean to abandon the establishments of La Calle and Bastion de France;" and he intimated that, "having already experienced the utter inability of the Porte to influence the authorities at Algiers, he could not advise his sovereign to delay measures for obtaining the necessary redress by force." The prince farther declared, and this assurance should throughout these discussions be carefully borne in mind, that, "as France sought no territorial advantages, in case the then existing government of Algiers should"

be overturned, the arrangements for the settlement of the future system by which the country would be ruled, would of course be concerted with the sultan, and being executed under his authority, would imply a due consultation of his rights." Nothing could be more unequivocal and satisfactory than this *verbal* explanation; nothing now remained to be added, except a written official document to the same effect. This document was promised; the prince said that it had even been drawn out, and that it only waited for the approval of the king and the cabinet.

Nay, M. de Polignac even affected some surprise, and not a little regret, that such a document should have been deemed at all necessary between two governments so intimately—so confidentially connected as those of England and France then were. He lamented that he could not obtain our concurrence in the active operations he was about to undertake for "a purpose of equal benefit to the commerce of all nations." He "*consoled*" himself, however, with the hope that the British government would hereafter co-operate with him in "the settlement of the questions to which the success of the expedition would give rise;" and such was the conceding mood in which he happened to be upon this occasion, that he made use of the following words to the British ambassador:—"If you had full powers, I would readily sign a convention recognizing every principle that has been put forward by your government, in the communications which have taken place on this subject."

This was, undoubtedly, a most extraordinary declaration, considering not only the events which have since taken place, (and then not difficult to be foreseen), but also the discussions—nay, the resolutions, which must, at that very moment, (9th April, 1830), have been pending, if not actually passed, in the French cabinet.

The "official document," however, required by our government, was, somehow or other, still delayed. In lieu of it came fresh verbal explanations, each more vague than its predecessor; and what was wanted in the clearness of those communications was fully supplied by the almost angry terms in which the French minister expressed his surprise that, considering his own personal character, anything farther should be demanded of him. Respect for his own dignity, forsooth! and for that of the government of France, whose honour was without spot, forbade him to enter into written covenants upon such a subject! Their *parole* ought to be deemed abundantly sufficient!

The Duke of Wellington, as a statesman, committed several most important errors, which it has cost his successors in power a world of labour ever since to rectify. At a moment when, by

a single word, he might have secured Turkey from the enormous sacrifices imposed upon her by the treaty of Adrianople, he looked on with apathy, and suffered Russia to exact her own terms. There was another hour in the history of the French aggression upon Algiers, and it had now arrived, when, by a signal from the Admiralty to Portsmouth, he might have bound France to a rigid observance of her non-aggrandizement declarations. Two or three ships of war despatched to Algiers, would have been the proper commentary upon the Prince de Polignac's ridiculous indignation. We say "ridiculous," because no statesman has a right to put forward his own personal character, however respectable it may be, in discussions between states of a momentous nature, which must originate in, and be governed solely by, a sense of public duty. Unhappily, that hour was suffered to elapse without being marked, as it should have been, by measures worthy of the British nation; and the consequences soon became obvious.

"The document" was again promised. It would comprehend a declaration that "France would not retain possession of the town, or the regency of Algiers, though they would insist upon the restoration of the establishments (La Calle and Bastion de France) which they possessed at the period of the rupture;" and to this was now to be added a demand for a pecuniary indemnity! We said that we had nothing to do with these latter questions at the moment. All we required was, in as few words as possible, a simple abrogation of the projects which the *Moniteur* itself, in its unofficial columns, attributed to the French government. The fact was, the monarchy in France was then tottering under the powerful assaults of its domestic enemies; and the conquest of Algiers was put forward as a cake for Cerberus.

The affair now began to wear a sinister appearance. The "document" was still delayed under a variety of pretexts. The king did not think it contained all that was required. The whole history of the discussions with Algiers was to be given. The indemnity question was to be explained. Other questions, hitherto untouched, were to be added. We begged that the French diplomatists might not give themselves all this trouble. A "document," containing four or five lines under the hand of M. de Polignac, would fully answer our purpose. If this were not forthwith given, he was desired not to be surprised, if "injurious suspicions should be created and confirmed; and that he would make himself responsible for the consequences, however unfortunate, which might attend a state of distrust and apprehension." The expedition having sailed, and M. de Bourmont, the commander-in-chief, having been instructed to reduce Algiers

by force, concealment became no longer necessary. The truth was now let out. Circumstances had rendered these variations inevitable; but the British government might rest assured, that if the Algerine government should be dissolved in the struggle about to take place, "the measures to be adopted for the resettlement of that country, whether by placing it under the rule of a Turkish pacha, or such other management as might be thought expedient, would be arranged in a conference of the representatives of the allies, and not exclusively decided by the French ministers."

History—even the history of France, replete though it be with what in plain English may be called diplomatic humbug—presents no example of confidence betrayed, and of rising suspicion baffled, more complete than that which we have now laid before the reader. The results we need not state. Algiers was reduced—the Dey was expelled—money, more than sufficient to indemnify France for any injuries which she had received by the destruction of what she called her establishments, was found in the citadel—a new system of government, exclusively French, has been established in the town—the representatives of the allies of France have never been consulted upon that, or upon any other system for the regulation of the regency—the "Turkish Pacha" who was to govern it, is a French officer—the citadel is garrisoned to this hour by French troops—Constantine has been added to the French possessions in that quarter—the whole province has been enrolled as a portion of the French empire—Frenchmen have been encouraged to emigrate thither for the purpose of colonization; and if French ambition should be ultimately foiled of its object, they cannot, at all events, complain that they encountered any impediments to their projects from the administration of the Duke of Wellington—the only administration that could have effectually marred their purpose without hazarding a war.

Let us now see what the French have been doing in other parts of Africa since the conquest of Algiers. We happen to have access to peculiar sources of intelligence, which enable us to disclose a state of things on the western coast of that continent, such as it will be impossible for England to tolerate any longer, be the consequences what they may.

We have already alluded to the French government of Senegal, and to the pretensions long since set up for it by M. Golberry. It will therefore be easily supposed, that the authorities in that quarter have never contemplated with a friendly eye the British establishments either in the Gambia or at Sierra Leone. Rivalries of a commercial nature have necessarily existed between the

British and French merchants on that coast, especially with reference to the trade in gum, which is very lucrative, yielding very commonly returns not much under cent per cent.

Gum is, in fact, an article with which the chief manufacturers of England and France cannot well dispense. It is used in almost every process of dyeing, in the printing of cottons, in the fabrication of silks, ribbons, lawns, gauzes, cambrics, and hats. It is frequently an ingredient in medical and confectionary preparations; it enters into the composition of colours for painters; it is necessary to the varnisher and gilder, and a great variety of other artisans. It was formerly obtained only from Arabia, whence it was imported into France by the way of Marseilles, and through France to England and all Europe. The Dutch, however, in their intercourse with the African Moors, discovered that they had forests in the desert of Sahara which produced gum in abundance. The process of extracting it is simple. The tree which exudes it attains all its richness in summer. Incisions are then made in the bark, the gum passes freely, granulates, and accumulates at the foot of the tree. While the dry season continues, the produce is collected, and put into sacks for use. Upon examination, the Dutch found that the African gum was of a purer and more mucilaginous quality than that even of Arabia. Hence it soon became a most desirable article of commerce, and the Moors were encouraged by every possible means to exchange it for European goods. The goods given in barter for it consist chiefly of printed cottons, which, from being at first a luxury, have now become a requisite to Moorish costume.

The French having lost the transit trade in this valuable commerce at home, bent all their efforts to secure the new trade in it opened in Africa. For this purpose their establishments on the Senegal afforded great facilities. The Dutch, and after them the English, carried on the gum trade with the Moors, at a small port on the western coast, in the eighteenth degree of North latitude, and almost midway between Cape Blanco and the mouth of the Senegal. The Moors called it the Giaour's port. It is now usually designated in our maps as Portendic, though we have seen it also called Portandy and Port-Addie. The two former names are undoubtedly corruptions of the latter; Addie having been the name of a king of the Trazar Moors, who lived in the early part of last century: as with him the gum trade was then principally carried on, it is probable that the Europeans would have at first given his name to the harbour.

The Trazars appear, in fact, to be the owners, or, at least, the occupiers, of one of the three principal gum forests, which are

situated in the desert, at the distance of about a hundred miles from Portendic. The French took the earliest opportunity of entering into an understanding with that tribe, in order to induce them to cease sending their gum to Portendic, and to convey the whole of their produce to the Senegal. There were two other tribes who dealt also extensively in the same article, namely, the Bracknas and the Marabous. Besides these there are at least thirty other tribes of Moors, who possess gum trees, either within or beyond the precincts of the great forests, and who have been all accustomed, like the Trazars, the Bracknas, and the Marabous, to convey their produce to Portendic, where a sort of fair has been annually held, at which the agents of the European merchants negotiate for the exchange of that article.

The possession of Portendic became therefore a point of no slight importance to the Dutch, and afterwards to the French and English. The French set up a right to it, by reason of a treaty concluded between them and the Trazars in the year 1723. No evidence exists to show that the Trazars possessed that port, or even any part of that coast, in the nature of national property, before the period when the treaty was signed. Be this, however, as it may, it is clear that whatever was the right to the port, or to the coast, claimed by the Trazars, it was in 1723 ceded by them to the French. We took it from the French, as well as the Senegal, and retained both during the seven years' war. These possessions were secured to us by the treaty of Versailles (1763). The French having conceived that under one of the articles of that treaty they were entitled to trade at Portendic, we very speedily solved the ambiguity of the article in question, by declaring that they had no such right; and by way of commentary upon our interpretation, we stationed armed vessels along the whole coast, from the bar of the Senegal to Cape Blanco, with orders to fire upon all vessels which should venture to approach, of whatever nation they might be. With a view to economy, as well as to the accomplishment of the entire monopoly of the gum trade, by drawing the whole of it to our own factories on the Senegal, we destroyed all the establishments on the coast. In the contests which followed we lost the Senegal (1779). At the peace of 1783, however, we took good care to secure our right to trade for gum at Portendic, as the following article of the treaty, signed in that year, will show.

"Art. XI. As to the gum trade, the English shall have the liberty of carrying it on, from the mouth of the river St. John to the bay and fort of Portendic inclusively, provided that they shall not form any permanent settlement of what nature soever, in the said river St. John, upon the coast, or in the bay of Portendic."

We recovered possession of the Senegal, and of the western coast, during the late war; and it is of importance to observe, that there is a material difference between the treaties of 1788 and 1814 with reference to the European possessions in Africa. By the ninth article of the Treaty of 1788, Great Britain ceded expressly, and by name, the fort of Portendic to France, reserving however in the eleventh article the "liberty" above mentioned. But the eighth article of the Treaty of 1814 only restores to France "the colonies, fisheries, factories, and establishments of every kind, which were possessed by France on the 1st of January 1792, in the seas, and on the continents of America, Africa, and Asia."

Now Portendic never was a colony or a fishery. It was at one time a factory, when the French or the English had an establishment there; but, following the policy of which we had given the example, the French destroyed their establishment and abandoned the place altogether, about the year 1787. This fact rests upon the evidence of M. Golberry, whose duty it was to advise the Senegal government upon all matters of this description. He states that in his opinion the true interest of the Senegal government was to attract the gum trade exclusively to the stations on the river, and to destroy all their establishments on the coast, with a view to effect that purpose. His counsel was acted upon, previously to the year 1792, and therefore Portendic cannot be said to have been a "factory," or an "establishment," in the year 1792. Neither was it "possessed" by France in that year, for M. Golberry expressly affirms that it was abandoned. The consequence is, that as we held Portendic during the late war, and as it cannot be brought within the words of restitution, in the Treaty of 1814, it still remains as it then was in point of law, a British possession.

The reader is now in a situation to estimate the enormity of the late French aggressions upon our trade at that port, which we shall describe in a few words. It appears that the king of the Trazars some time ago married the niece of the king of the Walos, a negro tribe possessing an extensive tract of territory on the southern bank of the Senegal. By the law of succession the son of this woman would have succeeded to the crown of Walo, and then the two crowns (of the Trazars and the Walos) would be united in the same person. The French had acquired, whether by force or negotiation we are not informed, a portion of the Walo kingdom. The Trazars, upon whom the Walos were dependant, would not consent to this "acquisition," and they resolved to invade the territory with a view to regain it. The French prepared to resist them, and moreover declared

their determination to oppose the union of the two crowns in any of the descendants of the queen. War followed, in the course of which the Trazars were not only expelled from the southern bank of the Senegal, which they had invaded, but were also defeated on the northern bank, whither they were pursued, and driven into the desert. A French flotilla was then stationed in the river, to intercept all farther communication between the two tribes. Thus, in fact, the French succeeded in gaining all they had a right to expect as the result of the war. These circumstances occurred in 1832 and 1833.

The Trazars, necessarily alienated from the French by their unjustifiable hostilities, would be reluctant, it was supposed, to carry their gum, as usual, to the stations on the Senegal. The French consequently continued hostilities against them, and sent two ships of war in July 1834 to the Bay of Portendic, where two English merchant vessels, the *Governor Temple* and the *Industry*, were engaged in carrying on the gum trade with the Moors. These two vessels the French commander ordered, without any ceremony, to quit the Bay. The English captains refused to obey this outrageous order, whereupon the French ship of war anchored close to the coast, and commenced firing upon the Moors with grape and round shot. This was not all. There was a quantity of gum on shore, prepared for embarkation on board the *Industry*. The captain placed the English flag upon the property in order to protect it. *The flag was fired upon by the French.* The two merchant vessels were captured by the French commander and taken to the Senegal, and were not restored until much of the benefit of the voyage was lost to the charterers.

But the case by no means terminates here. The governor of the Senegal threatened to blockade Portendic. Intelligence having arrived in England of these outrages, and of the menace by which they were followed, the British Ambassador at Paris (Earl Granville) was instructed to enquire whether any intention existed on the part of the French government to place the coast in question under blockade. The reply was, that they had no such intention. Nevertheless, upon the 15th of February following, (1835) the coast of Portendic was actually blockaded, in pursuance of an official proclamation to that effect, issued under the hand of the governor of Senegal, and in obedience to instructions which he had received from the French Minister of Marine. An adequate force was stationed in the Bay to maintain the blockade. An English merchant vessel, the *Eliza*, which had arrived at Portendic for gum, nearly a fortnight before the commencement of the blockade, was expelled from the harbour the

moment the blockade took effect; and subsequently several British merchant vessels, which were proceeding to that place with cargoes of dry goods in order to procure gum in exchange, were driven away by the blockading force. The coast remained under interdict for more than six months.

These extraordinary occurrences of course gave rise to discussions between the authorities in the Gambia and the Senegal, and subsequently between the parent Governments; in the course of which, doctrines and statements have been put forward by the French which we shall not attempt to characterize. The bare statement of them in the most dispassionate language we can find, will be sufficient to awaken indignation throughout the empire.

The words of the eleventh Article of the Treaty of 1788 are too clear to admit of any ambiguity of construction. Can it be believed, however, that the ink was scarcely dry with which the ratifications of that instrument were signed, when measures were taken by the French to defeat the rights which it had secured to the English people? A company was formed in Paris, under a royal license, for the purpose of trading to the Senegal. An officer of considerable intelligence, M. Durand, was sent as their agent to Africa. His first measure on arriving there was to enter into communication with the Trazars, the Marabous, and the Bracknas; and by dint of bribery, he, aided by the Governor of Senegal, prevailed on those three tribes—the principal gum-tree owners of that part of Africa—to enter into three separate treaties, in which it was expressly stipulated and *sworn* that they should not only bring all their own produce to the Senegal stations, but that they should, moreover, “never directly or indirectly have any communication with the English; that they should employ all practicable means to intercept and totally to suppress the trade which the English might otherwise be enabled to carry on at Portendic, whether with any other tribe, or with any individuals who should pass for that purpose through their country; and that they should observe this stipulation not merely as to the gum trade, but as to every other trade, from which they understand, resolve, and promise, that they should exclude the English.” These treaties were concluded in 1785, and signed by the chiefs of the respective tribes, and by M. Durand—and the then French Governor of Senegal, M. de Repentigny.*

Down to the moment when we recaptured the Senegal, these

* They will be found in French and Arabic, in the second volume of M. Durand's *Voyage au Sénégal*, 4to. Paris, 1802.

base efforts were renewed with all imaginable industry to deprive us of the benefits of the Treaty of 1783. And we have just seen that in 1834 and 1835, stimulated by the success of a similar perfidious diplomacy on the northern coast of Africa, the Senegal authorities made use of their war with the Trazars as a pretext for again attempting to interfere with our rights on the western coast of that continent.

The first ground upon which they have attempted to defend their aggressions is really laughable for its gross absurdity. They maintain that the treaty of 1783 is still in force, whereas every body at all acquainted with the elements of international law must know that a state of war puts an end to all treaties previously existing between countries who appeal to arms to settle their differences. Unless those previous treaties be specially renewed by engagements subsequent to the cessation of war, they have no efficacy whatever. But the treaty of 1783 has not been renewed since the Peace, and therefore it is just so much dead letter. Not content with this scandalous attempt at imposition, the Governor of the Senegal, when he sent a French commandant to Portendic in July 1834, instructed him to inform the English whom he should find at Portendic that they had no right, under the eleventh Article of the treaty of 1783 to trade at that port except "under sail:" they being prohibited, he said, by the article in question, from making any "permanent establishment upon the coast, or in the Bay of Portendic." The mere throwing down of the anchor in the bay was, in the opinion of this sage governor, a "permanent establishment" in the bay! This statement must appear so monstrous to persons unacquainted with the history of these proceedings, that we deem it necessary to produce the document in which the doctrine is announced. The following is a translation of the letter addressed by M. Leveque, commander of the French brig of war, *Dunois*, to the captain of the *Industry*, dated—"Off Portendic, 9th July 1834.

"SIR,

"Considering that in violation of all laws subsisting between civilized nations, the Governor of St. Mary's in the Gambia, has sent you to Portendic, where you constantly afford provisions to the Trazars, with whom we are at war; that he has thus failed in the gratitude which he owes to the French government; considering, moreover, the nature of your cargo, which cannot but be of material assistance to that tribe; and finally acting according to the instructions which I have received from the Governor of Senegal, I have the honour to request that you will forthwith get under weigh, and not trade with the Moors at Portendic except under sail, as it has been stipulated in the

treaties concluded between the two governments. Should you decline acceding to my request, be so good as to signify your refusal in writing, as I am fully resolved in that case to compel you to take the course I have suggested.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CH. LEVEQUE.”

To this letter the Captain of the *Industry* gave the following very quiet reply :—

“ SIR,

“ I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter desiring me to get immediately under weigh, stating that by a treaty existing between England and France we are only permitted to trade with the Moors under sail.

“ Conceiving the French have no authority to oppose any English vessel that may be trading at this port, as long as a permanent settlement is not formed by them on shore, and relying upon the protection of my government, who have granted me a legal passport and permission to trade in the port of Portendic, I am under the necessity of refusing to obey the order this morning received from you.

“ I have the honour to be, &c

(Signed) JAMES EINSON.”

We wish our readers to remark the series of falsehoods put forth in M. Leveque's letter, which of course had been prepared for him by the Governor of the Senegal. The *Industry* was not sent to Portendic by the Governor of the Gambia; it was trading on the account of Mr. Harrison, a London merchant. It contained no provisions for the Trazars—nothing but dry goods intended to be exchanged for gum. It did not appear that there was an individual of the Trazar tribe on the shore at the time. The allusion to “gratitude” was a mere impertinence. The cargo, of whatever nature it was, was not destined for the Trazars in particular, but for any Moors who happened to be on the shore and had gum to dispose of. There was no treaty in existence between the two nations which contained the stipulation so expressly stated. Nor could any operation have been more impracticable in that Bay than trading under sail, by reason of the enormous swell of the Atlantic upon that coast, and the surf which even in the mildest weather renders a passage to the beach in a small boat an affair of no small danger.

Nevertheless, the *Industry* and the *Governor Temple* (belonging to Messrs. Forster and Smith, of London) were both captured upon these false and frivolous pretences. The Governor of the Senegal, finding his first construction of the eleventh Article utterly untenable, then shifted his ground: having learned that an English mercantile agent happened to be on shore negotiating for

gum with some Moors who had erected according to their custom a hut composed of moveable materials, charged this same hut as a "permanent establishment," constructed by "the English" in violation of the Treaty!

We have no desire to admit any thing into these discussions which might enlist the passions on either side. But really the language held by M. Leveque upon this occasion to Mr. Hughes, supercargo of the *Industry*, and to Mr. Pellegrin, supercargo of the *Governor Temple*, was in every respect so unjustifiable, that we do not think it ought to be passed over. Some apology is due from the French government for the expressions in which that officer ventured to address two British subjects, engaged in the pursuit of their lawful trade. These two gentlemen M. Leveque thought fit to have transferred to the *Dunois*, where he treated them as his prisoners. In the meantime he ordered his second officer in command (M. Guachina) to compel the crew of the *Industry* to hoist sail.

" 'Yes, sirs!—You are both my prisoners, at least until this cutter, (the "*Industry*,") shall get under sail. That cursed vessel—*foutre!* (an untranslatable exclamation)—a d—d vessel like that to give me so much trouble. Go, Mr. Guachina, take some men with you in the long-boat, and compel those fellows to hoist sail instantly. They may wish, perhaps, that I may read to them my authority. *Foutre!* if they want bullets they shall have plenty of them immediately. They shall not long wait for that.'

" Guachina then said, ' Captain, shall I take guns with me in the long boat.'

" 'Yes, *foutre!*—yes—certainly'—answered the captain—' those scoundrels, (*gredins*), are capable of any thing. I am astonished,' he added, turning to Mr. Hughes, ' that your governor was not ashamed to send these vessels here, after all that he owed us. (!) His conduct is infamous, and I am the more surprised at it, as he told me at his own table, that the only mode of forcing those rascals (the Moors), to sue for peace, was to deprive them of provisions. The ungrateful wretch. He is a man devoid of all honour—a mean-minded creature. But—*foutre!* it is not astonishing after all, seeing that half the cargo belonged to himself.'

" Both Mr. Hughes and Mr. Pellegrin at once denied this to be the case. ' Yes,' said this polite commander,—' I know it well,—I have it on the best authority.' On Mr. Hughes remonstrating with him upon the impropriety of his proceedings, he answered—' As to me, I have my instructions. I am pretty certain that Mr. Puzol, (the Governor of Senegal), who sent me hither, would not have taken it upon him to act as he has done, without having well considered the treaty—and I warrant you he is no fool. Now, either he is right, or your governor is right, and, therefore, one of the two must be an ass.' Mr. Hughes disclaimed the title for his governor—

Mr. Rendall, since deceased—an officer of no ordinary merit and intelligence. The commander then, furiously stamping on the deck, repeated—‘*Oui, je vous dis qu’oui—un des deux est un jean-foutre et c’est pour les deux gouvernemens à décider lequel !*”

This is but a chastened specimen of the kind of language which the commander of French ships of war think themselves authorized to hold to Englishmen, engaged in the pursuit of their lawful avocations on the western coast of Africa !

When the two questions, of the aggressions in 1834. and the blockade in 1835, were brought officially, by Lord Palmerston, under the consideration of the French government, the latter, indeed, did not attempt to justify the construction put upon the eleventh article of the treaty of 1783, by M. Puzol. They maintained, however, that in consequence of France having been then, (1834 and 1835), at war with the Trazars, it was competent to the governor of Senegal to put the coast under interdict; that the interdiction, no matter on what ground it was declared, was, in itself, the exercise of a lawful right; and that the blockade by which it was followed, was also equally lawful, inasmuch as every country has a right of self-defence against its enemies; and this right enabled France to suspend the “*faculté commerciale*” which the English enjoyed under the treaty, to trade at a port belonging to a nation with which France was then actually engaged in warfare.

The doctrine that the interdiction was in itself lawful, however erroneous the grounds officially assigned for it at the time it was carried into effect, is too gross an outrage upon common sense, and upon the first principles of international law, to admit of a moment’s consideration. As to the process of blockade, nobody doubts that a belligerent has a perfect right to apply it against his antagonist; but then, he must take care that the territory he places under blockade is the territory of his enemy. Now, whatever property the Trazars may have had in the coast of Portendic, previously to the year 1723, it was unquestionably ceded by them to the French in that year, by the treaty already alluded to. History attests, that the coast was English during the seven years’ war—that it was restored in 1783 by the English to the French; that in 1785, M. Durand, by his three memorable treaties, engaged three separate and independent tribes, amongst which were the Trazars, to suppress the English trade at Portendic, thereby allowing to the Trazars no more authority over the coast, than to either of the two other tribes; that although the French destroyed their establishments on the coast in 1787, and then ceased to frequent it, there is no evidence to show that the Trazars took possession of it; that it again became British during

the revolutionary war, and that not having been restored to France in 1814, it still remains British to all intents and purposes. And this was the territory which the French ventured to blockade in 1835, because they were at war with the Trazars!

But, for the sake of the argument, let us for a moment deal with the supposition, that the treaty of 1783 was in force in 1835, and that the coast actually belonged to the Trazars. The question would then turn upon the construction of the eleventh article, which we have already cited. Will it be believed, that the French government, in stating their views as to the meaning of this article, have uniformly treated the "*liberty*" of the English to trade at Portendic, as nothing more than a "*faculté commerciale*?" The word "*faculté*," it is evident, *ex vi termini*, would convey only a right of enjoyment, emanating from some higher source,—the continuance, or suspension of which would be dependent on that higher source. By substituting "*faculté*" for "*liberté*," they wish to show, that the right of the English to trade at Portendic, is simply the possession of a faculty over which they possess authority, and which, therefore, they can suspend, and having suspended, may restore whenever they think fit.

But the words of the article are absolute, and subject to no exception, provided we make no permanent establishment in the bay or on the coast. "As to the gum trade, the English *shall* have the *liberty* of carrying it on," &c. The King of England, restoring to France certain territory which he had acquired from her by force of arms, reserves to his subjects the *liberty* still to carry on their trade with that territory. The power of trading is, therefore, a portion of his sovereign rights, acquired by conquest, which he does not cede, but, on the contrary, most expressly reserves. And M. Golberry remarking upon this very article, says, or rather complains, that "*the English therein preserved to themselves, in a clear and decided manner, the right of trading conjointly with us to Arguin and Portendic.*"—vol. i, p. 153.

It follows, therefore, that even assuming the coast to be Trazar property, the French had no authority, even for a season, to abrogate our *liberty* to trade there, unless they had previously obtained the consent of our government to that measure. The right of an Englishman to repair to Portendic, was exactly equal to that of a Frenchman to do the same thing; and no circumstance, short of *war between themselves*, could justify the one in preventing the other from trading there.

Now, we certainly were not at war with France in 1834 or

1835. Nor is it pretended that our government consented either to the expulsion of our traders from the Bay of Portendic, in the former year, or to the blockade in the latter. On the contrary, our government never acknowledged the blockade. Farther, if the French had longer persevered in it, steps were in active preparation at the Admiralty *for raising it by superior force*. The moment this was announced, M. Leveque and Co. were very glad to take to their heels.

Let the case, therefore, be put in any shape whatever, either supposing the treaty of 1783 to exist or not to exist, it is manifest that the expulsion of our vessels from Portendic in 1834, and the blockade of the coast in 1835, were nothing more or less than piratical acts, for which this country must obtain from France the most signal reparation. They were "part and parcel" of that perfidious diplomacy by which the French have succeeded in gaining possession of Algiers. The measures adopted in the north, in the south, and in the west, have all had for their common object the utter exclusion of English influence and trade from that not insignificant portion of the Moorish continent, which M. Golberry was pleased to mark out as "French Africa."

Never, in the history of any blockades which have come under our observation, was a pretext for a measure of that species more audacious, or more false, than that which the Governor of Senegal announced upon this occasion. His declaration was in effect to this purpose. "We are at war with the Trazars—the English trade with them at Portendic—that trade enables our enemy to abstain from making peace; it affords them clothing, and so long as they can trade there, they will not come to the Senegal. We must, therefore, put the coast of Portendic under interdict." Will it be believed that this was a *war* measure? An operation to recover a declining trade through the medium of a blockade, is decidedly a violation of international law. Persons engaged in it are clearly liable to be dealt with as pirates. All the authorities are express upon this point. "A blockade," says Sir Wm. Scott, "imposed for the purpose of obtaining a commercial monopoly for the private advantage of the state which lays it on, is illegal and void from the very principle upon which it is founded."*

The political object of the war, that is, the expulsion of the Trazars from the Walo territory, and the termination of their intercourse with that territory, had been completely effected before the period of the blockade. If the privation of those

objects which the Trazars were accustomed to obtain in exchange for their gum, had become necessary in order to compel the Trazars to conclude a peace, how happens it that during the very periods when our vessels were expelled from Portendic, and the blockade was rigidly enforced against us, the French merchants of Senegal were not interdicted from pursuing the gum trade as usual at the stations on that river, one of these stations having been long expressly appropriated for the reception of the Trazar gum? Why were the Trazars who appeared during those two years' at that station never fired upon? Why were the French trading boats at that station never placed under embargo?

We have evidence before us to show that preparations more extensive than usual were made in 1834 by French merchants in Senegal, for trading with the Trazars. We have in our hands a copy of the regulations agreed to by an association of those merchants for that purpose. We happen also to possess a letter written by a French merchant residing in Senegal, dated the 20th of March, 1835, giving an account of the establishment of this association. "The blockade," (says the writer, who was one of the directors of this company) "established by the French government, gives us reason to calculate on obtaining the gum collected by the Trazars; and upon the supposition of the harvest being an average one, we are entitled to expect that our association will bring back 1500 tons of gum from the three different factories on the river." The blockade was established about a month before this letter was written. Can any man, therefore, doubt for one moment that the blockade of Portendic was a commercial and not a political blockade?—a blockade not against the Trazars, but against the English—a blockade forming only one of the many frauds and annoyances of which the French have been guilty in Africa, for the purpose of securing to themselves a monopoly of all the advantages which the western and central portions of that continent are capable of yielding?

It was reported that in the treaty of peace which the French concluded with the Trazars and signed on the 30th of August 1835, there were articles similar to those contained in M. Durand's infamous treaties of 1785, for the total suppression of our trade at Portendic. To a question put by our minister at Paris upon this point, a distinct negative was given. But it was not stated that the treaty in question does contain an article which we have seen—the 4th article, in which very considerable presents, double those usually given, are stipulated to be paid by the French to the Trazars, with the view of inducing them to cease trading in future at Portendic. Nay, it has been ascertained that measures have been actually attempted by the

French authorities and residents at Senegal, since the last treaty was signed, to carry into effect the object proposed by M. Durand. The following statement on this subject has been made by Mr. Isaacs, a mercantile gentleman of great intelligence and activity, who has recently visited that part of Africa.

"While I was at Portendic in August last (1836), I saw there several Moors, some of whom had just arrived from the French trading ports on the Senegal, and others from the colony itself. These Moors informed me that the French had offered to the king of the Trazars five thousand dollars, or if that sum fell short of it, a greater remuneration than the Moors obtained from the English through the gum trade at Portendic, if he (the Trazar king) would agree to destroy that trade, and cause the whole of the gum to be taken to the Senegal. In consequence of this communication, I proceeded to the king of the Trazars, and inquired of him if this information were true. He told me that it was perfectly true; and added that the same offer had been frequently made by the French authorities at Senegal to himself, and to his brother, who usually negotiated with the French all matters of business between them. The king farther stated, that since the treaty of August 1835, the inhabitants of Senegal had offered, that if he would cause the English trade at Portendic to be destroyed, and the gum trade altogether transferred to the Senegal, he should receive a proportionate contribution from every house, and even every hut in Senegal, the most insignificant of which should not be less than two dollars."

We have heard it declared by one of the highest international law authorities in this country, that the treaties concluded by MM. Durand and Repentigny in 1785 with the Moorish tribes, for the purpose of defeating the "liberty" secured to the English by the eleventh article of the treaty of 1783, would have formed a just cause for war. If we have any rights still remaining on the western coast of Africa, we apprehend that the proceedings which we have now stated, on the part of the French, would fully justify this country in redressing the injuries, and avenging the insults we have received, by an immediate resort to reprisals. If the dignity of France, wounded by an affront offered to her consul by the Dey of Algiers, could not be expiated by any measure short of the expulsion of that chief from the seat of his power, the extermination of his subjects, and the appropriation to her own use not only of the town but of the entire regency, we ask what compensation can be sufficient to wipe away the stain flung upon the honour, and the grievous outrages inflicted upon the interests of Great Britain, throughout the whole of these most iniquitous transactions?

- ART. VIII.—1. *Quelques Considérations pour servir à l'Histoire du Magnetisme Animale.* Par A. Fillassier. Paris. 1832.
2. *Exposé des Expériences sur le Magnetisme faites à l'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris.* 8ème Edit. Paris. 1821. *And some Account of Mesmerism (in London Medical Gazette, 1837. Vol. XXI, pp. 291, et seq.)* Par M. le Baron Du Potet de Sennevoy.
3. *A Lecture on Animal Magnetism, delivered at the North London Hospital, (as reported in Lancet, Vol. II, 1836-7, pp. 866, et seq.)* By John Elliotson, M.D., F.R.S.
4. *Powers of the Roots of the Nerves in Health and Disease. Likewise on Animal Magnetism.* By Herbert Mayo, F.R.S. London. 1837.
5. *Report on Animal Magnetism made to the Royal Academy of Medicine at Paris, August the 8th and 22nd, 1837, as translated in London Medical Gazette, 1837. Vol. XXI, pp. 918, et seq.*

WE profess ourselves unable to assign the causes, and still more to fix the limits, of human credulity. Among uncivilized and barbarous nations, and among very young children, it appears to be subject to no bounds, and this may be conjectured to arise from their limited experience, which being too circumscribed to enable them to judge of the probability of events, renders it equally impossible for them to say what is or what is not possible within the illimitable range of nature. Accordingly, among such persons it is that we observe an insatiable appetite for the marvellous, which is ministered to in a thousand ways,—by inexperience, timidity, inaccuracy of observation, and exaggerated relations of events. If, as sometimes has happened, minds of a nobler cast—stored with learning, and inured to lofty contemplations—have been infected with the canker of superstition, it is attributable to the same source, or, in other words, to an inexperience of the phenomena of nature, and an unacquaintedness with the principles of science. As natural philosophy has been cultivated, and its truths widely disseminated, superstitions have gradually declined, so that at the present day few or none of them are to be found, except in remote and sequestered districts of the country.

But if natural philosophy has been successful in banishing the grosser superstitions, it has still allowed many minor ones to remain; and here we may observe, that it is in physic that they have chiefly taken refuge; for, as the truths of medicine are

less generally known than those of other sciences, and yet are of greatest concernment to mankind, it is natural to suppose that men's fears should principally operate in this direction: and this, we apprehend, will be a sufficient reply to the array of great names which have been adduced in support of animal magnetism. If the celebrated Cuvier was a believer in this doctrine, as he is affirmed to have been, what, we would ask, were Cuvier's opportunities of experience in regard to the diseases of the living body, which could enable him, from just analogies, to say what was or what was not natural in its functions, or how far morbid phenomena were explicable upon the acknowledged principles of physiology? Men, when they set themselves to judge on subjects of which they are ignorant, are, *quond* these particulars, on a level with the vulgar, and their decisions are deserving of no greater respect. And as to the observation of La Place on this same subject, it is merely one of caution, not too rashly to disbelieve in inexplicable phenomena; in opposition to which the following extract from the same author (*Essai Philosophique sur le Calcul des Probabilités*, p. 150) may fairly be adduced to the same subject:—

“The probability of error,” he says, “or of the falsehood of testimony, becomes in proportion greater as the fact which is attested is more extraordinary. Some authors have advanced a contrary opinion; but the simple good sense of mankind rejects so strange an assertion, while the calculation of probabilities, confirming the decisions of common sense, appreciates with still greater accuracy the improbability of testimony in favour of extraordinary events. One may judge from this, what an immense weight of testimony is required before we can admit a suspension of the laws of nature, and how absurd it would be in such a case to be guided by the ordinary rules of practice. In fact, all those who have related extraordinary events, without supporting their relations with this accumulated weight of evidence (*cette immensité des témoignages*), have weakened rather than augmented the credibility which they have sought to inspire, for such relations have made the chance of error or falsehood still greater. But that which weakens the evidence of men of intelligence increases that of the vulgar, which is always greedy after wonders. *There are some things so extraordinary, that nothing can counterbalance their improbability.*”

Animal magnetism may be described to be the effect produced by the proximity of two animated beings, in certain positions, and combined with certain movements, in consequence of which a state of sleep, or rather of somnambulism is induced, in which the mental and physical faculties of the patient undergo an extraordinary exaltation, and other phenomena take place of a still more wonderful nature. It is probably well known, that this city has recently been enlightened by the presence of

the Baron du Potet de Sennevoy ; and that this gentleman, in addition to public *conversazioni* held daily at his rooms in Orchard Street, for the purposes of clinical instruction, has lately put forth an elaborate statement of the Mesmeric doctrines in the *London Medical Gazette*, from which publication we shall proceed to give some explanation of the phenomena above alluded to.

According to this gentleman, all the functions of the animal body are dependent on the nervous system. The nervous fluid, which is secreted in the brain and disseminated by the nerves, is closely analogous to, if not identical with, the electric and galvanic fluids. "But this agent does not confine itself within the muscles and the skin ; it throws itself off with a certain degree of force, and then forms a real nervous atmosphere—a sphere of activity absolutely similar to that of electrified bodies." Nay more ; this nervous or active atmosphere is placed under the influence of volition, so as to be increased or concentrated at pleasure, and afterwards transmitted into another individual, where it accumulates in such a degree, as in some cases to amount to an actual saturation of the nervous system, and thus explain the *secousses* sometimes experienced by the patients. But this is not all. This ethereal fluid is made to be a sort of a stage-coach to the desires and affections of the magnetizer. "These desires, this will, being actions of the brain, it (viz. the magnetic fluid) transmits them by means of the nerves, as far as the periphery of the body, and beyond it." And thus the whole mind of the operator becomes transfused into the mind of his patient, who henceforth, losing all sense of personal identity, is rapt into a state of abstraction.

"If it be true," observes Du Potet, "that one man can penetrate another with a part of the vital principle, which his organization conceals, the life of that individual being necessarily *mise en plus*, the phenomena which appear ought to have a supernatural character, and surprise by their novelty, and by the difference which they present from other phenomena. Weil : this hypothesis is realized in the act of magnetism. The individual obedient to magnetism, the man who experiences the effects of this power, ceases, for an instant, to be the same person. Every thing is modified in his organization. All his perceptions are quickened, they become more comprehensive, and he is rendered capable of executing things which he could not before accomplish, and of which he had not thought in his habitual state. The agent who produces such a state, gives the means of healing many diseases, which have resisted every remedy in ordinary medicine, and the extacy which he provokes, calls medicine and philosophy to new meditations, which, I am certain, will bring forth doctrines fraught with happy results."—*Lancet*, No. 733, p. 906.

In laying before our readers the facts of this extraordinary science, we shall avail ourselves, as much as possible, of the most recent authorities, and especially of that of the Baron du Potet, which, besides being unimpeachable in all respects, carries with it an additional stamp of authenticity, from the author having assured us, "that twenty years' experience and observation have made him familiar with obscure facts." Notwithstanding, therefore, the Baron's vehement declamations against public prejudice, we promise him that we shall never be more happy than when we have an opportunity of referring to his own words. We do not, indeed, quite agree with him in all that he has said respecting the struggles of genius, or the dulness of public perception. If it has occasionally happened that valuable discoveries have been made, which the public has been slow to recognize, we venture to think that this may have happened in consequence of the multitude of impositions. If again it has so happened that women and idle persons of all sorts are those who have chiefly resorted to his saloons, he has at least the satisfaction of reflecting, that among this number are included many "distinguished for their rank and fortune." If Mesmer was virtually banished from two countries in succession, he was at least "liberally rewarded" by his disciples, "who were all possessed of wealth and rank." If men of science of all countries and successive public commissions have rejected the magnetic doctrine as a delusion, this imports not the least doubt of its credibility, as "many questions have been decided without the concurrence of the learned, and often, indeed, notwithstanding their formal opposition." "If many truths have been rejected when first brought forward, and which have since been established," the number of absurd speculations which have shared the same fate has been at least as a thousand to one: finally, if "at the present day few enlightened men doubt of the existence of the magnetic agent," we do not quite comprehend the consistency of the following magnanimous resolution. "What is to be done under such circumstances? to be silent, and pity the men who force you to bend beneath their hasty decisions; for when men say no, respecting a fact, and nature says yes, it is very certain that nature will eventually prevail."

Anthony Mesmer, the discoverer of Animal Magnetism, was born in Switzerland, in the year 1740, and early exhibited the erratic propensities of his mind, in a thesis before the University of Vienna, "on the influence of the planets on the human body." When or by what means he became acquainted with the "secret of directing at will, and by very easy means, the fluid which sets our nerves in motion," does not appear; but only that

these opinions, which began to be diffused in the Austrian capital about 1775, created so much opposition as to oblige their propounders to quit that city in 1777. We know not by what fatality it has happened that France, the recipient of almost every mysterious bantling cradled in Germany, has generally been among the first to strangle these *enfants trouvés*. Mesmer, despairing of working any effect on his own countrymen, arrived in Paris in 1778, where he soon created a great sensation in his favour; but, having laid his system before the Academies of Science and Medicine, and finding that it was repudiated by several public commissions, he then conceived the plan of a public institution. This soon acquired a name, and became a favourite lounge for all the chief fashionables of Paris, and a favourite theme for most of the lighter literature and conversation of the day. Several abuses, however, having transpired connected with these exhibitions, a feeling of indignation soon compelled Mesmer to leave Paris with precipitation; and retiring to Spa, the doctrines of which he had been the author soon fell into forgetfulness. They were revived in 1825 by M. Foissac, and again in the beginning of 1837 by M. Berna, in a challenge addressed to the Royal Academy of Medicine, in which "he undertook to afford to those to whom, he said, authority was nothing, personal experience as a means of conviction."

Of the proceedings consequent on this challenge we shall speak presently.

The modes adopted for eliciting the magnetic effect have been regulated by a sort of fashion, while the effects themselves have been equally capricious. The proceeding of Mesmer was highly elaborate. In the centre of a large apartment was elevated a small wooden vessel, containing bottles, and other nonsense arranged *secundum artem*. From the perforated cover of this vessel proceeded a number of iron rods, which the party, disposed in the form of a circle, were directed to take hold of. Meanwhile the magnetizer, armed with a magic baton, directed the magnetic fluid, by various waving motions, over the persons of his patients, sometimes to the sound of a piano or armonica, but always in the direction of the poles. We must not suppose, however, that all this apparatus of water, bottles, and metallic rods, was actually essential to the disengagement of the magnetic agent. "Magnetism," we are assured by Du Potet, "could be exercised in various different ways. The universal fluid being everywhere, the magnetizer contained a portion of it in himself, which he had the power of communicating or directing by a rod, or by the movement of his extended fingers. In addition to these gestures, performed without coming in contact with the patients, it was

customary to touch gently the hypochondria, the epigastric region, and the limbs. To add to the effect of these operations, trees, water, articles of food, or other objects touched, were magnetized; for all bodies in nature, according to Mesmer, were susceptible of magnetism."

Now in our judgment Mesmer's process was incomparably superior to any which has since been devised; for though undoubtedly simplicity is very desirable, yet we should ever be on our guard not to allow it to interfere with the full effects which we intend to pursue. On this account, therefore, we should decidedly approve of the modern process. This is as follows. "The patient desired to sit down. The operator, then, standing or sitting at a little distance before her, raises his hand more or less horizontally to the level of her forehead, his fingers being pointed towards the patient, and at the distance of from two inches to four, or six, or more; he then moves his hand, at the same distance from the person, down the chest or down the arms and legs, sometimes keeping it for a few seconds steadily, or with an undulating motion, pointed towards the head, or to the pit of the stomach, or to the knee. Those looking on are requested not to move or speak, so as to draw off the attention of the patient from the operator." These movements must all be in the axis of the body. Each magnetist, however, has his own particular method. Dr. Sigmond, though he does not consider the process he has employed perfect, says that "it is from the centre of the nose downwards that the effect is most speedily induced, and the drawing of the hand downwards from the brow, so as to affect the eyes, he finds to be quite unnecessary." Du Potet prolongs his manipulations to the extremities; others assert that it is sufficient to look people stedfastly in the face, and to will a particular phenomenon, and immediately it will be produced; while others, again, discarding equally the *passes* and the presence of the patient, say that the full influence may be obtained at twenty yards distance, and in spite of the intervention of a brick wall. It would appear, therefore, that nothing is more easy than to evoke this extraordinary agent, so obedient, and yet so marvellous in its effects.

The persons on whom any of these spells have been cast, experience various unusual sensations, such as wandering pains over the body, especially in the head and stomach; an augmentation or suppression of the cutaneous perspiration, palpitations of the heart, a sense of gasping or catching of the breath, evinced by repeated yawnings, slight muscular twitches, tingling of the ears, dizziness of the eyes, a vivid sensation of singular comfort and enjoyment, an extraordinary exaltation of the mental faculties,

and many other singular effects on the nervous system. These phenomena, however, which vary infinitely in different individuals, are usually found to terminate in "the most remarkable and most constant of all, viz., convulsions."

One of the most customary effects produced by the waving motions above described, is the production of sleep, or of a peculiar physiological state, which has been sometimes denominated trance. We are of opinion that a state resembling sleep may be and often is induced in certain individuals, placed under the above circumstances, and that it is solely on account of this *fact*, that credence has been given to other improbable statements connected with the magnetic doctrine. We say this because we cannot otherwise account for the fact that it ever should have received any support, unless some admixture of truth had been present to qualify the mass of error, and give it the appearance of *raisemblance*. The following case, as reported by Dr. Sigmond, occurred a few weeks ago, and may be depended upon as perfectly authentic. We may add that Dr. Sigmond has "exercised this art upon nearly a hundred persons, and with very general success on the fairer part of the creation." For though men may occasionally be affected in the same way, they are very unpropitious subjects for the experiment.

"I was enjoying," (says Dr. Sigmond) "the hospitality of a most amiable family in — Square, when animal magnetism became the topic of conversation, and I related the trials I had already made. One of the young ladies proposed to become the subject of experiment, to which I very willingly assented; for, having on former occasions attended her during momentary sickness, I was fully aware of the natural strength of her constitution, and the absence of that nervous temperament which renders this system inapplicable. I began what are technically called 'the passes.' They, as is not unusual, excited laughter and incredulity. I proceeded for about five minutes, and then stopped and inquired if any sensation was produced, and the answer was, 'a slight sleepiness;' and ridicule was again thrown upon the subject. I recommenced the manipulations; I observed the eyelids falling, and at last they closed; but, as the same incredulous smile remained, I persevered for three or four minutes, when I, almost doubting whether any influence had been produced, inquired what the feelings were; to this no answer was returned. I found my young friend was in the most complete trance I had ever yet witnessed as the result of my magnetism. The stupor was most profound; and I then tried the usual means to arouse her, but they were vainly exercised. After a few minutes I found the hands become icy cold, the face lost its natural hue, and became perfectly pallid; the extremities became quite cold; the respiration was imperceptible; the stimulus of light did not affect the eye; on speaking to her a faint smile was excited, and a

quivering of the lower jaw, which seemed to indicate a wish but an incapability of answering; the pulse became gradually feebler, whilst the external appearance altogether bore such a decidedly deathly cast, that naturally some apprehension was excited amongst her family, by whom she was surrounded. Of course I could not but feel a certain degree of anxiety and regret that I had produced such a state, and much uneasiness at the thought that I had inflicted a moment's alarm to my kind friends. These feelings were, however, less acute, from the full knowledge I entertained that the family had long reposed the most perfect confidence in me, and that no member of it had that nervous susceptibility, which would have embarrassed me had any untoward accident presented itself.

"I placed the perfectly unconscious subject of this distressing scene in a horizontal position, and directed the application of warmth and of friction to the extremities. Circulation and animal heat were gradually excited, but she presented a most singular appearance of suspended animation. In this condition she remained more than four hours, for I had commenced a little after ten in the evening; and it was about half-past two, that, on some slight effort being made to rouse her, she uttered some of the most piercing shrieks I have ever heard; there were convulsive efforts to raise the limbs; the face, too, became convulsed; she opened her eyes and stared wildly around; she was placed in the upright posture, and seemed sensible. Advantage was taken of this circumstance to carry her to her apartment; before, however, she could reach it, she fell into a profound slumber, but its character was more natural. She was placed in her bed, appearing perfectly composed; the countenance had acquired its natural hue; the respiration was perfectly easy, and the pulse natural. In this state she remained during the whole of the day, until nine o'clock in the evening, once only opening her eyes, and addressing a few words to an anxious and affectionate sister who never left her side. In the evening the young lady joined her family perfectly restored to her wonted cheerfulness. She expressed no complaint whatever. She stated that the feelings that first came over her were those of extreme quiet and repose,—a species of ecstasy,—a gradual languor seemed to steal over her; that she heard something passing around her; felt an inclination, but an utter impossibility, to reply. The first waking up she, however, described as almost terrific. It was as if she was bursting from a narrow and confined space, and as if she arose from interminable darkness. The lesson that I have thus learnt will not be lost upon me."

We should probably find some difficulty in stating what was the precise cause of the state of trance above described. As these operations are always performed in perfect silence, and generally in perfect seriousness, on the part of the operator, we must certainly allow something to these causes; something must also be allowed to the repeated undulations of air passing over the surface of the face, which may not unaptly resemble a gentle chafing of the hands, which has often been known to have a

soothing tendency. Still more, we think, ought to be attributed to the state of mental abstraction induced by these manœuvres, in consequence of which the mind is allowed to repose without any definite subject of contemplation, being as in the state preceding natural sleep, when the half-closed senses transmit only imperfect impressions to the brain. A practice, called “stealing away of the breath,” seems to have been known to the ancients, and is described by Suetonius to consist of quietly fanning the atmosphere before the nostrils, so as to interrupt the due ingress of air into the lungs. Those, therefore, who regard the efficient physical cause of sleep to be the circulation of imperfectly oxygenated blood in the brain, consequent upon retarded respiration, have naturally resorted to this explanation, which however does not appear to us to be at all satisfactory, inasmuch as the magnetic manipulations may be performed at such a distance from the body, and with so much gentleness, as scarcely to have any appreciable effect upon the respiration. We confess we are disposed ourselves to refer the effect chiefly to monotony. We know that the constant iteration of any impression, which is not in itself stimulating, will generally predispose to somnolency, as the sound of a fountain, the dulness of a discourse, or the soothing lullaby of a baby. Music sends some to sleep, and tickling others, but in none of these cases are we able to explain the cause, any more than we can explain why motion in a vessel should produce sickness, or untying a knot in a silken thread induce a state of syncope. The supposition of a magnetic fluid is not only in itself utterly devoid of proof, but utterly insufficient for the explanation.

We believe that the preceding state more nearly resembles a trance than natural sleep, the state of unconsciousness being more profound, and the vital functions being more under arrest. According to Mr. Mayo, the pupils are not contracted as in natural sleep, and the muscles are less relaxed. But however this may be, the fact alone that epileptic and hysteric persons are most susceptible of this state is a sufficient proof of its being allied to disease. Persons who are disposed to talk or walk in their sleep naturally, show those propensities perhaps still more remarkably in the artificial state, but beyond this we give no credit to the stories of somnambulism, and altogether discredit the pretensions of the operator to disenchant the victim of his spells, by transverse passes and other cabalistic methods.—According to the vivid imaginations of the Mesmerists, the magnetizer and the magnetizee stand in the relation to each other of loadstone and steel, so that the latter sees or hears the former only among a crowd, and necessarily obeys him, to go hither or thither according to his pleasure. These, however, are

the purely visionary parts of the doctrine, which require only to be stated to be refuted.

Every one must have noticed the effect of anxiety, or indeed of any other powerful emotion,

Quidquid agunt homines, votum, ira, timor, voluptas,
Gaudia, delectus,—

in exciting convulsive motions in persons habitually predisposed; under which circumstances occasional twitches of individual muscles, or slight palpitations of the heart, become aggravated to a painful extent. Our readers may have seen this exemplified in the instance of a noble and learned lord, at one time at the head of his profession, whose anxiety in debate was invariably evinced by a remarkable distortion of the features. Such are the causes of all nervous peculiarities, and such are the circumstances of aggravation which throw persons, afflicted with St. Vitus's dance, into hideous contortions, or excite in the susceptible female the hysteric paroxysm. In a more partial manner the same effect is produced when the attention is forcibly directed to any part, to which, in the language of the older physiologists, the animal spirits then immediately crowd, inducing either an exalted state of the sensibility, or some unwonted and irregular actions of the motive powers. Thus cramp, as every one knows, is greatly promoted by this means, as also the tremulous shaking of the hands in operations of extreme delicacy, resembling, not indistinctly, a transient *paralysis agitans*. Cases of perverted sensibility, to be referred to the same principle, and dependent on a highly mobile state of the nervous system, not unfrequently occur, and by simulating the symptoms of serious organic lesions, are extremely perplexing to the physician. A man, for example, reads a medical book, and forthwith fancies that he is affected with some fearful malady; or, it may be, he has exposed himself to some source of infection, and, being of an apprehensive temperament, immediately imagines that he is suffering from the first symptoms of the complaint. Cases of the following kind constantly occur in practice. A delicate female has watched, we will suppose, with anxious and unremitting solicitude, the unrelenting progress of disease in some female friend, so as seriously to impair the general strength of her constitution. She now feels a pain in one of her sides, at first of a transient and slight nature, but, as her apprehensions on the subject increase, of a more permanent and severe character; attended, it may be, with some appearances of thickening, or even of distinct tumour. Now, in in such a case, nothing but the strongest assurances of safety from an experienced surgeon, aided by such means as are calculated

to invigorate the general health, will remove the apprehensions of the patient, or dissipate her painful sensations. So great, indeed, are the mutual influences of mind and body on each other, in the animal economy, that we are by no means prepared to say that the former may not even exert an influence over the interior organization of the latter, so as actually to produce organic disease, or to cure it, being present. But, be this as it may, it may be considered as certain, that a strong persuasion of mind, induced either by magical spells, or, as formerly, by the royal touch, has been sufficient, in many cases, to cure diseases which had resisted all ordinary means; whilst the question in regard to mother-spots and other congenital malformations, does not seem to have been yet completely decided in the negative. The influence of the mind, in disturbing the operations of general health, is matter of familiar observation, and has given rise to an important question in medical ethics, viz. how far it is proper or justifiable in a physician to inform his patient of the full extent of his danger, and, thereby, induce a state of mental depression which may greatly aggravate his disorder. Leaving, however, such speculations, as irrevelant, we have said enough to explain some very curious phenomena, which we shall now proceed, without farther observation, to relate.

A lady was magnetized for ten minutes, by various *passes* over the face and shoulders. She was not set to sleep, but she experienced a bruised sensation in the muscles of the arms, which continued, more or less, for upwards of twenty-four hours afterwards.

Two medical men, suffering from partial paralysis of one side of the face, were magnetized several times by Du Potet. In one of these cases no effect was produced, but in the other the face was forcibly drawn to the paralysed side. The gentleman, however, in whom this occurred, said that the same effect was produced by any cause of anxiety, especially when he was at a loss for expression in the delivery of public lectures.

A young lady, suffering from hysteric paralysis of the thigh, experienced evident twitches and even considerable retraction of the muscles of that side, during the course of magnetization.

Mr. John Hunter, the celebrated physiologist, relates, that being invited to be magnetized, he was reluctant to obey the invitation, fearing lest a state of anxiety should bring on a state of spasm, to which he was habitually subject, so that this should be ascribed to animal magnetism. To prevent this effect he adopted the following expedient:—

“I was convinced,” he says, “by the apparatus that everything was calculated to affect the imagination. When the magnetizer began his

operations, and informed me that I should feel it first at the roots of my nails of that hand nearest the apparatus, I fixed my attention on my great toe, where I was wishing to have a fit of the gout: and I am confident that I can fix my attention to any part until I have a sensation in that part. Whenever I found myself attending to his tricks, I fell to work with my great toe, by which means I prevented it having any effect."—*Works* i. 337.

The production of the hysteric paroxysm, either fully, or in that imperfect form which consists in fits of laughing, crying, garrulity, or tossing about of the arms, is by no means an uncommon event, either on the person immediately magnetized, or on those who happen to be spectators: but it requires no second Daniel to divine the cause of this phenomenon, without resorting to the dispersion of a magnetic *aura*, or to the supposition of the vital principle being *mise en plus*, to account for it. As to the person herself who forms the immediate subject of the experiment, we cannot wonder that she should be thrown into a peculiar state of mental excitement, when we reflect that immediately before her, within a few inches of her person, is seated the magnetizer, of the other sex, intently gazing into her face, and performing his mysterious manipulations amidst profound silence and a crowd of anxious spectators. Our surprise rather is, that any young creature should be found capable of enduring so severe a test, without the exhibition of some symptoms of nervousness, especially if she happen to be endued with any true delicacy of feeling. The illustrious Mesmer, that "man of wonders," as he is emphatically styled by Du Potet, adapted his various means with far more sagacity than the moderns. To him the depths and shallows of the human mind were far more intimately known, and his success was proportionably greater than any that we now hear of. Here, all was pomp and mystical parade. To luxurious saloons, surrounded with cabalistical preparations, were added the blandishments of music and a soft delicious light. The patients were directed to form a chain, as is frequently done when a number of persons receive together the electric shock, by holding each other respectively by the thumb or fore finger, while one or more assistants, generally of *distingué* appearance, performed the magnetic operations, consisting, for the most part, of various waving motions performed by a wand, and prolonged *tatonnemens* of the person. "On agissait encore sur les malades en les regardant fixement; et surtout *en pressant* avec les mains les diverses régions, du *bas ventre*, manipulation quelquefois continuée pendant des heures entières." Allowing every credit for Platonism and purity to

the illustrious inventor of such philosophic devices, can we be surprised that such scenes should often terminate in scandal, especially among an assembly of fashionable *ennuyées*, collected together for the pure purpose of excitement; or that public indignation, outraged by such proceedings, should at length rise to such height as to compel the injured author to quit Paris precipitately? "Serious causes," as Du Potet admits, "were brought before the tribunals, in which magnetism had been employed as a means of abusing the confidence of respectable persons."

The occurrence of the magnetic, or, more properly, of the hysteric paroxysm, among any of the magic circle described above, was generally followed by a succession of similar exhibitions. These the operator, with the same kindly consideration for his patient, had removed to an adjoining apartment, (*the Crisis Chamber*), appropriated to this purpose, where for hours in succession they underwent the solicitous and renovating attentions of his youthful disciples. Here, then, was another circumstance of equivocal construction, which the world, always ill-natured and disposed to view with envy the successes of genius, misinterpreted to the disadvantage of Mesmer.

It is the property, more or less, of all diseases, but eminently so of those which affect the nervous system, to facilitate their own recurrence, and, consequently, the magnetizer may calculate, with tolerable certainty, on a repetition of the effects of his art on those who are his attached and customary patients. It is generally contrived that some of these shall be present on occasions of public exhibition, which both ensure success to the experiment, and operate as an example to others. Our readers will not require to be reminded of the incalculable influence of imitation in the ordinary economy of life, in the education of children, and in the propagation and transmission of habits; but great as this may be, it is not less manifest in the propagation of disease, especially of the nervous kind. The late Dr. Gregory used to relate the occurrence of an epidemic hysteria in the wards of the Edinburgh Infirmary, which was only eradicated by the preparation of hot irons and chafing dishes in all the wards of the institution, with strict injunctions to employ them on any new case that occurred. We need not add that the manœuvre was perfectly successful. Unaided by external motives, hysteria is not always to be resisted, any more than yawning; nay, to so great a degree has this principle sometimes been carried, that it has been found necessary to enact public indignities to suppress a suicidal mania. Such, also, are the principles on which we should explain the existence of

various sects of religionists, as the Jumpers, Irvingites, &c., which deform, like gross excrescences, the pure face of Christianity, and expose it to the contempt and jibes of infidels.

So much, then, for the augmentation of the motive and sensitive powers during magnetization. Let us now reverse the picture, and contemplate their diminution: and here we shall gratify our readers with an extract from Dr. Elliotson, relating the exploits of M. Chevenix at St. Thomas's Hospital, in 1829.

"He (Dr. Elliotson) took him (M. Chevenix) to St. Thomas's Hospital, to try its effects on some nervous patients, in whose cases it is said to do most good. He (Dr. Elliotson) was not satisfied with its effects on any but one patient, and in that instance the results were so extraordinary, that he felt convinced it was a subject not altogether to be laughed at. The patient was an ignorant Irish girl, who had never seen or heard of the gentleman. She was brought into a private room, and the manipulation commenced; in a minute or two she begged that he would not go on, as she said it produced "great weakness in her," and a pain in the abdomen. This pain went off when a transverse motion was made over the part. He did not infer much from this, for he thought this effect might be merely imaginary; but when the manipulator suddenly darted his open hand upon her arm, and she suddenly lost the power of it, which was again as suddenly restored by a few transverse motions; and when he showed the same effect on the other arm, and also on the leg, and produced the same results when the girl's eyes were closed, he began to be staggered. On one occasion too, while she was in this state, the operator placed a very small piece of paper on one of her feet, and then she could not raise that foot, but after a few transverse motions had been made, she raised it easily. This occurred again and again. He was satisfied there was no deception there. He was astonished at these effects, and when asked if he was satisfied, he did not say at first either yes or no; he was almost ashamed to say that he was not. He was fully satisfied that there was something more than imagination in these cases. He believed in what he should call Mesmerism—he was never ashamed to declare what he believed. He had little respect for authority, and when he saw facts like those he had observed, he must believe them."—*Lancet*, No. 732, p. 871.

Now in the records of Mesmerism and these no scanty ones, (for, according to the boast of our great modern apostle of the doctrine, "upwards of five hundred publications on the subject appeared within eighteen months" and deluged the city of Paris) such relations are common:—

"Thick as leaves in Vallombrosa."

Of the accuracy of these facts we shall speak presently, but admitting them for a moment to be genuine, let us examine what explanation can be offered.

Volition, as is well known, is that faculty of the mind which is

formed from a comparison of the various motives suggested to our choice, and is exerted to carry into effect some mental or bodily act, consequent upon this selection. Judgment and volition are the supreme arbiters or governing powers of the mind, requiring, however, for their full manifestation, a perfect state of the material organs through whose instrumentality they are developed, and consequently liable to frequent irregularities. The former may be overpowered by some sudden emotion, and the latter may be inchoate from some transient inactivity of the brain. We apprehend that there are few persons who have not at one period or another experienced that condition of the reasoning faculty, which has been popularly termed "waking sleep" or "waking dreams," or that imbecility of the will, which leads persons to say that "they feel as if they could not move." But in nightmare, and more particularly in the intermediate state between sleeping and waking, it is most frequently observed, and it is also not unfrequently manifested in disease—not that it is altogether extinct in such cases, but of insufficient intensity to accomplish the desired object. Sir Benjamin Brodie, in his publication on *Local Nervous Affections*, and particularly on hysterical paralysis of the limbs, observes with great truth that "it is not that the muscles are incapable of obeying the act of volition, but that the function of volition is not exercised." (p. 48.) We conclude, therefore, that whatever is capable of exciting or concentrating the hysteric sensibility, may equally affect the voluntary powers, and that all the talk about magnetic agency is nothing better than nonsense. Such phenomena as these, however, are we believe extremely rare, unless, indeed, we ourselves have lapsed into that magnetic state of mental imbecility of which we have just been speaking.

We shall now introduce some observations from the *Report on Animal Magnetism, presented to the Royal Academy of Medicine at Paris*, on August the 8th and 22nd, 1837, by a commission, composed of nine of the most distinguished physicians and surgeons of Paris, eminent for their various scientific attainments, and representatives of contrary opinions on the distinct questions at issue. A more admirable union of men, of varied pursuits, of talent, and of judgment, with less predominant prejudice, peculiar notions or theories of their own to support, could scarcely have been found. The following, in the words of the Report, contains an irrefragable voucher for its impartiality.

"With our various ideas," say they, "for and against, no difference, as you will perceive, has arisen among us, on the facts of which we have been witnesses; with our varied propensities to consider facts in

particular aspects, we have been unanimous in each of our conclusions. You will find, perhaps, in this a new warrant of their truth; for it was necessary that the facts submitted to our examination should have very strong positive or negative evidence, to induce every time a *constant unanimity* among commissioners always at issue on the theoretic value of animal magnetism."—*Medical Gazette*, xx. 954.

M. Berna, the magnetizer on this occasion, who had challenged the Academy to the scrutiny, and offered to substantiate the proofs of his doctrines, was allowed to choose his own agents. No objection, therefore, can reasonably be urged on the account that the proper conditions were not present in the subjects of his experiments, while none on the other hand have been produced against M. Berna as a skilful adept in the art and a fit representative of the sect. We, for our parts, are not so simple as to suppose that the Mesmerists as a body will accept so inefficient a champion, or have any difficulty in escaping from the dilemma in which he has placed them; although in this matter we may be allowed to say that we consider that they have shown far less wisdom than their compeers, the phrenologists; for rushing on to the victory they have never contemplated the possibility of retreat; and despising the shifts and counteracting bumps, behind which these latter safely lodge themselves, exclaim "there's no more valour in that Poin, than in a wild duck."

The pretensions of M. Berna on this occasion far exceeded those of M. Chevenix; by the mere tacit intervention of his will, operating through a brick wall, and altogether discarding the mummery of the magnetic passes, he professed to paralyze any part of the body of his patient; or she being already in a state of somnambulism, to reverse these effects and reinstate the parts in the possession of their normal faculties. However, he did not entirely forget certain restrictions under which these experiments were to be performed; as, for instance, that the face should be covered, and every other part of the body except the hands and neck, so as to conceal all the evidences of painful impressions resulting from the mute language of expression; and, secondly, that the commissioners were not to be permitted to pinch or scratch the paralyzed parts, or to test them by the contact of any body either on fire or of a slightly raised temperature, but only by the insertion of needles half a line in depth. It is obvious, therefore, that no means remained of verifying the assertions of the patient and that their falsehood could be ascertained only by placing them in contradiction to those of the operator. And, accordingly, when Monsieur Bouillaud requested M. Berna, in writing, to paralyze the right arm *only* of the girl, and, when this was done, to indicate it to him

by closing his eyes, the right leg was found to be paralyzed as well as the right arm, and so on in a number of other instances.

"As it had been impossible," the Report observes, "to prove to us experimentally that the operator had removed the sensibility or isolated it in the girl, it was equally impossible to prove the restitution of it; and, besides, the result of the facts observed, was that *all* the trials made for the purpose completely failed. The somnambulist accused every thing but that which had been announced. You know, that for the verification we were restricted to the assertions of the somnambulist. Certainly, when she affirmed to the commissioners that she could not move the left leg, (for instance) it was no proof to them that that limb was magnetically paralyzed; but then, again, what she said did not agree with the pretensions of the magnetizer; so that from all this, there resulted assertions without proofs, in opposition to other assertions equally without proofs.

"What we have said of the abolition and restitution of sensibility may be completely applied to the pretended abolition and restitution of motion: not the slightest proof was given of it to us."—*Medical Gazette*, xx. 955.

We pass over altogether the pretensions of this conjuror to deprive or restore the organs of the senses or those of deglutition and speech; for, upon being put upon his trial, the answers of his patient were uniformly found to be in opposition to those of his will; or what is more to the purpose in complete independence of it. We need not add that the Baron's attempts of the same kind made in this country have invariably shared the same fate. We shall therefore leave this part of our subject and pass on to other phenomena of a still more extraordinary nature.

The Baron Du Potet is a firm believer in *clairvoyance*, and the transposition of the senses; and, although he does not condescend to peril his faith on this subject, by reference to his own practice, but on the contrary professes "entire ignorance of the law which regulates the production of the phenomena of somnambule vision," and acknowledges that "it has been his fate, also, not to be always successful;" yet he has favoured us with a number of picked cases from the most authentic records of the art, alleging that these "are cases of vision without the aid of eyes, attested by men of education," and "selected from many others, because the greater number of those who witnessed them are living, and hold at this day a distinguished rank in the faculty of medicine at Paris, or in the scientific world." We shall extract for the edification of our readers a specimen or two of these marvels. The two first are cited from a memoir of M. Franceur, in which Drs. Delpit and Despine are the relators, and

the two last from the *Gazette de Santé*, September 1829, and the *Gazette Médicale de Paris*, October 1832.

“ We have seen her (a young lady of Grenoble, in a state of somnambulism) select from a packet of more than thirty letters, that one amongst them which had been directed to her. She read on the dial-plate and through the glass, the hour indicated by a watch; we have seen her write several letters; correct, on reading them over, the mistakes she had made; and recopy one of the letters word for word. During all these operations, a screen of thick pasteboard entirely intercepted every visual ray which could possibly have reached her eyes. The same phenomena took place at the soles of her feet, and at the pit of the stomach.

“ Five years ago, a young person from the department of l’Ardèche, having come to Montpellier to consult the physicians there, respecting an hysterical affection accompanied by catalepsy, presented an instance of a very strange phenomenon. She felt, during the attacks, such a concentration of sensibility towards the præcordial region, that the organs of the senses were as if entirely fixed there. She referred to her stomach all the sensations of sight, hearing, and smell, which were then no longer produced by the usual organs.”

We may observe, by the way, that our worthy Baron, though he does not cite any of his own exploits, makes himself fully responsible for those of his friends, when he says, that “ these cases are recent, and of such a nature, as to render deception respecting them impossible. Here are testimonies rendered by living authors, above all suspicion of imposture.” Proceed we, however, with our other two cases.

“ A person called Pétronille Leclerc, twenty-six years of age, a sempstress, had been admitted into La Charité, to be treated for a cerebral affection, accompanied with spasms of an epileptic character: of a very nervous constitution, pale, exhausted by former sufferings, and excessively irritable. The idea occurred to M. Sabine, to try the effect of magnetism. At the first sitting, the somnambulist gave several proofs of lucidity. The person who magnetized her, presented some objects to her, such as a phial with its contents, some sugar, and also some bread, each of which she described perfectly, without seeing them, for she had a bandage over her eyes. Without being interrogated, she said to the person who held her hand, ‘ you have a head-ache.’ This was true, but in order to test her knowledge, the pupil answered her that she was mistaken. ‘ That is strange,’ resumed she, ‘ I touched some one, then, that had a head-ache, for I felt it distinctly.’ One of the most remarkable circumstances, is the following:—the magnetizer had retired, promising her, that he would return about half past five, to awaken her. He anticipated the hour of his return, and the somnambulist remarked to him that it was not half-past five. He replied, that a letter which he had just received had obliged him to return to her. ‘ Ah! yes,’ said she immediately, ‘ it is that letter

which you have in your pocket-book, between a blue card and a yellow one.' It was found to be exactly as she had stated it. A watch was placed behind the occiput, (back of the head), and she was asked what o'clock it was. 'Six minutes past four' It was seven minutes past four."

"There is at present under consideration, at the hospital Della Vita, at Bologna, a very extraordinary phenomenon of animal magnetism. A patient in that hospital is seized every three days, at precisely eleven o'clock of the morning, with so violent a convulsion, that he entirely loses the faculty of perceiving sensations; sight, hearing, smell, disappear completely; the organs of the senses no longer perform any functions; both his hands are clenched so fast that it is impossible to open them; if force were employed, his fingers would infallibly be broken. Dr. Cini, however, son of the painter, who attends him, has discovered, after long and attentive observations, the epigastrium, (pit of the stomach), at the distance of about two fingers length above the umbilicus (navel) received, during the convulsive crisis, all the perceptions of the senses. If the patient is spoken to, the epigastrium being touched at the same time, he answers, and, if ordered, he opens his hands of himself. If any substance is placed upon the epigastrium, he describes its smell, quality, and form. During the contact of the finger, the convulsion continually diminishes, and seems to disappear; but if the finger is placed upon the heart, the convulsion is again produced, and lasts as long as the finger is kept in that situation. If a flute be played on, the epigastrium being touched at the same time, the patient hears the music; and when, without interrupting the performance on the instrument, the finger is removed for a moment from the epigastrium, carried towards the heart, and immediately brought back to the epigastrium, he asks why the music is suspended at intervals."—*Medical Gazette*, xxi, 498, *et seq.*

We remember in our boyish days reading *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments*; we have heard of the marvels of second sight, of the astonishing feats of the Indian jugglers, of the machinations of witchcraft, of the oracles of the Sybils, and of the still more extraordinary wonders of the Egyptian Psylli, recorded by Mr. Lane, which, if true, come nothing short of diabolism; but in truth, the magic of Mesmerism beats all these hollow. In all our "dealings with witches and with conjurers," we have met with no wonders like these. In this as in every other effort of imagination or intellect, the ancients must unquestionably yield the palm of superiority to the moderns.

We confess ourselves not a little pleased with the reflection, that such trash has received little encouragement in this country. We have conversed with Mr. Mayo and Dr. Sigmond on the subject, and they both repudiate this part of the doctrine. Dr. Elliotson, indeed, although he professes that these details go beyond what he has ever seen, hangs fire on the point; and

says, "Whether to believe these things or not, he does not know, but is determined to see for himself, before he passes judgment on any of them;" notwithstanding that some have gone even the length of asserting, that patients, besides seeing with the pits of their stomachs, have seen also with their elbows; while others have described the topography of Paris, though they had never been there. Others again have talked strange languages, though they knew nothing about them when awake; and others have foretold future events. Du Potet, in explanation of his own failures, ascribes them to the discomposure of his temper, produced by the incredulity of his spectators, in-consequence of which the state of excitement thus induced was communicated to his patients, whose hearts beat tumultuously in unison with his own; but, "when I operated," he says, "on a somnambulist in silence and *recueillement*, and had around me only inoffensive persons, who were ignorant of that which was about to be produced, or who awaited it without suspecting my motives, I was calm and tranquil; the action of my own being (*de moi être*) upon the somnambulist, was almost as regular as that of a machine, and what passed in the somnambulist was equally so;"—according, it will be observed, closely with the effects produced by Mesmer himself, as described by Du Potet. "But what was most surprising was, the prodigious influence possessed by the magnetizer over his patients. An intimation of his will excited or calmed the convulsions; commanded love or hatred; his rod seemed like a magic instrument, to which body and spirit yielded obedience." In a conversation which we lately had with Dr. H——, a warm partisan of these doctrines, he explained to us, that the sensibility of the tips of the fingers (such being the visual organs *pro tempore*) being greatly exalted, were capable of appreciating the vibrations of a subtle fluid which passed between them and the printed letters of the page, and thus enabled the party to read!!!

But we should be sorry that our readers took any thing upon our bare assertion. Respecting the transference or exaltation of the senses, there are two modes of viewing the subject: either we may dispute the fact as matter of testimony, or we may reason upon the physical impossibility of such events taking place agreeably to the established course of nature. If this last position is proved, then no evidence short of that required to establish a miracle can possibly be admitted.

According to the present conditions of our being, our senses are the only organs by which we are brought into relation with the external world. Each of these having its appropriate object, light to the eye, vibrations to the ear, sapid bodies to the taste,

&c. It is absolutely a contradiction in terms, to say that the colour of objects can be distinguished without light, or that their form can be discerned without this medium being previously modified, so as to represent the object of vision. And even though these obstacles should be removed, yet it is directly in the teeth of every physiological fact, to suppose that a nerve of common sensation can vicariously perform the functions of a nerve of sense, or that the nerves of one sense can stand in the place of those of any other. We affirm, then, that the pretended fact of *clairvoyance*, when light is excluded from the eye by a well-tied bandage, is absolutely impossible, on two grounds, and highly improbable on a third. By a figure of speech, persons may be said to see and hear when they dream; but they also speak and fight, and do sundry other acts in this state, which, however, are merely acts of the imagination. We are aware also, that individual senses may become exalted to an extraordinary degree, in savages and blind persons, but never so as actually to replace other organs, or if so, in a limited degree,—and only after long education and use. The question has been put to us, “Where is the soul during sleep?” May it not flutter round the body, and thus take cognizance of every thing about it?” Such questions are foolish ones, and have no bearing on this matter; for we have no experience, even on this supposition, that the soul or mind of man can be brought into relation with the external world, except through the medium of the senses.

With respect to the other point, we are not in the habit of applying hard names, and therefore, instead of calling the reporters of such tales *charlatans*, we shall believe them upon the same principle we should believe a man who asserted his nose to be a teapot, or his brain a litter of young sucking pigs. “Je le crois,” said M. Velpeau to M. J. Cloquet on this subject, “parceque vous l’avez vu; mais si je l’avais vu, moi, je ne le croirais pas.” The present question forcibly reminds us of the problem submitted by Charles II to the Royal Society: “Why a vessel, being full of water, did not overflow when a number of live fish were put into it?” The question was the subject of much discussion, but was proved by the experiment to be a lie. Let us, then, submit the fact of *clairvoyance* to the same test; and here, “Ecce iterum Crispinus!” we shall reintroduce our late friend, M. Berna, to the reader.

At the second sitting—April 5, 1837—of the French commission, M. Berna had prepared on one of the tables of his apartments, a pack of blank and a pack of playing cards of the same size. Addressing the reporter, he asked him aloud, and without leaving his intimate

relation with the somnambulist, to take a playing card, and place it at her occiput. "Is it to be a court card?" asked the reporter. "As you please," answered M. Berna. But the thought struck him, and, unknown to M. Berna, he took a blank card, and then placing himself behind the patient, he held the blank card to her occiput. The report goes on to say—

"The magnetizer, seated before her, magnetized with all his force. The somnambulist was interrogated,—hesitated,—made efforts, and said she saw a card; but the magnetizer was not, any more than we, contented with so little. He asked her what she remarked on the card? She hesitated, and then said there was black and red.

"The commission let M. Berna continue his manœuvres and his solicitations, that he might clear what still appeared very confused before the woman's transferred sense, and which as yet consisted only of a little black and red. After some fruitless essays, the magnetizer, undoubtedly but ill satisfied with the functions of the transferred visual sense, invited the reporter to pass his card before the head of the somnambulist, close to the band covering her eyes: this was, it may be said, changing the terms of the question, and even of the magnetic doctrine; it was giving up the transposition of the senses, to substitute *clairvoyance* through a bandage. But it mattered little. The reporter passed the card as the magnetizer wished, but he took care to pass it quickly, and so that M. Berna might suppose he saw only the naturally white back of the card, while the coloured part was turned towards the somnambulist's bandage.

"The card once in this new position, the magnetizer continued his manœuvres, and solicited the somnambulist. She confessed that she saw the card better; then added, hesitating, that she saw a figure. New urging from M. Berna,—new solicitations! The somnambulist, on her part, seemed making great efforts. After some trials, she declared plainly that she saw a knave!! (rather equivocal by the bye.) But this was not all: it remained to say what knave, for there are four. Proceeding, without doubt, by way of elimination, she answered her magnetizer that there was black by the side of the knave. Still this was not all: there are two knaves with black at their sides. New urging by the magnetizer,—new efforts by the somnambulist,—few and protracted attention by the commissioners. At last she has it.—It is the knave of clubs!

"M. Berna, thinking the experiment finished, took the card from the reporter's hands, and in presence of all the commissioners, saw and assured himself that it was entirely blank."

Ex uno disce omnes. Many similar experiments were tried, but all with the same effect. The pretensions to clairvoyance and transference of the sight were equally defeated by this simple experiment, while the poor unfortunate magnetizer had not even the ordinary refuge of this slippery sect, by averring, that under many circumstances, the best somnambulists lose their lucidity;

for if so, how should so minute a description have been given of the various objects presented to her? To some questions she undoubtedly answered approximately, having much natural address, and availing herself of such incidental clues as were let drop to her by accident. Practised fortune-tellers often, in the same way, make very successful hits, from following up minute indications, which escape ordinary observation. There is a law, though certainly not a very defined one, which regulates the coexistence of certain qualities of mind, as well as of certain functions in the body, in the same individual organism, from which, any one of these being given, an experienced person may, without much difficulty, construct the whole character. *Ex pede Herculem*. Cuvier did this with marvellous felicity in respect to some of the antediluvian animals, small fragments only of which were at that time discovered; and Spurzheim has not disdained, in his *Phrenology in Relation to Physiognomy*, to inculcate the same truth, and even to lay down a series of classifications of this sort. We would put it also to the dexterous cross examiner, whether the secret of his art does not mainly consist in the tact with which he discovers, and the skill with which he uses, these accidental discoveries. We shall explain ourselves by relating the following anecdote.

A celebrated quack in the north, who had amassed an enormous fortune, was one day accompanied by a distinguished physician, who was curious to ascertain the real secret of his popularity. A woman was introduced, who brought to him a phial containing the water of her husband. He examined the phial very attentively, and then proceeded himself to describe the symptoms under which the poor man laboured, and the remedies which would be necessary for his cure. He was dyspeptic, costive, had a constant pain in his stomach, was weak and pallid, was too much in the habit of stooping, and took too little exercise. He was desired to drink no spirits, to get more into the open air, to abate somewhat of his work, to take opening medicine, and to live more generously. A few pills were thrown in to boot. Upon being questioned whether he knew the party, or whether this was not all guess-work, he replied in the negative. "Did you observe," he said, "the appearance of the wife, and the nature of the phial? By the former, I was assured that the husband was extremely poor, and by the latter, which was secured by a piece of listing and a cobbler's end, that he was a shoemaker by trade. If poor, then, he probably lived in a low damp shed, had insufficient nutriment, and was too unremittingly at his work. If a cobbler, then, that the constant pressure of the last against his stomach produced a constant pain in the

organ, and all the consequences of indigestion." Every one, if he pleases, may follow the same course. We have all heard, and we, for our parts, can readily believe in their truth, the extraordinary opinions which Dr. Prout has been able to deliver from the simple inspection of the same secretion; not, as in the former case, from external combinations, but from a scientific deduction of what must necessarily be the effect of a derangement of so important an organ as the kidney upon all the others of the system. An attention to these circumstances would, we apprehend, lay open a great deal of the mystery which has at different times baffled the world.

But this has been accused as a utilitarian age, and the English nation as a matter-of-fact people. Let us, therefore, come at once to the question of *Cui bono*? As journalists, whose office it is to represent "the very age and body of the time, his form and pressure," we should ill fulfil our duty if we omitted this view of the subject,—especially after the declaration of Du Potet, that "the majority of the scientific world well know, that the discovery of Mesmer is a truth worthy of the greatest interest, for that it is destined to work the greatest changes in the systems of philosophy and medicine." Nay more, that it is destined to "operate a considerable modification of our morals, and a complete modification of our organization." We should be wholly inexcusable, therefore, if we failed to trace these regenerative influences.

Animal magnetism, then, has been extolled as a remedial, and also as a moral agent; under both which points of view we shall briefly consider it. The Mesmerists are pleased to expatiate on the newly acquired force and energy of the intelligential faculty during the somnambulic state. The somnambulist, say they, has a perfect view of the whole interior organization of the body, and perceives not only what is out of order, but how that should be rectified—not sees only, but actually feels the disordered state of another's body; nay, so great is the sympathy of persons brought into the magnetic *rapport*, that should the magnetizer take snuff, the magnetizee will sneeze—should the former be deaf, or blind, the latter will participate in these infirmities. A clairvoyante brought into *rapport* with any absent person by the will of the magnetizer, will be able absolutely to see through the former a thousand miles off, and tell not only what he is doing at the present moment, or what he has done in time past, but what he will do for the future, or what will be his fate hereafter. In the words of the Comte de Redern, "a distinguished man of science," cited by Du Potet—

"He has a kind of sight, which may be called internal, that of the

organization of his own body, of that of his magnetizer, and of the persons with whom he is placed in relation; he perceives the different parts of them, but in succession only, and according as he directs his attention to them; he distinguishes their structure, form, and colour. He experiences a painful reaction of the sufferings of the persons with whom he is in relation; he perceives their diseases, foresees their crisis, has a perception of the suitable remedies, and not unfrequently of the medicinal properties of the substances presented to him."

"Magnetic persons," M. Husson observes, "have a lucidity which gives them positive ideas of the nature of their diseases, of the manner in which persons put in relation with them are affected, and of the mode of treatment employed in such cases."—*Medical Gazette*, xxi. 464.

Now as the two primary difficulties in the practice of physic consist in the discernment of the true nature of the complaint, and the appropriate remedies, physicians, of course, will eagerly embrace this new auxiliary of the art. Dr. Elliotson, the Professor of Medicine at the London University, although he does not openly avouch his belief of these things, yet by the citation of examples of the mind's energizing during sleep, evidently leans to the following sentiment of Du Potet's: viz. "that individuals plunged into somnambulism have a particular mode of existence, senses peculiar to that condition, a distinct memory, and an intelligence more active than in the waking state." We are told for example of the education of a German youth being conducted during his sleep—of a man who threshed out and winnowed his rye with his eyes shut—of Dr. Haycock, Professor of Medicine at Oxford, who was famous for his hypnotic sermons—of an American lady who amazed all her friends by her nocturnal eloquence in the same department—and of the *Khubla Khan*, a fragmental poem of Mr. Coleridge, which owed its birth to a long sleep. "If," says Dr. Elliotson, "this could occur in common sleep, why in diseased sleep might not cases like those recorded above occur?" Finally, a case is quoted from Dr. Abercrombie, sufficiently curious in itself, and we have no doubt perfectly genuine, but by no means bearing on the present question. It was that of a poor girl, who looked after cattle at a farmer's, and slept in a room often occupied by an itinerant fiddler of great skill, and addicted to playing refined pieces at night, but his performance was taken notice of by her only as a disagreeable noise. She fell ill, and was removed to the house of a benevolent lady, whose servant she became. Some years after this she had fits of sleep-waking, in which, after being two hours in bed, she became restless, and began to mutter, and, after uttering sounds precisely like the tuning of a violin, would make a prelude, and then dash off into elaborate pieces of music, most clearly and accurately, and with the most delicate modulation. She sometimes stopped, made the

sound of tuning her instrument, and began exactly where she left off. Many other like things are recorded of the same person. But who that has examined the workings of his own mind will doubt that such examples are to be referred to the imagination, or more frequently to the faculty of memory? the activity of which is often preter-naturally excited by some trivial circumstances, more especially in dreams. Thus, under the influence of opium, "the minutest incidents of childhood, or forgotten scenes of later years, were revived. I could not be said to recollect them, for if I had been told of them waking, I should not have been able to acknowledge them as part of my past experience; but placed, as they were, before me in dreams like intuition, and clothed in all their evanescent circumstances and accompanying feelings, I recognized them instantaneously." (*Opium Eater*, p. 161.) We have often thought that such conditions of the mind may not inaptly represent that more perfect and enlarged recollection of events which shall attend us in the great day of retribution. In consequence of the absence of external perceptions in sleep, the ideas and associations of the mind acquire an overpowering vividness, which leads us to mistake them for realities; while the abolition of judgment and volition permits the imagination to revel in its own creations under the simple guidance of association.

The instances of the faculties of judgment or volition being exercised, even in a partial degree, during sleep, are comparatively rare occurrences.

Among the more direct therapeutic advantages of Mesmerism we might adduce the case reported by Dr. Elliotson of ecstatic delirium, cured by this means at the North London Hospital; for it is in the various diseases of the nervous system, as Hysteria, Hypochondriacism, Melancholia, &c., that this new agent is thought to be most efficacious. "In such diseases," observes M. Du Potet, "some unknown organs still retain sensibility; they serve as a last entrenchment of life. It is into this retreat that the magnetic fluid would probably penetrate, to reanimate nature, and supply the stimulus required to awaken it, with more certainty than any of the known agents." But as our space is limited we prefer dealing in the gross. M. Alfred Fillassier, in a thesis read before the faculty of medicine, at Paris, on the 30th of August, 1832, and since republished, thus eloquently touches on this subject. This gentleman, be it observed, has written largely, and holds a principal rank in the magnetic school.

"The absolute power which the magnetizer possesses over his passive patient, opens an extensive field of curative effects; for to the somnambulist himself this magnetic sleep is not only most salutary, but it qualifies

him to discern his own and others' maladies and the cures which they require. But more than this, your absolutism is such, that you have merely to will it and the rapt soul of your patient is instantly removed from all the noisome influences of men and things. The diviner part of his nature becomes paramount, his moral affections are in a state of cloudless serenity, and the great light of majestic intellect rules over all. Is he cold, you warm him; Is he warm, you refresh him with cooling zephyrs. You gently breathe over all his pains, and immediately they disappear ('vous soufflez sur toutes ses douleurs, quelles qu'elles soient, et les douleurs se dissipent') you convert his tears into smiles, and his grief into joy; is he absent from his mother, or distant from his country, you cause him to see them both, though you see them not yourself; is he affected with morbid symptoms, you chase them away; you paralyse his sensibility, should he happen to have to submit to any painful operation; you transform water into any liquid which he may desire, or which you may judge useful for his case, and the water thus transformed shall act as this liquid; you can even effect that it shall continue water, as far as regards his inflamed stomach and bowels, but as regards his blood and nervous system that it shall become bark. I have done more. I have presented a somnambulist with an empty glass, from which she has drank, and performed the ordinary movements of deglutition, and her thirst has been assuaged. With nothing I have satisfied her hunger, and with nothing I have served splendid dinners (physicians will easily conceive the necessity of such experiments in certain cases).—What can we not do for a person over whom we have absolute power?—Voilà, certes, une médecine nouvelle, une médecine d'homme à homme—une volonté ferme et morale, pleine de tendresse et de charité, dans un corps sain et vigoureux; voilà, le plus grand modificateur de toutes les maladies en général."

Voilà the ravings of madness; for we would stake our reputation upon it, than any jury with the sense of four-year-old children would hesitate not a moment to bring in a verdict of insanity. At Grand Cairo, M. Fillassier might possibly be esteemed a saint or a prophet, solely on account of his lunacy; but we cannot but marvel that such incoherencies should be listened to for a moment in any capital of modern Europe. Truly, if the senses are no longer necessary for sight or hearing, but even the very appetites may be appeased with thin air, the poor, the maimed, the halt, and the blind, may reasonably rejoice in this new discovery, compared with which the philosopher's stone or the grand elixir of life are the merest baubles upon earth. Dr. Elliotson has seriously assured us that his parrot was sweetly entranced in sleep by a few *passes* of the hand; and by Du Potet we are informed that the experiments of M. le Marquis de la Rochejacquelin were perfectly successful on horses. What folly, then, to reject so noble an instrument for *perfecting* the human race, and subduing the ferocity of nature! The *Examiner* has wittily observed—

"For Cabinet Councils we ought to have Cabinet slumbers. Downing Street should be one great dormitory: the fat boy of the *Pickwick* ought to be at the head of affairs; and Ministers, instead of dining together, should sleep together; and chief clerks should paper them with despatches and documents, and then record their inspirations. Nor should the applications of animal magnetism stop here. The Speaker of the House of Commons ought forthwith to be instructed in the art; and instead of crying 'Order!' till he is hoarse, he should paw riotous members into slumbers, in which they would become superior beings—the most unlike possible to their waking selves. Indeed, the sleeping faculties being so infinitely higher than the waking, no member ought to be allowed to speak except in his sleep; and, in a very deep trance, Mr. Benjamin D'Israeli himself might be safely heard, especially if all the rest of the House slept too."

Our readers have probably heard of the exploits of the reigning *somnambule* at Paris, who, for the sum of ten francs, engages to inform you of the full particulars of your complaint. She is the wife of a physician, and therefore quite naturally hands over her patients to her husband to cure, as soon as her oracle is pronounced. Report says that she took to this course in consequence of having had revealed to her in her sleep a remedy, which rescued her dying son from the grave, although the maliciousness of the world persists in assigning a less disinterested motive. However this may be, it is remarkable that most of this fraternity sooner or later come to the opinion that the public should pay for their amusement. Du Potet's admission fee is merely that for a common raree-show; but Mesmer's operations, in this as in every other particular, were on a far grander scale; a subscription considerably exceeding ten thousand louis-d'ors (340,000 livres) having been raised, in order that he might more effectually extend the knowledge of his art. This, however, scarcely comes up to the enormous charge recently made by Drs. Wollowski and his colleague, for a short attendance on Lady Lincoln: verily these Dousterswivels are not so utterly lost to common-sense as we had supposed. The bump of acquisitiveness must be extraordinarily developed.

We have already admitted the possibility of a state of sleep, or more correctly of a state of stupor or trance, being produced by certain external operations. We have had the personal assurance of Mr. Mayo, that under such a condition the patient was insensible to a lancet which was plunged into her flesh. M. Oudet (a member of the French commission, whose report we have examined) extracted a tooth in this condition without producing any pain; and M. Jules Cloquet, another commissioner and justly celebrated surgeon, extirpated a cancerous breast from a lady under the same state. This last case is extremely curious.

For the two preceding days before the operation, the patient, sixty-four years of age, and residing in the rue St. Denis, was repeatedly magnetized by M. Chapelain.

"On the day appointed for the operation, (April 12th, 1829) M. Cloquet, on his arrival, at half-past ten in the morning, found the patient dressed and seated in an armchair, in the attitude of a person in a tranquil natural sleep. She had returned, nearly an hour previously, from mass, which she was accustomed to attend at that time. M. Chapelain had thrown her into a magnetic sleep after her return, and she spoke with much composure of the operation she was about to undergo. All the arrangements being made, she undressed herself, and seated herself in a chair (the steps of the operation, which was a very extensive and dangerous one, need not be described); during all this time the patient continued conversing tranquilly with the operator, and did not give the slightest indication of sensibility; no motion of the limbs or of the features,—no change in the respiration, or of the voice,—no emotion even in the pulse could be perceived. The patient never ceased to be in that state of automatic *abandon* and impassibility in which she had been for some minutes before the operation.—The patient was put to bed, still in a state of somnambulism, in which she was allowed to remain forty-eight hours.—The dressings were removed on the following Tuesday (the 14th); the wound was cleansed and again dressed, the patient not testifying any sensibility or pain. After this dressing, M. Chapelain awakened the patient, whose somnambulist sleep had lasted two days. This lady did not appear to have any idea, any *sentiment*, of what had passed; but on learning that she had been operated on, she was greatly agitated; which the magnetizer put a stop to by immediately sending her to sleep."—*Medical Gazette*, xxi. 421.

We offer no comments on this case, nor pledge our belief one way or the other. It is possible that she may have been in the state of stupor described, or, like the Indian Fakirs, or even the Christian martyrs, that she may have surmounted the feeling of pain by an all-powerful determination of mind or an extasied state of the moral feelings. On the former supposition we cannot contemplate, without dread, the terrible purposes to which this peculiar state of existence may be abused. It is not many years since a young lady in Ireland was thrown into a state of narcotism by a wretch, who perpetrated during that state a deliberate act of villany. What has occurred may occur again. Indeed, we are pretty well assured that such cases have recently occurred in Germany, and that such was the nature of the causes which induced M. Mesmer, as before related, precipitately to quit Paris.

It is a common observation that families and nations, and also the *doctrinaires* of schools, are equally ambitious of a glorious descent. The proud of the earth are commonly content to

trace their pedigrees from the Guelphs and Ghibellines—nations apotheosize their founders, and the assertors of new opinions father them on the philosophies of Greece or Rome. The followers of Mesmer, exempt, as they must be admitted to be, from most of the common habits of thought, are not exempt from this. To this source are referred most of the relations, concerning sybils, pythonesses, magicians, and sorcerers of ancient times. “The school of Mesmer,” (which has the dignity of being divided into three eras) says Du Potet, “was founded on a system analogous to that of Epicurus, as explained in the poem of Lucretius; that of the spiritualists, which has many partizans in France, reminds us of the Platonic philosophy; the school of M. le Marquis de Puysegur, is founded on observation.” It is wonderful to what lengths the enthusiasm of men will sometimes carry them. In 1831, the French commission assembled at Paris under M. Husson, were so deceived by the jugglery of two somnambulists as actually to authenticate their pretensions to future sight, and to assert that the predictions of these individuals were accomplished to the very letter (*leurs prévisions se sont réalisées avec une exactitude remarquable.*) We do not wonder, therefore, that individuals should, under the sanction of this public decision, have ascribed the prophecies of HOLY WRIT to the somnambulic vision; or that others, with still more audacious blasphemy, should have referred the miracles of Moses and those of Jesus Christ and his apostles to the same source; thus reproducing, as it were, in the very terms, the sceptic doubt of the ancient Jews, “He casteth out devils through Beelzebub the chief of the devils.”

M. Foissac, in his *Mémoire sur le Magnétisme Animal*, addressed to the Royal Academy of Sciences, has the following passage:—

“When Moses held up his hands, Israel prevailed; but as soon as he let them fall, the Amalekite had the advantage..... Jesus Christ cast out devils and healed diseases by the imposition of hands, and to so high a degree did he possess this marvellous power (*viz. the magnetic*), that it was enough if he but touched the sick, or he them, that they should be whole..... It happened that when Jesus went into Nazareth he performed only a few miracles on the sick. He was astonished at their incredulity, saying, ‘*Nullus propheta in patria sua!*’ Faith, then, [according to this astute logician, whose argument in respect of miracles may be denominated the *obscurum per obscurius*,] was one of the conditions of success, [so thinks Baron Du Potet,] *which leads us to believe that Jesus Christ effected his cures by magnetism!*”

The degree of susceptibility of any truth to useful applications is always matter of uncertainty, but in respect of error,

we can have no doubt that its issues will be monstrous. Happily for this country the demands made by the relations of social life, on the exercise of common-sense, are of such frequency as to engender a salutary habit of mind, which is equally a protection against the arts of imposture, the transcendentalism of mystics, and the insidious insinuations of infidelity. In fact, the people of this island have no leisure for such unprofitable reveries, which, consequently, strike no permanent root in the soil. A few harmless individuals may amuse themselves with the examination of their friends' craniums; a few others may celebrate homœopathy, and divert themselves with infinitesimal prescriptions; and some few more may go the length of swallowing Morrison's pills, or of being rubbed by a St. John Long. But these are innocent diversions, while those who pursue them constitute but a minute fraction of the great mass of the public—the froth and folly, as it were, of the multitude; who, if they occasionally smart for it, suffer only what they deserve, for neglecting the proper means of information. We need not say that such is and such will be the fate of animal magnetism in this country.

ART. IX.—*The Allocution of His Holiness Pope Gregory XVI, addressed to the Consistory at Rome, 10th Dec. 1837.*

A N important event has lately occurred, and which will have most serious consequences for all Germany, whose actual state is compromised by it;—we allude to the act of violence exercised by the king of Prussia against one of the most distinguished prelates of the German Episcopacy. We have endeavoured to obtain an accurate statement of the circumstances from persons whose information is obtained near the scene of action, and on whose statements the fullest reliance may be placed. A knowledge of the facts which preceded and brought on this event is indispensable, to form a correct and safe judgment on the conduct of the prelate, and on the tyranny of the Prussian government, whose persecution, as our readers are aware,* has been exercised against the Catholics of the Rhenish provinces ever since the occupation of that country.

On the 29th of May, 1836, M. le Baron Clement Augustus de Droste Vischering, suffragan Bishop of Munster, took possession of the archiepiscopal see of Cologne, in consequence of

* Dub. Rev. vol. ii. p. 168.

the election of the chapter, and the proclamation of the sovereign pontiff. At that time two important affairs required his most anxious care, namely, the doctrines of the late professor Hermes, of Bonn, which had been condemned by a papal brief, and marriages between Catholics and Protestants. We will shortly describe the state of these two questions at that time. The archdiocese of Cologne was become the focus of the philosophical opinions of Hermes, who for fifteen years had been professor of dogmatic theology at the university of Bonn, and who had been protected both by the late archbishop, the Count de Spiegel, and by the Prussian government. His doctrines, which make the rational demonstration of the existence of God the sole foundation of faith, and which assert that, without the foregoing demonstration, there can be no true faith, had been examined and condemned at Rome, by a papal brief, dated the 26th of Sept. 1835, which did not appear till six months after the death of the Count de Spiegel. The Prussian government, who justly considered these doctrines as an approximation to Protestantism, tried to suppress the brief, and did not allow any of the public papers to circulate it. Nevertheless, it was inserted in the German papers printed out of the Prussian dominions. Very soon a difference of opinion manifested itself between the clergy in the four dioceses of the Rhenish provinces, and those of Westphalia, where the doctrine of Hermes had been widely spread. Whilst the larger part of the clergy submitted to the decision of the papal see, others declared that the brief was not binding on them, as it had not been published according to the forms required by the law of Prussia, namely, with the *approbation of the king*. The Catholic professors of theology at the university of Bonn, who, with the single exception of M. Klee, were all partisans of the Hermesian doctrine, continued to teach it; and Mr. Kusgen, administrator of the diocese of Cologne, in a circular dated the 29th of October, 1835, forbade the clergy of that diocese to speak either for or against the condemned doctrine. Thus was the decision of Rome held in contempt, and heretical opinions continued to form the basis of instruction in Catholic theology. There can be no doubt, we think, that it was the duty of the new archbishop, to apply a prompt remedy to this evil, and to re-establish the Catholic doctrine in all its purity. Accordingly, one of his first acts was to refuse his approbation to all the courses of theology at the university of Bonn, excepting those of M. Klee; to forbid the students of theology to attend those courses; and to prohibit the professors in his chief seminary, all zealous advocates of Hermesianism, and whom he could not send away without the consent of government, from continuing to lecture.

These measures, taken by the archbishop to maintain the purity of the Catholic dogmas, formed, at a later period, one of the chief heads of accusation against him by the government. At the same time, he made all the priests of his diocese sign eighteen propositions relative to the principal points in which the doctrines of Heresies are opposed to the Catholic religion. The eighteenth proposition exacted besides from each priest an entire submission to the archbishop, and in the last appeal, to the sovereign pontiff, in all matters concerning doctrine and discipline.

But the question of *mixed marriages* was still more momentous, being one in which the most sacred rights of the Church had been trampled upon by the Prussian government. By an ancient custom, introduced into Germany, as an especial dispensation from the severity of the canon law, on account of the great intermixture of Catholics and Protestants in the same provinces, marriages concluded between Catholics and non-Catholics were solemnly blessed by the Catholic priests, provided that both parties promised to educate all the children in the Catholic religion. But in every case where this promise was refused by either party, the nuptial benediction was withheld by the Catholic priest. After the occupation of the Rhenish provinces and of Westphalia by Prussia, the number of mixed marriages increased considerably, on account of the number of *employés* and Protestant officers sent annually by government into these countries. The king of Prussia, whose proselyting tendency is well known, intended, by taking advantage of this circumstance, to Protestantize all the Catholic provinces of his monarchy. But he met with a strong opposition from the Catholic clergy, who refused to obey the orders transmitted to them, by the cabinet of Berlin, to bless all mixed marriages, without exacting any previous promise as to the religion of the children. Government then addressed itself to Rome, and negotiated during many years with the Holy See, in order to obtain a decision favourable to their projects. Pope Pius VIII published a brief, dated the 25th of March, 1830, which he addressed to the four bishops of Cologne, of Treves, of Paderborn, and of Munster, wherein he regulated the conduct which the Catholic clergy were thenceforward to observe on the occasion of mixed marriages. Still maintaining the established custom of Germany, the sovereign pontiff permitted Catholic priests *to be present* at mixed marriages, but with a positive prohibition to exercise any priestly function in case both parties refused to promise to bring up their future children as members of the Catholic Church. *This being passively present* was to validate the marriage, which might also be inscribed in the ordinary registers by the Catholic priest. The brief of Pope Pius VIII

was accompanied by an INSTRUCTION from Cardinal Albani, dated the 27th of March, 1830, and addressed to the same four prelates. In this instruction the Cardinal recites, that the sovereign pontiff had been greatly afflicted by a law of Prussia, published in 1825, which enacted, that all children to be born of a mixed marriage, should be brought up in the religion of the father, or, at least, in the religion he chose;* and which, moreover, forbade priests to exact any promise from persons contracting such marriage, concerning the religious education of their future children. To this instruction it was added, that his holiness did not mean by his brief either to authorize or to approve of mixed marriages, and that the lenity he thought right to exercise in this matter, was only intended to meet the case of a lukewarm Catholic, who might otherwise be tempted to abandon his religion, in order to contract a marriage with a person of another faith.

The Cabinet of Berlin, which had thus failed in its attempts to introduce a total change in the discipline of the Church, did not publish either the brief or the instruction. This last became known to the public only in the year 1837, whilst the brief remained for four years in the portfolio of the minister at Berlin. Every species of artifice and constraint was used to overcome the opposition of the Catholic clergy on the question of mixed marriages. For example, the government proclaimed, in the orders of the day addressed to the army, that all promises made by Protestant soldiers, who had married Catholic women, to have their children brought up in the Catholic faith, were to be considered as null and void.†

However, as these measures did not take effect, owing to the good sense and right feeling of the German people, the government tried to give another turn to the affair. The chargé-d'affaires to the Holy See, M. Bunsen, was recalled from Rome at the beginning of the year 1834, and directed to negotiate with the late Archbishop. For this purpose, a secret conference took place at Coblenz, between the Archbishop de Spiegel, and his secretary Munchen, who took a very active part, on one side, and M. Bunsen on the other. The principal result of this conference,

* This law was much more advantageous to the Protestants, as amongst twenty mixed marriages, there was only about one in which the husband was Catholic; and this is accounted for by the great number of Protestant employes and officers, who, for the most part, were young unmarried men, sent by government into the Catholic provinces, where Catholics were excluded from almost all employments.—(See *Dub. Rev. ut supra.*)

† This declaration was repeated in an order of the day, dated 26th November 1835, addressed by M. Muffling, General-in Chief of the 7th division of the army, to M. the Commandant of the fortress of Wesel.

was an instruction explanatory of the brief of Pius VIII, by which instruction the most important points of this brief were abrogated. It was then that this brief, for the first time, became public, notwithstanding the prohibition of the government and the Archbishop of Cologne. The Archbishop's instruction contained eighteen articles, and served as the basis of a convention which was concluded between the government of Prussia and the Archbishop of Cologne at Berlin, dated the 19th of June 1834. This convention, which was divided into fifteen articles, was to be the rule of conduct for the Catholic clergy in future, in regard to mixed marriages. The following are its four principal articles:—

1st. *The passive presence* of the Catholic priest at a mixed marriage, which was allowed by the brief of Pius VIII, being for certain reasons too odious, is to be restrained to the cases in which Catholic parties should enter into such marriages with an open and formal contempt of their religion; *in all other cases*, the active and officiating presence of the Catholic priest, *and his solemn benediction*, are indispensable.

2ndly, In the preliminary questions before the marriage, the Catholic priest shall not ask in what religion the future children are to be brought up, as this point is to remain untouched, as well in the publication of the banns, as in the benediction itself.

3rdly, In the sacramental confession, the priest is forbidden to oblige the Catholic party to educate his children in his own religion, or to refuse him absolution in case of his refusal to enter into such obligation.

4thly, The *churching* of Catholic women is not, *in any case*, to be refused.

This agreement was addressed to, and received by, the three suffragans of Cologne, the Bishops of Munster, of Trèves, and of Paderborn; and an instruction, based on these four articles, was sent to the vicars-general of the four dioceses, to serve them as a rule in all cases relating to mixed marriages. Thus was the Church betrayed, and arrangements were introduced into the four dioceses which were in direct opposition to the brief of Pius VIII and the instructions of Cardinal Albani, which last, it will be recollected, were *still unpublished*. The government was so well aware of the nullity of all these acts in regard to the canonical law, as well as of the perfidy which it had employed to deceive the clergy, that it was recommended to the bishops and vicars-general not to publish this convention; but whenever a priest applied for an instruction, to furnish him with one in conformity with these four articles. Neither the clergy in general, nor the Catholic laity, had any official knowledge of all

this affair, until the measures taken by the government against the new Archbishop tore off the veil.

Things were in this state when the Archbishop, Count Spiegel, died. The government, by what may well be called an interposition of divine providence, cast its eyes on the Baron Clement Augustus de Droste Vischering, Bishop of Calamatta, and brother of the Bishop of Munster. Having been administrator of the diocese of Munster until the concordat of 1821, concluded between Pius VII and the King of Prussia, the Baron de Droste had afterwards lived in retirement; and, completely occupied with works of charity, was far from seeking any ecclesiastical dignity. But as he was known for the firmness of his character, and the energy with which he had supported the rights of the Church during his administration of the diocese of Munster, the government of Prussia, who did not dare to ask his adhesion to the convention relative to mixed marriages, made use of an artifice to tie his hands before they proposed him as a candidate for the see of Cologne. The Baron of Altenstein, minister of religion and of public instruction, had recourse to the interposition of M. Schmulling, canon of the chapter of Munster. The following passage occurs in a letter from M. Altenstein to M. Schmulling, dated the 28th August 1835, relative to mixed marriages:—

“One thing which still gives me anxiety, is the manner in which Mgr. the Bishop of Calamatta will consider the question of mixed marriages, and whether he is disposed, should he become acting bishop of one of the four dioceses, to co-operate frankly in the execution of a convention made the 19th of June last year, *conformably to a brief of Pope Pius VIII, dated 25th of March 1830*, and entered into between Von Bunsen, the royal confidential counsellor of legation and ambassador at the court of Rome, delegated for this purpose by his Majesty the King, on the one part, and on the other by the late Archbishop de Spiegel, and to which the Bishops of Trêves, Munster, and Paderborn, have already acceded, and which has been approved by his Majesty, and put into execution in those said dioceses, so that for the future this affair may be considered as definitively arranged. I am willing to suppose, then, that the Bishop of Calamatta, if he became administrator of one of the four dioceses, would not only not attack and overthrow the agreement of the 19th of June, but, on the contrary, would study to maintain, and would be ready and careful to apply it in a spirit of conciliation.”

The Canon Schmulling had an interview with Monseigneur de Droste, to whom he communicated the contents of the minister's letter. It would appear that M. Schmulling was desirous of having a written document which he could communicate to the minister; and accordingly, Monseigneur de Droste wrote him

a letter, dated 5th September 1835, in which the following passage occurs relative to mixed marriages:—

“As to the subject of mixed marriages, I have long wished that some means might be found to smooth the great difficulties of that question. *I consequently learn with pleasure that my wishes have been realized*; and I beg you, sir, to have the goodness to assure his excellency the Minister, that I will take care to maintain the convention made and put into execution in the four vicariates, *in conformity with the brief of Pope Pius VIII*; and to add, that even if I had the opportunity, I should forbear to attack it, or to overthrow it, and that I would enforce it in the spirit of love and peace.”

These two letters, from which we have cited the most important passages, have been published by the Prussian government as a proof of the culpability of the Archbishop, inasmuch as after promising to observe the convention concluded between the King and his predecessor the Archbishop de Spiegel, he had forfeited his plighted word, and had acted in violation of his promise. But an attentive examination of the letter of the Archbishop, will point out two circumstances which entirely justify the prelate. In the first place, it is clear that he was ignorant of the contents of the convention referred to, and that he then heard it for the first time. “*I consequently learn with pleasure*,” writes the prelate, “that my wishes (relative to a definitive arrangement on the subject of mixed marriages) are realized;” and in the next place, he declares that he will maintain the convention, which he believes is “*made and executed in conformity with the brief of Pope Pius VIII.*” Assuredly M. de Droste may be excused for not doubting of the conformity of the brief of the Pope with a convention which had been adopted by four Catholic bishops, — a conformity which the minister asserts in his own letter addressed to the Canon Schmulding. And even supposing he had had any doubts on the subject, *that* was not the moment to express them, for as yet no direct offer had been made him on the part of the Prussian minister.

Direct negotiations soon began; and the minister Altenstein addressed a letter to M. de Droste, which the government has taken care not to publish, because there was no mention made in it of the Convention of Berlin, as the Archbishop positively asserts in his last letter to M. Altenstein,—a letter which we shall presently give at full length.

“I have the honour to observe to you,” writes the Prelate, “that in the declaration which I transmitted to your Excellency before my election, there was no mention made of the instruction addressed to the vicars-general, and that because your Excellency had not spoken on the subject in your letter to me.”

Why, we ask, did not the minister who accuses the Archbishop of having violated his plighted word, give an official contradiction to the Archbishop's assertion, by publishing the letter which the Prelate wrote him before his election? From these facts, we submit, that it is clear that M. de Droste has not in any way forfeited his word.

Let us come back to actions, and let us see what has been the conduct of Monseigneur de Droste, relative to mixed marriages, since his translation to the Archiepiscopal See of Cologne.

In his pastoral letter to the clergy of his diocese, dated 29th May 1836, he desired that thenceforward all documents concerning his archbishopric should be transmitted direct to himself. Above all, he turned his particular attention to the subject of mixed marriages, and having been made acquainted with the Convention of Berlin, as well as the instruction which was addressed after that Convention to the vicars-general, he tried as much as possible to repair the evil which had resulted from the weakness of his predecessor. In a letter to a friend, dated 13th of May 1837, he himself traced his line of conduct in the following manner:—

“ I regulate myself on the subject of mixed marriages, *in the first place*, according to the brief of Pope Pious VIII; *in the second place*, on the treaty, concluded at Berlin, between the late Archbishop de Spiegel, and the Counsellor of Legation, Mr. Bunsen, and confirmed by the King, as far as that treaty can be reconciled with the brief; and *in the third place*, and on the same condition, on an instruction compiled by an Hermesian, and published by the same Archbishop, but solely with reference to the churching of women. This then is my manner of proceeding: after thrice publishing the banns, if there be no opposition, and provided that both husband and wife promise that all their *future children shall be baptized and brought up in the Catholic religion*, the marriage is celebrated according to the Catholic rites: if the parties will not make this double promise, then the *passive presence* is permitted as the brief allows. As to the churching of women, as it might be taken for a previous approbation, it is to be refused unless the children are baptized and brought up in the Catholic religion.”

This last decision of the Archbishop's was contrary to the fourth article of the treaty of Berlin, and as M. de Bodelschroingh, Governor of the Rhenish Provinces, laid great stress on the execution of this article, the Archbishop believed it better to accede to it, but in such a way as to neutralize its ill effects as far as possible. The following are the orders which he issued on this point, in an instruction dated 25th December 1836, and addressed to the Dean of Aix la Chapelle:—

“ A Catholic priest is permitted to bless a Catholic woman at her

churching, though married to a Protestant, and causing all her children to be baptized and brought up in the Protestant faith, excepting in those cases where a blessing would be withheld, even in a marriage altogether Catholic. Nevertheless, the curate or vicar performing such churching, shall declare to the Catholic woman, with a loud and clear voice, and immediately before the beginning of those prayers appointed for the ceremony, that the blessing which she is going to receive, ought in no ways to authorize her to believe that the Church approves her marriage, but that these prayers are offered up by the Church for the salvation of her soul."

A tolerant and conciliatory spirit animated all the acts of the venerable Prelate, who gave way to all demands, however unjust or arbitrary, in as far as he could reconcile them with the duties of his charge. The following circular addressed to all the Deans of his diocese, dated 19th December 1837, is a palpable proof of what we have asserted:—

"At the request of the President-in-Chief of the Rhenish Provinces, we, by these presents, "do desire the deans of the cities and rural deans to command the priests of their deaneries, not to permit any strange, and more especially Belgian priests, the exercise of any ecclesiastical function whatsoever."

Here we have a very great concession, and in an affair in which, according to the concordat of 1821, the government had no right whatever to interfere. "I infinitely desire," writes the prelate to one of his friends, "to avoid beginning a warfare with the government, as long as any justifiable way of escaping it is left me."

All these concessions did not satisfy the Prussian Government, who required from the Prelate the execution of the treaty of Berlin, and who tried all means of persuasion in the first place to overcome his resistance. The followers of the Hermesian doctrine were not all inclined to submit to the brief which condemned the opinions of their master. Two leaders of the party, viz. Professors Braun and Elvenich, were gone to Rome to obtain the revocation of the brief; the other professors of Bonn continued in open opposition to the Archbishop, and several pamphlets were published accusing him of ignorance and partiality. Government, who had not taken any active measures against this faction, now resolved to profit by it.—The Count of Stolberg Wernigerode was sent to Cologne, in order to try and compromise matters with the Archbishop. Government declared themselves willing to abandon the Hermesians, and to force them to obey the Archbishop, provided he on his part would cause the treaty of Berlin relative to mixed marriages to be executed in his diocese. Mgr. de Droste did not hesitate one

moment; he rejected these proposals, and again declared that he would only conform to the treaty of Berlin in as far as it accorded with the brief of Pius the VIIIth.—He added that another Bishop (the late Bishop of Treves, Mgr. de Hommer) had given the sad example of being obliged to retract on his death-bed what he had done on this subject during his life;* and that as for himself, he wished to die in peace, and not to have any such subject of repentance.

The Cabinet of Berlin being at last fully convinced that the firmness of the Archbishop was immovable, resolved to employ force in order to attain its ends. But before executing the projected measures, it was necessary to be secure of the co-operation of the Metropolitan Chapter of Cologne. This body, two-thirds of which were followers of Hermes, was gained over by M. Bruggeman, himself a Catholic, but one who had already at different times betrayed the interests of the Catholic Church whilst charged with the direction of religious affairs in the Rhenish provinces as Government Counsellor at Coblenz. M. Bruggeman having thus prepared matters for the Ministry, went to Berlin, from whence he brought back the order to arrest the Archbishop. Means were tried once more to shake the determination of the prelate, and M. Altenstein, minister of religion and public instruction, wrote a letter to the Archbishop, dated 24th October, 1837, of which we will give the principal passages.

"If you delay promising that for the future the treaty of Berlin shall be executed, Government will not fail to take steps the immediate consequence of which will be to prevent you from exercising any of your episcopal functions. You may be forgiven the scruples of conscience you have entertained; but these scruples are not a sufficient motive for your dispensing with the obedience you owe to the laws of the state. His Majesty has, however, condescended to allow you to give up the administration of the diocese, and if this proposal is accepted, no enquiry will be made in regard to the past."

The Archbishop, who received this letter the 31st of October, answered it the same day in the following words.

"I have the honour, in answer to the letter addressed me by your Excellency, and dated the 24th of October, to state that I am not conscious of having given occasion to believe that I was myself aware of the impropriety of several of the steps I have taken in regard to the doctrine of Hermes. In the whole of this affair, the question, as it relates solely to doctrine, belongs entirely to spiritual matters, upon

* The following passage is contained in the letter written by the Archbishop to the Pope on the eve of his death (10th Nov. 1836).—"Having arrived at the termination of my mortal career, and being enlightened by Divine graces, I retract all that I may have done contrary to the canonical laws and the principles of the Catholic Church, in regard to mixed marriages."

which the Church alone is entitled to decide. In regard to mixed marriages, I declare once more, and still in conformity to the written declaration which I had the honour to transmit to your Excellency before my election, in an official and confidential correspondence, *that in regard to mixed marriages, I would act according to the Brief of Pope Pius the VIIIth, and according to the Instruction addressed by the Bishop to the Vicars-general; that I would try as much as possible to make the Instruction accord with the Brief, but that in all cases where that was not possible, the Brief must be the sole rule for my conduct.* I have, however, the honour to observe to you, that in the declaration which I transmitted to your Excellency before my election, there was no mention made of the instruction addressed to the vicars-general, and *that because your Excellency had not alluded to it in your letter.*—I add, moreover, that this declaration is not the result of scruples of conscience, but is based on the full conviction that it cannot be allowable for any bishop to adopt a different decision from that which I have come to. Finally, I find myself obliged to demand liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of spiritual power, confided to me by the Church that I might defend her rights. I beg to observe also, that the duty I owe to the diocese committed to my care, as well as towards the whole Church, will not permit me to cease from my functions, nor to give up my charge. In all temporal things, I shall obey His Majesty the King, as it becomes a faithful subject to do.

(Signed) "CLEMENT AUGUSTE,

"Cologne, 31st Oct. 1837.

"Archbishop of Cologne."

The Archbishop communicated these two letters to his Chapter and the priests of Cologne, and to all the clergy of his diocese, who unanimously expressed their sympathy with him: the Chapter alone, corrupted as we have seen by government, received this communication with indifference, and did not approve the conduct of the prelate. The minister having received the Archbishop's firm as well as dignified letter, gave orders for the execution of violent measures. M. de Bodelschwingh left Coblenz for Cologne, where all the garrison were under arms, and where strong patrols were on duty for several days. These military preparations were no doubt intended to intimidate the prelate, and to oblige him at last to give way. On the 20th of November, M. d'Arnim, president of the government of Aix-la-Chapelle, carried to the Archbishop the ultimatum of the king—either immediately to retract his decision, or to be sent into captivity. The Archbishop again declared that he could not alter his conduct in regard to mixed marriages; and M. d'Arnim left him, and made way for the employment of brute force. Towards the evening the square before the archiepiscopal palace was occupied by the military; and the prelate and his secretary, M. Michéas, were arrested and conveyed to Minden, a fortress

situated at the extremity of Westphalia. On the next day a proclamation was issued in Cologne and in all the other towns of the Rhenish provinces, and of Westphalia, dated the 15th of November, 1837, and signed by three ministers. In this document the Archbishop is accused "of having arrogated to himself an arbitrary power, of having trampled under foot the laws of the country, and of having set at naught the king's authority, and produced disturbance where there had formerly existed the most perfect tranquillity." He was besides accused of having taken steps "to excite the minds of men," and it was added "that the Sovereign Pontiff had been completely informed of the whole affair." As to these accusations against the Archbishop neither proofs nor facts were brought forward in support of them, and the last assertion is formally denied by the Pope himself, in the allocution which he pronounced on the 10th of December. The Chapter did not hesitate to undertake the administration of the diocese; and in its circular, dated the 21st of November, it appears to sanction the motives which had induced the government to banish the Archbishop from his diocese. They received, moreover, without daring to make the slightest protestation, the act of accusation, sent to them by the minister Altenstein, and which was dated the 15th of November. In this document the minister accuses the Archbishop: 1st. For his energetic conduct towards the partisans of the Hermesian doctrines, and more especially towards the Professors of Bonn, and of his chief seminary; 2ndly. For the publication and the execution of a dogmatical brief, which had not received the royal sanction; 3rdly. For the steps he had taken to assure himself of the orthodoxy and obedience of the priests in his diocese, by making them sign the eighteen propositions; and 4thly. For the violation of his pledged word upon the subject of mixed marriages, in which he had even exceeded the intentions of the brief of Pius VIII." We need not refute these accusations, which are either false or ridiculous. Our readers are able to appreciate them at their just worth.

The dissatisfaction caused by the arrest of Mgr. the Archbishop increased greatly in the Rhenish provinces, and in Westphalia. All claimed for the illustrious captive the common right granted to the meanest criminal, viz. the freedom of defence; and it was demanded on all sides that he should be brought before the tribunals face to face with his accusers. The Cabinet of Berlin felt the weight of these petitions; and, in order to palliate their injustice, they published in the official Gazette of Berlin "that the Archbishop was not a prisoner, since it depended on himself to leave the fortress of Minden, and to go

whither he would, on the single condition of *giving his word of honour not to exercise any episcopal function*. But the Archbishop could not make this promise, without acknowledging the right which the government assumed to itself, of dismissing a Catholic prelate, which right belongs exclusively to the Sovereign Pontiff, as head of the hierarchy. To him, as to his judge, the Archbishop had confided his cause with confidence, and his decision all Catholics were looking for with impatience. Government itself had so repeatedly declared that the court of Rome had been informed of all that had passed in this transaction, that it had succeeded in deceiving a party even of the Catholics in Germany. But the Sovereign Pontiff, who watches with so much tender solicitude over the interests of the Church, himself unveiled the perfidious falsehoods of the Cabinet of Berlin, in the allocution which he pronounced to the secret Consistory of cardinals, and which he communicated to all the powers of Europe. Our readers are doubtless acquainted with this important document,* which has displayed in their true light the persecutions of the Prussian Government towards its Catholic subjects, constituting as they do more than a third of the population of the kingdom, and the generous devotion of the Archbishop of Cologne, a faithful confessor of the nineteenth century.

"VENERABLE BRETHREN,—Placed in a position where it is not sufficient to deplore evil, we are overwhelmed with sadness by the melancholy state of the affairs of the Catholic Church. Whilst applying our thoughts to the remedy of these plagues of Israel, according to the power received by us from God, a new cause of grief has started up, and from a quarter, too, where it was least expected. You are not ignorant of this, nor of the cause that brings us together this day. It is no obscure event, learned by private accounts; it has been, on the contrary, officially communicated. We complain of the grave injury committed against the venerable Archbishop of Cologne, who has been deprived of his pastoral jurisdiction by order of the King, been driven from his seat by the force of arms, and sent out of his diocese. Such is the calamity which has fallen upon this prelate, however anxious he has been to render to Cæsar the things which be Cæsar's, though not at the same time forgetting his duty in preserving the doctrine and discipline of the Church. He sought to observe no other rule in the matter of mixed marriages than that contained in the apostolical letters addressed to the prelates of Western Prussia by Pius VIII, our predecessor, of happy memory, bearing date the 25th of March, 1830. And yet in those letters the Holy See carried indulgence to the extreme limit. You are not ignorant that our predecessor was brought

* We subjoin a translation of this document, which has appeared in the English papers, and which we believe to be correct. — Ed.

to these concessions with regret, and solely from the necessity of saving the Catholic clergy of those countries from the too certain evils with which they were menaced. Who would have foreseen that this pontifical declaration, indulgent as it was, and assented to by the King's Envoy at Rome, would be executed in a manner to overthrow the inflexible principles of the Catholic Church, and contrary to the intention of the Holy See? Yet this very thing, impossible to imagine or believe, and to suspect which would have been a crime, has been done by the artful influence of the secular power. No sooner had we been warned of this, than we sent remonstrances, declaring that our apostolical mission obliged us to tell the faithful not to consider a rule to proceed from the Holy See which it held in horror. We received for answer that our complaints were without foundation, and at the same time came a letter from a bishop of Liege, who at the point of death, and about to render an account before the Supreme Judge, declared that the instruction addressed to the bishops, and subscribed by them at the instigation of the civil government, would be the occasion of great evils, and would infringe the holy canons. Enlightened by the divine intelligence, he acknowledged his error, and of his own accord retracted his adhesion. Immediately we sent this to the King, and stated how we disapproved of the interpretation put upon the letters of our predecessor, which, though accepted by the bishops, were entirely opposed to the principles and laws of the Church. You may thus see, venerable brethren, that we have neglected nothing in this affair. Nevertheless, we say it with feelings of the most profound horror, whilst we were waiting the answer to our remonstrance, it was signified to the Archbishop of Cologne that he must conform himself to the interpretation of the late Pope's letter concerning mixed marriages, of which we disapproved; or, if he refused, that he must abandon his pastoral functions. If he resisted, a decree of the government would interdict him from his episcopal jurisdiction. The Archbishop resisting, in accordance with his duty, those menaces were fulfilled. And mark the conduct observed towards us: the Prussian *chargé-d'affaires* warned us of the event as about to take place on the first of the following month, whilst it was, in reality, perpetrated ten days sooner. In this occurrence, venerable brethren, we owe to God, the Church, and ourselves, to raise our apostolic voice against this violation of ecclesiastical liberty, this usurpation of a sacred jurisdiction, this outrage against the Holy See. Let us not either forget to give to a prelate endowed with so many virtues the praise due for his devotion to the cause of religion and to his many sacrifices. Since the occasion offers, we publicly and solemnly declare that we entirely disapprove of the practice which prevails in the kingdom of Prussia, contrary to the declaration of our predecessor, respecting mixed marriages."

ART. X.—*Speech of the Earl of Mulgrave in the House of Lords, on Monday, the 27th of November, 1837, on the Motion of the Earl of Roden for certain Papers referring to the State of Ireland.* Ridgway.

IF we could discover any real ground for believing that the policy of the Irish Government was designed to disturb our Protestant fellow countrymen, in the exercise of their religious worship, or to deprive them of any right or safeguard, which legitimately belongs to them, we should be the first to condemn and decry it. For such policy were tyrannous and partial, contrary to the sacred rights of conscience—for which we have ourselves too long and too painfully contended, not to be deeply sensible of their value, and at variance with every principle which, as Christians and free citizens, we have been taught to revere. Above all, it would be utterly inconsistent with the noble integrity and justice which have rendered that government a blessing and protection to all denominations of her Majesty's Irish subjects.

We are bound to suppose that there are persons who, unaffectedly, believe in the evil tendencies imputed to a liberal system of government, having their minds filled with certain blind apprehensions of danger to the creed and the persons of Protestants, from the adoption of equal laws, or even a fair and irrespective administration of such laws as are in force. These, however, constitute but a poor and paltry minority of the numbers who join in the cant, and deplore the "heavy blow to Protestantism," which they profess to dread from the arm of British justice. To far the greater portion of this class, we cannot allow the respectable excuse of honest ignorance. Their conduct is too plainly marked by all the tokens of selfishness and faction to justify so charitable an interpretation. The means to which they have recourse for diffusing their exaggerated terrors; the calumnies and falsehoods so industriously disseminated by them, and the malignant, envious, and sordid motives betrayed in their anxiety to hurt their opponents, forbid the supposition that their prejudices are sincere, or their purposes in any degree akin to those of an honest and single, though deluded, mind.

Whether the Earl of Roden belongs to the majority or minority of such alarmists, we leave to those who know him better than we do, to conjecture. But we are by no means surprised to see him foremost of Lord Mulgrave's accusers, and noisiest among the noisiest in casting odious and base imputations upon that enlightened governor. Whether he be the dupe and catspaw of others, or himself a wilful accomplice in promoting the grand delusion, it is perfectly agreeable to nature, that his voice should

be raised above all others in a general howl about a Protestant persecution. For by whom should we expect such a chorus to be led, if not by the man who, not long since, took a prominent and conspicuous part in a combination to crush and exterminate the professors of another creed?

We allude not here particularly to the Orange conspiracy, in which this Lord held so preeminent a station; nor to the wild crusade issuing from Exeter Hall, of which he was an active promoter; but we refer to his bold and hostile proceedings during the agitation of the Reform Bill in 1832, and to the meetings at which he presided, and at which he spoke in that exciting period. We refer especially to the great muster at Rathfielands in January of that year, held in the open street, Lord Roden who had come from his residence in another county, (seventeen miles off), to be its chairman, presiding, like Hunt at Manchester, in the box of his chariot. He harangued the populace from that proud eminence, in strains of vehement eloquence, and having thus attuned their minds for what was to follow, sanctioned the address of Mr. Crommelin, a deputy-lieutenant and magistrate of the county of Down, who pledged himself, in the name of all the Protestants, to "drive *the Papists* out of the land." "So long as they behave themselves properly," said this northern *Thrasher*, "we will assist them; but the moment they attempt to grasp at that to which they have no right we will drive them out of the land. It is not a vain boast; for I am satisfied that we are able to do it; we are not afraid of them; we are three millions to their five! If I could have anticipated that my noble friend would have taken the chair, I would have had 60,000 Orangemen at the least, to give him welcome."

Lord Roden so far from moderating the martial tone of these observations, nodded and smiled assent to every sentiment from his *curule chair*, and at the close of the proceedings exhorted the multitude to treasure up in their hearts the excellent advice and cheering assurances they had received in the course of the day. In about ten days afterwards, we find his Lordship at a "great meeting of the Protestants of Ireland," held at the Lord Mayor's house, exulting in that display of physical force which had emboldened his friend Crommelin to vow the extermination of the Catholics, and animating the pursy Aldermen of the Dublin corporation by talking of the bone and sinew of Ulster. "It is gratifying to think," thus does the noble Lord bray out his triumph, "and oh! it was gratifying to see, at the Meeting in the North, to which I have alluded, that the Protestant sinew and strength of the country is with us. It was gratifying to see a body of people, from twenty to thirty thousand, which I had

the honour of addressing in the North, determined to stand by their principles." He speaks of that sinew and strength on which Mr. Justice Crommelin had relied for "driving the Papists out of the land."

It seems like the working of a conscience, seeking excuses for itself in a fellowship of wrong, that persons who have themselves conceived and avowed such projects, should now turn round and attribute similar designs to others. We regard it, therefore, as quite a natural disposition in Lord Roden to endeavour, if not to drown the reflections of his own mind, at least to give a turn to those of the public, by raising a din about imagined dangers besetting the Protestant religion and its professors in Ireland.

In his famous speech of the 27th of last November, this worthy peer assured the noble assembly which he addressed, that, "at no period had the exercise of the Protestant Religion been in greater danger than at the present moment, when he had the honour of addressing their Lordships. He felt that in making this charge against the noble Earl, who held the first situation under the crown, in making so heavy and so grave an accusation, that it was right for him to say, before he referred to the acts of the noble Earl, that to those acts he attributed the fatal and melancholy state of things which now existed. He knew that such a charge was grave and serious, and it certainly would not become him to make it, if he did not feel that he stood on ground from which he was not to be shaken, and that he was amply furnished with facts to prove all that he advanced"

This was a formidable exordium—*vultus multa et præclara minantis*—and great must have been the chuckling in the Tory ranks to find themselves at length on the point of having all their wishes gratified by a complete exposure of what till that moment they had scarcely more than hoped to be true,—the persecution of the Protestant Religion by the Irish government. An ample supply of facts was about to be showered among them from the *Cornucopia* of the noble Earl; "facts"—the one thing needful to give point to the fluent periods of D'Israeli, and render the rambling invectives of Sir Francis Burdett mortal. Once furnished with facts they could find eloquence themselves, and hurl the tenacious Whigs from office; but up to that period they had been obliged to labour at their vocation with mere general assertion, which, although skilfully handled and with excellent effect too, as the progress of the Spottiswoode Conspiracy and the result of many a recent election contest can testify, had failed to accomplish the grand purpose of replacing them in power. When Lord Roden, therefore, prefaced his Philippic by invoking

condemnation on his own head, unless he should amply sustain his grave and serious charge by facts, a dawn of hope cheered even those who were well acquainted with the gigantic promise and dwarfish performance of his muse. Often before, indeed, had the hollow rollings of his thunder died away upon their anxious ears, and they had reproachfully asked him,

“When you begin with so much pomp and show,
Why is the end so little and so low?”

But no experience of his “alacrity in sinking” had prepared their minds to expect, that so loud a prologue would be followed by—*nothing*. He had staked his character—such as it was—upon the number and conclusiveness of his facts. They were “ample,”—they were “plain facts,”—a great variety in his line,—“they placed him on ground from which he could not be shaken—they would prove all that he advanced,”—they would show that the ultimate object of the lawless acts, which take place in Ireland, was “the destruction of Protestant property, of Protestant life, and the extermination of the Protestant Religion in Ireland;”—and he would be ashamed of himself if he could not demonstrate, that such a melancholy and fatal state of things sprung out of the acts of Lord Mulgrave.

All this did Lord Roden undertake to set as clear as daylight before the House; and his friends, albeit not unused to his vapouring mood, were delighted at so promising a commencement of the campaign. Much did they rejoice in the confident bearing of their fanatical ally, and the rich fruit which they reckoned upon gleaning from the result of his autumnal researches among the Irish. Already the keen dark eye of Exeter’s prelate began to fix its fascinating gaze upon the turrets of Lambeth, and Lord Londonderry’s fancy was “over shoes in snow,” plodding his anxious way to the vacant berth at St. Petersburg. Great matters were expected from Lord Roden’s Budget, opened as it was with solemn flourish, to the very beard of his adversary. Facts are stubborn chiefs;—“Happy is the man that has his quiver full of them. He shall not be ashamed to accost his enemy in the gate.” Expectation therefore stood on tiptoe, and impatient hope glanced from every eye when the noble Earl, “armed all *in proof*,” proceeded to unfold his ample store of cases. But, alack—the bottle conjuror dealt not a heavier disappointment upon the world of fashion. The noble Earl’s picked facts, the proofs which were to sustain him in all that he had advanced, the statements which were to keep the ground immoveable under his feet, consisted in three or four occurrences, previously known, and though of a distressing and

disgraceful nature, yet in no instance implicating the character of the Irish nation in the design imagined by its interested defamers, or justifying the calumnious assertion that "the destruction of Protestant property, of Protestant life, and the extermination of the Protestant religion is the great and ultimate object" contemplated by the people, or encouraged and aided by the Government.

His principal case to sustain this grievous indictment, is that of Allen and M'Kenzie, two men employed to bring voters to the support of Colonel Perceval and his colleague at the Sligo election. They were beset on their way, having first used much provoking and threatening language, by a multitude greatly excited on the other side, who detained them in custody, with circumstances of revolting cruelty and privation, in consequence of which one of them died, shortly after his release. God forbid that we should speak more lightly than it becomes the uncompromising foes of all unjust restraint and aggression to speak, of such an outrage. Justice, we trust, will visit its authors with a stern and retributive power. The common law awards no penalty against such offences too heavy or severe for theirs. But whilst we cannot too strenuously express our abhorrence of the crime, we must protest against any attempt to involve the character of the community in its guilt. It has been stated, upon no other warranty than that of mere surmise, that the population of an extensive district, comprising many thousand persons, were cognizant of this lingering cruelty from the first moment of its infliction to its tragical termination. There is no proof whatever of such an assertion, and Lord Roden, who is not the man to hide such an aggravating circumstance under a bushel, does not venture to put it forward. He only describes the savage treatment which the men received; and having emphatically pointed to the circumstance of their religious profession, sets this fact in the vanguard of his attack upon the Irish people, to speak for itself and convict them of a design to exterminate by force the Protestant religion.

Whilst we acknowledge his Lordship's discretion on this point, let us also admire his modesty in forbearing to notice another fact, connected with the case, which cannot well be supposed to have slipped from his accurate recollection, whilst enumerating the contents of his wallet. We speak of the charge preferred against the Reverend Mr. Spelman, a Catholic clergyman, of having been a principal abettor of the cruelty practised on that occasion. That charge was prepared with infinite labour and address. A witness was even dug up miraculously out of the

grave,* to which a well-devised rumour had consigned him, in order to bring the matter to bear in the most advantageous form. It would have been a great point gained for Lord Roden's argument, as well as a "crowning mercy" to his crest-fallen and heart-sick party, if the chain of evidence could have been twisted round the neck of one of the spiritual guides of the people; and to a certain extent the object was effected; for informations were received against the accused individual and the charge still hangs over him. Why, may we ask, is Lord Roden silent upon so imposing a "*fact*?" Was it delicacy to a culprit yet untried, or tenderness for the Crown lawyers who had admitted him to bail, that restrained the noble Lord and taught him a reserve which does not ordinarily belong to his character? Or had he the wisdom, almost as unusual, to perceive that in trying to make out a case very clearly, there is sometimes danger of proving too much, and that it might therefore answer his purpose quite as well, not to advert, in this stage of the case, to the awful disclosures to be anticipated from the arrest, and the manner in which it was concerted, of that priest?

There was also a second priest mixed up in that transaction, upon whom, for reasons neither mysterious nor unintelligible, the Noble Earl wastes no words. The Reverend Mr. M'Hugh interfered at the moment of the attack, to rescue the unfortunate men from their assailants, and his intercession being fruitless, he immediately communicated the fact of their forcible detention to the police, at the nearest station. This was not like an organized plan to destroy Protestant life, and exterminate the Protestant religion in Ireland; and a candid antagonist would have given his opponents the benefit of such an acknowledgment, even at the hazard of weakening his own position. But Lord Roden really could not afford to dilute any of his "plain facts." They are too few and far between to admit of his spoiling the best in the lot by a foolish exercise of generous frankness: particularly when the same act which may be praiseworthy in other persons, is, and must be "damnable and idolatrous," if performed by a priest. Besides, for a member of that suspected fraternity to dictate to the police, and prescribe their course of duty to them, is an overweening assumption of authority—

"Which, were there nothing to forbid it,
Is impious because *he* did it."

His Lordship, therefore, kept this little fact at the bottom of his

* M'Kenzie, who was reported to have died of the hard usage he had experienced, was brought forth, after the expiration of several weeks, in perfect health, to the great astonishment of all his neighbours, to swear informations against Mr. Spelman.

quiver, and sent forth the barbed shaft without an antidote to rankle in the minds of his confiding British hearers. He placed at the head and front of his impeachment, the outrage committed upon "two unoffending Protestants," which he relies on as an irrefragable proof of the persecution of that faith; whilst the attending circumstance, which was amply sufficient to dispel his inference, he studiously and carefully repressed. This is surely not a very noble way of standing on ground from which it is impossible to be shaken.

As to the real character of that unhappy transaction, it is enough for the scope of this article, if it has been shown, not to have originated in a design to cut off or exterminate our Protestant fellow-countrymen. Lord Mulgrave, however, in his excellent and powerful speech, has placed it in its true light, as an ebullition of popular frenzy during the fever of an election, showing, at the same time, that the precedent, though pushed like most bad precedents to a violent extreme, was taken from Lord Roden's "very particular friends."

"Then, my Lords, with respect to the case of Allan and Mackenzie, though I cannot but express my feeling of horror at the atrocity, yet I cannot entirely forget that the system of kidnapping, which has been found to be one of the causes of subsequent offences, is not by any means confined to any one party, or to any one county in Ireland. In the county of Longford, affidavits were sworn to the effect that persons who were known not to be disposed to vote for the Conservatives, were confined at Carrickglass until the election, and then brought up to the poll and made to vote for that party. In Carlow, the cases of Nolan and Brennan came before the assistant Barrister, at the Quarter Sessions, when a conviction actually took place of parties charged with having kidnapped persons, who would have voted against certain Conservative candidates, if they had not been thus prevented. When, my Lords, such proceedings are countenanced by persons of education, who of course could not by any possibility be considered as desirous of leading to the commission of an offence of so serious a nature as that of murder;—but, my Lords, when persons of high station were seen setting so bad an example, it cannot be a matter of very great surprise that that example should be followed by persons of an inferior station, who, in the first instance, could not be supposed to intend to commit murder, but whose subsequent proceedings have led to the commission of that crime."

When it is recollected that the grave Dr. Lefroy is the proprietor of Carrickglass, and, that in his mansion, were forcibly confined the reluctant Catholic freeholders, whom he compelled to vote against their conscience and their will, nay, that they were detained there, not only on the ordinary week days, but throughout an entire Sabbath, in utter contempt of their entreaties to

be suffered to attend the worship of their Church,—can the force of impudence go farther than for the party which set the example of such compulsion, to raise the hue and cry of religious persecution against the rude imitators of their own acts? We are quite ready to acknowledge the wide difference in the effects of lawless violence, as practised in these several instances by the gentry and by the common people; the comparison is greatly to the shame and disgrace of the latter; but the offences originated in the same motive; and if, on the one side, fatal consequences ensued, those excesses neither flowed from a premeditated design to take away life, nor were committed with the slightest reference to the religious belief of the victims.

But enough of this case: which is followed up by another of a poor blacksmith, a Catholic, who lost his life in consequence of a beating inflicted upon him for working for “The Hanoverians.” That was a term applied to the partizans of the great Orange functionary, Colonel Perceval; and if Lord Roden could prove, that the mutual infliction of barbarous vengeance, after the result of a severely contested election, is not a sin common to both parties in Ireland,* or that Catholics and Protestants have not been indiscriminately sufferers by it, there might be some grounds for his charge. But he knows that such practices are the disgrace of all, and that they are coeval with, if not the immediate effects of, the tyrannical combination amongst landlords and men of property to force the consciences of their dependents, and punish the disobedient by expulsion and beggary. That arbitrary system, enforced as it has been with the utmost rigour, has naturally provoked and inflamed the passions of the common people; and behold the fruits of the reaction in the cruel reprisals which they sometimes make upon those of their own body who want the virtue or the courage to stand to their colours. To attribute such enormities to a spirit of religious animosity, is to take a liberty with the plain truth, which Lord Roden would be the first to condemn in any other person.

The next instance in his “chain of facts,” is the murder of Fairbanks, a Protestant farmer in Sligo, who was found murdered on the road-side on the 10th of November last. Wherefore or by whom this crime was perpetrated, the Noble Earl is silent, leaving the word “Protestant” to represent his view of the case; but Lord Mulgrave explains the transaction, and shows that the unhappy man fell a victim to that unrelenting code which, for the last eighty years, has doomed to destruction

* Some Orange “gentlemen” of Mountmelich (Queen’s County) shot a poor Catholic last July, for merely cheering for the successful candidate, as they returned beaten from the contest.

him who takes land "over the head" of a tenant in possession. We are not now about to inquire into the causes, or compare the demerits, of those who provoke and those who enact such horrors. No doubt, a large portion of the moral responsibility of these acts lies at the door of the landlords, who, as Lord Mulgrave truly observes, are "more powerful for evil" than he or any government, "in the honest and unshrinking discharge of its duties, can be for good." But wicked and inhuman as are the decrees of that dark tribunal, no man who pretends to tell the truth, will say that they are influenced in the slightest degree, so as either to sharpen or to mitigate their severity, by a regard to the creed or political connexions of the victim. Was not Mr. Marum, the brother of the late Catholic Bishop of Ossory, murdered at his own door, within a few miles of the episcopal residence, because he had usurped the possessions of the poor? And although five men paid the forfeit of their lives for the deed, his son, in a few years after, was consigned to the same bloody grave by the same violent means. An inquiry into the numbers who have been immolated to that principle of fierce retribution and terror, from the commencement of the present century to this date, would prove, not only that the frequency of assassinations on this account, during the respective secretarships of Sir Arthur Wellesley and his successors, Peel, Goulburn, and Lord Francis Egerton, greatly surpassed that of similar outrages since Lord Morpeth has held the office, but also that the numerical proportion of Catholics to Protestants who have perished through this cause, would be found even to exceed that in which the members of the two Churches stand respectively to one another. The following observations of Lord Mulgrave, delivered in a tone of moderation and candour which his assailants would do well to imitate, are perfectly unanswerable:—

"The Noble Lord has alluded to another most lamentable case which occurred in Sligo. My Lords, this and every other case of a similar description, of course requires and demands every attention on the part of the Government. But neither in this, nor in any other case, will I admit that the man was murdered because he was a Protestant. I do not believe, my Lords, that such a thing exists. I have heard that it was stated by a connexion, by the bye, of the Noble Lord opposite,—by a young gentleman who perhaps will know more of Ireland hereafter, when he wanders beyond his ample domains for other purposes than to attend these meetings,—but I have heard it was stated by that Noble Lord, 'that no Protestant's life is safe in Ireland unless he is armed.' Why, my Lords, I have the authority of many of those who have attended the assizes, for stating to your Lordships that there is no such thing in Ireland as a man being murdered on account of his

religion. A man happens to be murdered as a part of that dreadful system of combination which has always existed in Ireland with regard to the tenure of land. If it be a Catholic who has been ejected, and if a Protestant happens to come into the holding, he is murdered on that account, and not because he is a Protestant, for that is merely a coincidence. Indeed, with respect to Fairlands, it was supposed that he was murdered because it was suspected that he would have succeeded the person ejected by the Noble Viscount opposite (Viscount Lorton) in his holding.

"VISCOUNT LORTON.—It was only suspicion.

"(The Earl of Mulgrave.)—I say so, my Lords; I say that such was supposed to be the ground of the murder. In not one of the cases which have been stated by the Noble Lord is there any reason for saying that the man was murdered because he was a Protestant. A gentleman who has had very considerable experience in Crown prosecutions as a Crown solicitor, Mr. Barrington, states: 'I never knew an instance of a murder of any man on account of his religion: almost all the homicides amongst the lower class in the south of Ireland are of Roman Catholics; and of those in the higher class, there were in Limerick alone, in the years 1821, 1822, and 1823, prosecutions in fourteen cases for the murders of, or combining to murder respectable Protestants, not on account of their religion, but from local causes; so that the attacks on persons who happened to be Protestants is not a recent crime, and the two last prosecutions for conspiring to murder respectable persons, were for offences against Roman Catholic gentlemen—one a magistrate and a grand juror, who was fired at and wounded in the year 1834; and the other, the case of a conspiracy in the same year to murder the land-agent of a Roman Catholic, by some tenants who were dispossessed of their holdings.'"

The next case which Lord Roden brings forward, is that of Andrew Ganley, who was murdered in the egg-market in Dublin, by some of those trade-combinators, who seem just now nothing loath to deal a similar measure of "wild justice" to Mr. O'Connell. The unfortunate man was a Protestant, and the brother of a person who had made himself most fatally conspicuous at a previous election in Longford; circumstances of course sufficient, in the judgment of this most candid peer, to strengthen the ground under his feet, and prove that the destruction of Protestants is the object of all outrages in Ireland. The Lord Lieutenant is twitted with having indirectly connived at this murder. He "lived," we are sneeringly told, "in perfect security in his castle, and surrounded by his guards, while even the protection of the law was not given to the poor Protestants, and neither watch nor constable was to be found to prevent this barefaced outrage." There is no lack of *barefacedness* at all events in such an attack; for if the city of Dublin was unprovided with an adequate protection of constables and watchmen

at the time of the perpetration of that outrage, whom should the public hold accountable for it, unless the House of Parliament, which had factiously interposed delays and frivolous objections to the enactment of a measure for giving to that city the benefit of an effective police? Had the bill been suffered to pass into a law when it was proposed, no part of Dublin would have been without an adequate safeguard at the date of Ganley's murder; but it was still left under the charge of those "most ancient and quiet watchmen," who had been continued in office partly through the agency of Lord Roden himself. That he, therefore, should taunt the present government with the unprotected state of Dublin at that period, is a presumptive proof that his *countenance* is at least as immovable as the ground he stands on.

There is yet another notable case of Protestant persecution, which crowns the noble Earl's climax of miseries, and fixes him "founded as the rock" upon that ground from which he hurls his denunciations at the head of the Lord Lieutenant. A number of gentlemen and farmers (he will not tell us how many) from the Barony of Upper Ormonde in Tipperary, going to the election at Clonmel, took the precaution to arm themselves well, whereby (providentially he should have added) they were enabled to achieve their mission. But they did not accomplish all this without some trouble: for on their way, near Cashel, they were pelted by a mob, at whom they discharged some shots in return; the noble historian does not state with what effect; but doubtless they took care not to be behindhand in the exchange. Their perilous enterprise ended in their arrival, with some bruises and one broken head, at the Globe Inn, Clonmel; "thanking the darkness," says one of the party, "for our safety." And this is the grand demonstration—the proof of proofs—that nothing will content these people, short of the extermination of the Protestant religion in Ireland!

The above case we are content to receive, according to the version of Lord Roden and his informant, who was one of the armed party engaged in the transaction; and yet upon this *ex parte* statement, what does the affair indicate more than the encounters which take place in all parts of the United Kingdom during the tumultuous excitement of a contested election? That the caravan from Upper Ormonde were "more sinned against than sinning" in the conflict, he would be either a very bold or a very ignorant man who should dare to avouch, seeing that a more violent or intemperate race of bumpkins are nowhere to be encountered than in the district of Upper and Lower Ormonde. They are the same clan who have often kept their drunken orgies

in the Old Abbey of Kilcooley, and from its towers hung out the colours of religious hatred and defiance. Probably they had but just issued from that building, sacred to the dearest and best recollections of the people, on their route to vote for the violent — who now possesses it, and who on the hustings declared himself, in despite of the late King's Proclamation, and the *seeming* earnest exhortation of Lord Roden himself, still an Orangeman, and the Master of an Orange Lodge. If such a cavalcade provoked the attacks of some hot-brained spirits by the way, is the character of a nation to suffer for that? Could a similar train of gallants have passed unmolested through Kent, if at each step in their progress they made a display of their firearms, waved Orange pocket-handkerchiefs in the air, and insolently proclaimed their determination to trample on the people's necks, and put down all who should dare to advocate their cause?

We have now exhausted Lord Roden's wonderful budget of facts, which were to have proved all that he had alleged; but which only prove that it is much easier to abuse than to accuse, to make charges than to substantiate them. Some outrages, the atrocity of which, however, let us not be supposed to extenuate, arising from local and temporary causes, or from circumstances long interwoven with the Agrarian system of the country, and for which legislation has failed, either through reluctance or incapacity of its members, to provide a remedy, furnish the groundwork of this bombastic impeachment. Such are his ample proofs, such the acts

“That roar so loud, and thunder in the index.”

Could there be a more felicitous illustration of Swift's observation that “there never was any party, faction, or cabal, in which the most ignorant were not the most violent; for a bee is not a busier animal than a blockhead.”*

In opening his *tirade*, this nobleman was pleased to compliment himself highly on the position which he holds in “the confidence of *various denominations* of persons in Ireland,” — (we should like to know, by the way, where the pleasing variety is to be found) and to vaunt the purity and disinterestedness of his motives, the moderation (!) of his statements, and his delicate reluctance to paint affairs in higher colours than they actually appear. To all this we have no reply to make, except that self-esteem is often a most agreeable quality; but that if we had been consulted before he uttered his Philippic, we should

* “Thoughts on Various Subjects.”

have said, in the words of a matter-of-fact personage in the French drama,—“*Parle-nous moins d'honneur, et sois honnête.*”

The Duke of Wellington, while he adopts *con amore* Lord Roden's exaggerated representation of the general state of Ireland, discards, not without an expression of contempt, the notion of a religious persecution being carried on against the Protestants. “He did not wish,” he said, “to make any distinction as to Protestants.” This can hardly proceed from an unwillingness to wound on this point, if he could have discovered a vulnerable part; for he introduced at the same time a topic which even Lord Roden had not glanced at—the personal injuries inflicted upon Protestant clergymen in Ireland, and which his Grace attributes, along with every thing else, to political agitation. His error in stating that two Protestant clergymen had been murdered during Lord Mulgrave's government, and the apology he made for it, have provoked a pleasant comment from the *Examiner*, and an inference than which hardly any could have been drawn more unpalatable to the great Duke himself, of his undeniable consanguinity to the race that “hails him brother.”

“‘How was it,’ said the Duke, ‘that two Protestant clergymen had been murdered?’—Earl Mulgrave—‘Not one since I have been in Ireland.’*—‘The Duke of Wellington *was* sorry if he had been in error on that point; but of this he was certain, that a vast number of Protestant clergymen had been the objects of these very offences.’”

We accept his Grace's sorrow for the mistake as an involuntary tribute to the force of nature, which—though driven out at the point of the bayonet, is sure at some time or other to find her way home again; but when he talks of “a vast number of Protestant clergymen,” as having suffered violence from the enmity of the peasantry, he is guilty of something worse than an Irish bull; he is under the influence of a very great mistake indeed. For, if it is recollected how many Protestant clergymen there are in Ireland, arrayed in bitter hostility against the people, and many of them, through the infatuated stubbornness of our hereditary lawmakers, still in angry collision with their neighbours, while some go about preaching the doctrine of extermination; and others, possessed of property, take order for practising it, we

* This is incorrect in terms. A Mr. Dawson, who was in holy orders, having been murdered at Bullincurry in the county of Limerick, in July 1855. But he held no clerical employment in Ireland; nor was usually resident there. He was known in Ireland only as the absentee proprietor of an estate, and was murdered for having dispossessed some tenants. This does not diminish the atrocity of the deed; but it removes the stigma from the character of the country, of his having been put to death because he was a clergyman or a Protestant.

think the Duke's expression of a vast number is somewhat misplaced. There is nothing vast except by comparison; and we venture to state that the clergy of the Protestant Church have not suffered from external violence in a greater proportion than persons of any other denomination, upon a fair comparison of the numbers actually engaged in courses obnoxious to such lawless reprisals. That a single individual amongst their body has suffered, we do most unaffectedly, and ever shall, deplore.

The number, however, has not yet come up to the political exigencies of the party, which makes such a parade of its sympathy; for their public writers seem to have set their hearts upon nothing more strenuously than on the increase, by fair means or foul, of the muster-roll of such martyrdoms. Invention has been set on the rack to turn the most trivial occurrences, in which a Protestant clergyman may have been engaged, into systematic attacks; and magnify even accidents into murders, in order to swell out the catalogue to the dimensions which are considered important to those ends which such occurrences can be made to serve. This would be scarcely necessary, were the number of authentic cases "vast." On the contrary, it betrays a poverty of real outrages, when the *Times*, to distend its column of horrors, has to bewail through three or four double-ruled lines of primer, the portentous attack upon Mr. Athill's empty coach, owing to which providential circumstance Mr. Athill himself "escaped;" and at still greater length to record the cruelty of compelling the Reverend Mr. Armstrong, at his return from an election, to descend from his carriage upon the hard road, and remount its carpeted steps again. These are mortal stabs at the Protestant religion; and it must prove to every one whose eyes are not wilfully closed against the evidence of "plain facts," that murders of the clergy are both familiar and frequent occurrences, when the accidental death of the Rev. Mr. Grady of Carrick-on-Suir, who died anno 1829, in consequence of a fall from his horse, occasioned by the heedless precipitancy of a policeman, is now claimed as a *deodand* for the benefit of the survivors, as a *wilful murder*. The modest historian of these tragic events sets him down as having been pounded—yes, that is the word—"literally pounded to death!"

The truth is,—and it is sufficiently lamentable and disgraceful, without seeking to make it appear worse,—six Protestant clergymen have been murdered within the last eight years in Ireland; one only of the number, a gentleman not known there as a clergyman, nor in any possible way obnoxious as such, having met his death since Lord Mulgrave assumed the government.

The omissions with which this list is chargeable, are quite as

significant as its additions and embellishments. One of the six murdered clergymen was a Reverend Mr. Williams of Cavan ; but the list is wholly silent as to this case. It "breathes not his name." He received his death-wound, if our recollection is correct, in the year 1884 ; being in company with his wife and sister, when a villain, who had walked some distance by his side, in apparently friendly converse, dropped behind, and, watching his opportunity, lodged the contents of a blunderbuss in the ill-fated gentleman's back. How could this atrocious assassination escape the searching retrospect of those who scraped together such ludicrous incidents as the post-election adventure of Mr. Armstrong, and the insulted dignity of Mr. Athill's coach ? Was it through oversight, or rather, was it not because the assassin in this case was more than suspected to belong to the congregation of his victim ? Justice has hitherto been baffled in her attempts to avenge this horrid deed ; but there is little doubt that her arm, if ever it overtake the murderer, will light upon the head of an Orangeman and a Tory.

The total suppression of this case, which, in circumstances of perfidious atrocity, falls short in no degree of the dreadful murders of Mr. Whitty and Mr. Houston, is a sufficient index of the candour with which these charges against the people and the government are prepared and seasoned for the public palate.

There is a reverend gentleman in Connaught who has some right to complain that his name has not obtained a niche in this martyrology ; for if a coach has been deemed worthy of our indignant sympathy, much more are a pair of grey pads entitled to the most zealous commiseration. Mr. Gildea tells his own story in language so graphic and circumstantial, that we shall no farther retard its flow, than merely to inform the reader that we have taken it from the reverend gentleman's multifarious evidence before the Lords' Committee on the system of National Education.

"I was one day, not immediately within my own parish, but in the next one, driving my family ; happening to have grey horses in my carriage. I met a funeral, and approaching the funeral, one of the horses being young and unsteady, I desired the servant to get down and stand by him as we passed slowly through the funeral, in order to keep the horses from hurting the people. Passing through the funeral, they treated me as they usually do with some respect, touching their hats to me ; when I got to the end of the funeral, a man that I knew something of came up to me and said, 'You must turn your horses.' I said, 'Why ?' He said, 'If you do not turn your horses the consequence will be that a great number of the people that have attended the funeral will die of the same disease that the corpse had.' I said, 'That is a very foolish notion, and if I turn my horses it will seem as

if I countenanced and believed it.' I said, 'I cannot do it, putting it to me in the way you do.' Another person standing by made use of very violent language, and said he would insist upon my doing it, and I cautioned him to be careful, but he persisted in doing it, and he ran to the horses' heads: and, most providentially for me, the moment I let the reins slack they were in an instant in a gallop. The people all then turned from the funeral, and a great portion of them followed me, throwing stones and crying out to be stopped: and they called out to a man, in Irish, with a cart upon the road, to stop me. He was afraid to do so, but he stood himself in the way, and he succeeded in throwing one of the horses down by making a blow at him with the end of his whip. I succeeded in getting him up again before the crowd overtook me. I then came to two carts drawn across the road, and just as I came to those two carts, the landed proprietor of the place, who happened to be near, hearing the noise, got up upon a bank, and immediately upon seeing him they all turned. I got out of my carriage and followed them, and succeeded in getting hold of the person who was the first exciter of it, and he was tried; and upon the trial it was stated, that if I had been taken, and there had been no protector at hand, in all probability myself and my wife would have been murdered."

* It is highly probable that his horses' heads would have been turned at all events; which, though not quite so bad as the killing of himself and his wife, would nathless have been a grievance. It was in sooth a hot and anxious affair; and although the object of the pursuit was to catch not the parson but his palfreys, it has much more the air of a *persecution* than many incidents entered in that black beadroll, and should therefore by right be honoured with a distinguished place therein.

The cases which have been brought forward to sustain this part of the calumnious attack upon our name and nation, are not only few and wretchedly supported, being in many instances grossly exaggerated, and in others perfectly ridiculous; but as far as the attempt aims at inculcating the present government, it utterly fails of its object; all of these occurrences which are in any way applicable to the general subject, having taken place before Lord Mulgrave came to Ireland, and therefore before the experiment of ruling the Irish people by impartial justice was ever tried. The production of these facts is consequently a testimony for the present government; for, if they prove any thing, they prove what is indeed well ascertained by experience, that the Protestant clergy are much more secure from harm or insult, and more certain of redress, since the introduction of that system than ever they were before.

The use to which these habitual revilers of the Irish people hope to turn their calumnies is quite obvious. They seek to make such an impression on the public mind as to interrupt if pos-

able that course of justice which is not to be parried or resisted by fair and honourable means. "Are we to be told," says Lord Haden, "that this is a favourable opportunity for entering, amongst other things, into the consideration of the state of the municipal corporations, of its cities and towns, of entering upon the consideration of measures which were to give more power, more political power, to those very individuals who were the instigators of the crimes he had detailed, the very cause from which they sprung." His Lordship here, to use a most expressive though vulgar phrase, *lets the cat out of the bag*. His horror of the increased political power of the Irish people, is the motive and cause for holding them up to the Imperial Parliament and to the world as objects of general execration. Yet such increase is inevitable. Sir Robert Peel foresaw it, when in 1827 he forewarned Mr. Canning of the sure and certain tendency of the measure of Catholic relief which was brought forward that year on the motion of Sir Francis Burdett; and he must have made up his mind to such a result of his own Bill of 1829, though now he is not averse to take advantage of any shabby resource or suggestion to postpone it. His words upon that occasion were almost prophetic, and contain a fine reproof to the system of policy which the Tories, under his auspices, are desperately but vainly endeavouring to enforce.

"I would here suggest a question to my Right Honourable friend. I would say—when you have placed the Roman Catholics upon an equality in point of law, do you really and fairly mean to admit them to an equality in point of actual enjoyment of offices? And if you do, do you hope to see at some future day that state of affairs, in which a Roman Catholic and a Protestant shall be administering equally and conjointly the concerns of a Protestant state, and a Roman Catholic shall be found as efficient and constitutional a minister of a Protestant Crown as a Protestant? If you do not mean to say that you look forward to this state of things—if you mean to give the Catholics nominal equality, but feel it necessary in respect of these affairs to provide for their practical exclusion, I say, Sir, that that practical exclusion, coupled with that nominal equality will be far more galling to them than any political disability under which they at present labour, because it will be an exclusion upon personal grounds."

Here is faithfully depicted that condition against which Ireland is at this moment contending—"practical exclusion coupled with nominal equality;" and it is felt and resented for the reason stated by the ex-premier, namely, that it is "an exclusion upon personal grounds." The enemies to the complete Emancipation of the Catholics, may veil their secret motives under an assumed alarm for the safety of the Protestant religion, and the preserva-

tion of Protestant life and property; but the true feeling by which they are swayed is evident—a mean jealousy and desire to exclude others, their equals “in point of law” (we thank Sir Robert Peel for the qualified phrase), from that share in the commonwealth which they would fain engross as heretofore, down to the most trivial employments, for themselves, their relations, their dependents, and their vassals.

The wise peer, to whose sayings we have already devoted so much of our attention, has left an avowal of this feeling on record in an attack which he made on a former government for including the Catholics at all in their general measures of amelioration. “He who is *with* THEM,” exclaimed this enlightened statesman, “must be *against* us!” His capacious mind could not conceive how a government could embrace a whole people in its views of justice. To approach such a system was to subvert all those canons and doctrines of sound policy in which his comprehensive genius had been formed and educated to adorn the legislative council of this United Kingdom.

“I cannot help referring,” said he to the Conservative Society of Dublin, on the 23d of April 1832, “to one or two measures which were introduced by Government since we last met together; and I would appeal to any man whether the *animus* by which those measures were dictated was not directly hostile to those interests which ought to be supported by a British minister. In the last debate in the House of Commons, do we not find Mr. Stanley appealing to one of the Irish members, the member for Louth, and asking him—‘Have we not done everything for you? Have we not given you the Reform Bill? Have we not given you the Jury Bill? Have we not given you the Education Bill?’ This was the appeal of the Secretary for Ireland to the Member for Louth: ‘Have we not,’ said he, ‘done everything for you?’ And are we not then warranted in saying, that he who is with them must be against us?”

These are the sentiments of a *Conservative* Irish nobleman, the chosen spokesman of a numerous and powerful party, who pretend to the reputation of disinterested zeal, and claim the title of “Natural protectors” of the people. Such protectors they are, as the yew-tree is to the sickly flowers that vegetate beneath it.

And now, reader, when you have sufficiently scanned the lights and shades of that picture, look at this which follows—of a generous and true-hearted stranger, who has come to Ireland to administer the functions of authority, so as to do away with the reproach of “nominal equality coupled with practical exclusion.”

Lord Mulgrave most appropriately concludes his masterly vindication of his government, by manfully and frankly asserting that ruling principle in which all its policy and excellence reside, and the honest maintenance of which has brought upon him the evil tongues and the irrepressible hatred of Tories in every assembly and every rank of society within the United Kingdom.

"Having stated thus much, I shall only, in conclusion, observe, that, as long as I possess the confidence of Her Majesty, I shall continue in the steady pursuit of the course which I consider the best for the welfare of the country entrusted to my charge. I have no other object in view than the impartial distribution of justice to all; in the words of Lord Bacon, to treat the English and Irish as 'one nation.' In the words of Mr. Peel, in 1816, I shall look to the influence of 'a kind and paternal government, and to the extension of education,' to secure the tranquillity of Ireland; and whilst on one hand I will submit to the dictation and control of no man; so on the other I shall be careful, in the language of Lord Chesterfield, to 'proscribe' no man. The only object which I shall have in view will be to attempt, in the humble sphere of my utility, to cherish the confidence of my Sovereign, and to unite in her service the hearts and affections of the Irish people."

We have abstained from entering into the examination of the general state of Ireland, to which the debate on Lord Roden's motion invites us, having but recently considered and discussed the subject, and being very desirous at this time to draw particular attention to the *pious fraud* by which the interested foes of Irish freedom are endeavouring to arouse the feelings of the English public in favour of their monopoly. Our elder brother in the north has taken the larger view of the question, and disposed of it with characteristic discrimination; and the speech of the Lord Lieutenant is in itself so complete and clear a refutation of the slanders which have been uttered against his government, and at the same time so satisfactory an evidence of his ability, his temper, and above all, his disposition for the great and good work in which he is engaged, that the reader cannot apply to any source more capable of affording him full and convincing information upon all these points. It is enough for our present object, if we have shown, as we trust we have, that the outcry of a religious persecution is a mere chimera, and that neither in the efforts of the Irish people to obtain a just share in the management of their own affairs, nor in the conduct of the government, has the Protestant the least cause to apprehend danger to his person, or insecurity to his possessions, or obstruction to that mode of worship to which conscience or opinion may incline him.

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

[WE are sure our readers will be gratified by our reprinting the second edition of the following admirable letter, which is attributed, as we believe justly, to Dr. Lingard. We are informed that several of the important alterations, which appear in this edition, result from the suggestions of a most distinguished Catholic Peer.—ED.]

Letter to the Lord Chancellor, on the "Declaration" made and subscribed by Her Majesty, on her throne in the House of Lords, previously to the delivery of her most gracious Speech, to both Houses of Parliament, on Monday the 20th of November, 1837.—Second edition.

MY LORD,—At the opening of Parliament our gracious Queen, in accordance with the present state of the law, made and subscribed "the Declaration against Popery," in presence of the Lords and Commons of the United Kingdom. It was a novel and impressive spectacle, witnessed, probably, by many, with feelings of joy and triumph, but calculated to suggest to men of more sober judgment abundant matter for deep and painful reflection.

The latter saw, with regret, a young and female sovereign brought forward to act such a part at so early an age. For the declaration, be it observed, is not a mere profession of belief in the doctrines of one Church, and of disbelief in the doctrines of another: it goes much farther; it condemns, in the most solemn manner, the worship and practices of the greatest body of Christians in the world, and assigns to them, without any redeeming qualification, the epithets of superstitious and idolatrous.

Now, to exact such declaration and condemnation from the Queen, at her accession to the throne, was thought both cruel and indecorous, considering, on the one hand her youth, and on the other, that diligence of enquiry, and maturity of judgment, which the proceeding, on her part, necessarily presupposed. For it will not be denied, that before a man may safely and consistently affix the stigma of superstition and idolatry on any Church, it is incumbent on him to make the doctrine and worship of that Church the subjects of his study; to be satisfied, in his own mind, that he understands them correctly, and not merely as they have been misrepresented by their adversaries; and to weigh, with impartiality, the texts and arguments by which they may be assailed and defended. But who can expect all this from a young woman of eighteen?

Nor was it only cruel and indecorous with respect to the Queen, it was ungracious also to a most numerous portion of her subjects. Of all the insults which may be offered to a man, in his character of a Christian, the most offensive, by far, is to brand him with the infamous name of idolator. Yet, this odious imputation was our young and amiable sovereign compelled to cast upon the whole body of Roman Catholics in England, Scotland, Ireland, and her transmarine dominions; a body comprising, at the lowest computation, nine millions of her subjects, equally abhorrent of idolatry, equally sincere in the worship

of the only true God, with the most zealous of those who thus take upon themselves to pronounce their condemnation. Nor was this all. The declaration, in its sweeping censure, comprehends the whole Catholic world; and, therefore, by making it, the Queen was made to pronounce her beloved friend, the consort of her uncle of Belgium, an idolator; her sister Queens of Spain and Portugal idolators. Of the four parties to the quadruple alliance, she has declared all but herself to be idolators. Can she hope for the blessing of God on such an alliance?

But the fault was not with her. It lies in a vicious system of legislation, by which she was as much controled as the meanest of her subjects: a system which originated in passion and prejudice, during a period of religious excitement, but which has long been giving way before the gradual development of more tolerant principles. So much of it has been abolished, as was necessary for the object which its framers had in view; and so much only is retained, as may impose a burthen on those in whose favour it was originally devised. At first, the declaration was obligatory on all as a qualification for a seat in Parliament, or for admission to office: now it is required from Protestants. Then it operated to the entire exclusion of Roman Catholics: now, with the aid of a different text, Roman Catholics have free access to the senate and the magistracy, to the courts of law, and the offices of state.

For what object then, it may surely be asked, is the obligation of taking and subscribing this obnoxious form still imposed upon Protestants?—As a security for the Protestant worship? But it offers none: none on the part of the sovereign: for there cannot exist a man so obtuse as to believe that the Queen was less a Protestant before, or became more a Protestant after she had subscribed the declaration: none on the part of persons admitted to office or authority: for office and authority are as completely thrown open to Roman Catholics, as if the declaration were a mere nullity.

For what end then is it still retained? Certainly not for the production of mischief, by generating heart-burnings and misunderstandings and divisions among a people, whose greatest strength must lie in their union. Yet such is its obvious tendency. The evil may, indeed, be mitigated in numerous instances by the influence of civilization and of personal character; but dissension must prevail, as long as one class of subjects shall be authorized by law to arrogate to themselves the proud and exclusive claim of purity of worship, and to look down on the other class as on men living in the habitual practice of idolatry, a crime accursed both of God and man.

The persons called upon to make and subscribe the declaration, may be divided into three classes.

The first consists of the few, who having previously enquired, may have come to the conclusion, that the doctrines and worship of the Roman Catholic Church are superstitious and idolatrous; yet even these hesitate when they reflect, that the same enquiry has been made, and the opposite conclusion been drawn, by men as competent to form a correct judgment as themselves.

The second comprizes the greater number ; all those who perform the act as a matter of course, without suspicion or consideration : but who must still be conscious, that it is no justification of a doubtful action, to allege that it is frequently done by others.

Lastly come those, who, aware of the difficulties with which the declaration is beset, make it indeed, but make it not without reluctance and many misgivings. By all in this class, and by many in the other two, it is presumed, that the abolition of such a qualification for office, would be welcomed as a measure of relief.

Why then, it may again be asked, is this form, so revolting to the feelings of some, so distressing to the consciences of others, and so unproductive of benefit to any, suffered to remain on the statute book ? Why should not the Legislature of this kingdom be content with that which has been found amply sufficient for the purpose of government in every other kingdom of Europe ;—that is, with a test of civic allegiance, as a qualification for office in the state, and a test of doctrinal adhesion as a qualification for office in the Church ? No reasonable man can require more.

I have the honour to be, My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

RELIGION IN ELGIN.—In Elgin, the principal town in Morayshire, the Congregation of Catholics have hitherto had no better religious accommodation than the upper floor of a small house, situated in a back lane of the town, and surrounded with various nuisances, and which is the only place where mass is said within the county. The Catholics of Elgin have subscribed towards the erection of a decent place for public worship most liberally, considering the smallness of their means ; and their brethren in the adjacent missions, to whom the case is well known, have also cheerfully contributed to the same object. But owing to the circumstances in which unfortunately the great part of the Catholics of Scotland are placed, it has been found impossible to raise from this source alone funds sufficient to defray, within a limited time, the expense of building a chapel, or, of course, to justify those concerned for embarking in the undertaking, without other assistance. For this reason, the Reverend John Forbes, who has served for twenty-two years in various stations of the Scotch Mission, and has been for ten years Pastor of Elgin, has ventured to apply for aid towards building the proposed chapel, to the unwearied benevolence and religion of the Catholics of the sister kingdoms. Whatever Divine Providence may enable or incline any Catholic to contribute on this occasion, will be given to a purpose most beneficial and necessary for the good of religion. Contributions will be received by the Publishers, and forwarded to the Rev. Mr. Forbes.

CATHOLIC RELIGION IN RUSSIA.—“ An order of the Russian Government has just been proclaimed, the substance of which is, that every officer of the Russian army shall henceforth lose his rank, if, married to a wife of the Catholic religion, he brings up his children, or suffers his wife to bring them up, as Catholics.—*Times*, Nov. 15, quoting French paper.

[We shall feel obliged by being furnished with the means of contradicting or confirming the foregoing statement.—ED.]

CATHOLIC RELIGION AND LITERATURE IN GERMANY.—"In all the German states," says Dr. Hoeninghaus, (a learned Catholic convert, in a work entitled 'Present state of the Roman Catholic Church over the world,') "including those of Austria and Prussia, there were, in the year 1833, 34,797,349 inhabitants, whose forefathers at the commencement of the 16th century lived together in the unity of the Catholic faith. The majority of Germans, comprehending 19,437,664 souls, profess still at the present day the Roman Catholic religion. In the remaining portion of the population we find 15,036,885 Protestants of various sects and denominations, 4,700 Greek schismatics, 300 Armenian schismatics, and 318,000 Jews."—*Present state of Catholicity*, p. 162, Aschaffenburg, 1836.

Kingdom of Bavaria.—The Archbishopric of Munich. In this archiepiscopal see, we find the following suffragan bishoprics: 1. The bishopric of Passau, erected in the year 738, by St. Boniface, in virtue of the sanction of Pope Gregory III., and committed to the care of bishop Wiwils. 2. The bishopric of Augsburg. 3. The bishopric of Ratisbon, erected in the year 738, by St. Boniface, in virtue of authority from Pope Gregory III.—The next archbishopric is that of Bamberg. The suffragan sees are the following: 1. The bishopric of Eichstadt. 2. The bishopric of Würzburg, erected by St. Boniface, who in virtue of powers entrusted to him by Pope Zachary, instituted to this see St. Burchard as first bishop. 3. The bishopric of Spire, in Rhenish Bavaria.—In the whole kingdom of Bavaria, there are 181 deaneries, and 2,756 parishes. The reigning dynasty, as well as the majority of the inhabitants of Bavaria, profess the Roman Catholic religion. In this kingdom there are 2,990,000 Catholics, 1,220,000 Lutherans and Calvinists, and 6000 Herrnhutters and Mennonites or Baptists.

Grand Duchy of Baden.—Baden forms, together with Wurtemberg, Hesse, Nassau, Frankfort, and Hohenzollern, the ecclesiastical province of the Upper Rhine, which contains on the whole 1,725,000 Catholics, subject to the metropolitan see of Freyburg and its suffragans, Rottenburg, Fulda, Mayence, and Limburg. In the grand duchy of Baden itself, the majority of the inhabitants profess the Catholic faith. There are 810,330 Catholics, 377,530 Evangelical Protestants, and 1,413 Mennonites or Baptists. The reigning dynasty since the sixteenth century professes Protestantism; but individual members of the royal family have at various periods returned to the Catholic church.

The archbishopric of Freyburg embraces all Baden and the two principalities of Hohenzollern. In Baden there are 35 Catholic deaneries, and 723 parishes.

The Principality of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen.—The princely house, as well as the 42,000 inhabitants of this state, profess the Catholic religion. The 59 parishes belong to the archiepiscopal see of Freyburg, in Baden.

The Principality of Hohenzollern-Hechingen.—In this the reigning house, as well as its 21,000 inhabitants, belong to the Catholic church. Its fourteen parishes are in the metropolitan diocese of Freyburg, in Baden.

The Principality of Liechtenstein.—This state has also the inesti-

mable happiness of enjoying religious unity in truth, for both prince and subjects, (including 5,800 souls, in 11 cantons and one monastery), are members of the Catholic church.

The Kingdom of Würtemberg.—Würtemberg, still numbers 485,000 Catholics. The majority of the inhabitants are Protestants, and mostly Lutheran. The reigning house is Lutheran since the sixteenth century; still various members of the royal family have, at different periods, returned to the Catholic church. In this kingdom is the bishopric of Rottenburg, a suffragan see of Freyburg. Würtemberg contains 645 Catholic parishes, 6 convents, 5 high-schools, and 787 popular schools for Catholic youth.

The Duchy of Nassau.—In this state also the number of Catholics is considerable, for we find 136,053 professors of that religion, and 193,483 Evangelical, and 184 Mennonite, Protestants. The ducal house became Protestant in the sixteenth century; but at different times various members of that family have come over to the Catholic church. Here we find the bishopric of Limburg, embracing all Nassau and the territory of the free city of Frankfort. In the duchy of Nassau there are 15 Catholic deaneries, and 133 parishes.

The Free City of Frankfort.—In Frankfort there are more than 7000 Catholic inhabitants, who are under the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishop of Limburg. There is but one parish.

The Grand Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt.—In this state there are not fewer than 178,000 Catholics among 517,500 Protestants, who are partly Evangelicals, partly Lutherans, Calvinists, and Mennonites. Two members of the grand ducal house are Catholics, but the grand duke himself is Protestant. In this state there is the bishopric of Mayence. The whole diocess comprises 17 deaneries and 146 parishes.

The Landgraviate of Hesse-Homburg.—In this little state there are 3000 Catholics, in three parishes. The Protestant population amounts to 20,000, of whom 14,000 are Calvinist, and 6,000 are Lutheran.

PERIODICAL PRESS OF CATHOLIC GERMANY.—The following are among the principal religious periodicals, quarterly, monthly, and hebdomadal, which issue from the Catholic press of Germany. This list will be not only useful to such of our readers as are acquainted with the German language, but may serve to give the world at large an idea of the religious zeal, and literary activity, of our Catholic brethren in Germany. The first place is due to the excellent theological Quarterly Review, published at Tubingen, and edited by the great theologians, Hirscher, Herbst, Von Drey, Feilmoser, Möhler, and others. It is entitled *Theologische Quartalschrift*. 2. The excellent monthly journal, *Der Katholik*, published at Spire, and edited by the worthy and able canons, Dr. Räss and Dr. Weiss. This is, we believe, the oldest among the Catholic periodicals of Germany. 3. The Catholic literary journal, *Die Katholische Literaturzeitung*, edited by Frederick von Kerk, the able and learned continuator of Stolberg's history of the church. This journal appears at Munich. 4. The *Allgemeine Kirchen-Freund*, (the Friend of the Church), an able and widely circulated periodical, published at Würzburg, in Bavaria. 5. At Aschaffenburg, in the same

country, appears an excellent ecclesiastical gazette, twice a week. This journal, like others of the same kind in Germany, gives not only ecclesiastical intelligence, but contains very good original articles, and reviews of new books. 6. At Augsburg, in the same state, appears another religious gazette, edited in a good spirit, entitled *Sion*. 7. The ecclesiastical gazette, entitled *Die Kirchenzeitung für das Katholische Deutschland*, edited by Dr. James Sengler, and published at Marburg, in electoral Hesse. It bears a high reputation. 8. At Freyburg, in Baden, the celebrated Catholic clergyman, Dr. Hug, (author of the very learned and masterly introduction to the New Testament, translated into English by Dr. Waite), edited a theological journal some time back; but whether it be still continued we cannot say. 9. At Giessen, in Hesse Darmstadt, a Catholic theological periodical appears, which receives the powerful support of Dr. Staudenmaier, a young theologian of great merit, and still greater promise. 10. At Vienna, Dr. Pletz edits an able and learned theological journal. 11. At Breslaw, in Silesia, there has appeared, since 1835, an ecclesiastical gazette, which Dr. Hoeninghaus terms excellent. It is entitled *Schlesische Kirchenblatt*. 12. At Bonn several professors of its University edit a quarterly journal of Catholic theology and philosophy, (*Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie und Philosophie*); but this journal is in the interest of the Hermesians, whose theological opinions have been recently condemned by the Holy See. Some of the best articles in this journal, however, have been written by orthodox Catholics. 13. Lastly we must name the quarterly review of Vienna, (*Die Wiener Jahrbücher für die Literatur*). This journal was established soon after the peace, on the model of our own English reviews, and was intended to combine theology, philosophy, and general literature. It received the powerful support of Frederick Schlegel, Adam Müller, Schlosser, the Baron Gentz, and M. von Hammer. It soon acquired the name of the most learned review in Germany; and the German Catholics might boast of a literary organ worthy of their faith. But since the death of the illustrious F. Schlegel, the review has fallen too much under the direction of the great orientalist, M. von Hammer, who excludes theological articles. This is the more to be regretted, as the Protestants have established at Berlin a very able organ for their religious opinions, entitled *Jahrbücher für die wissenschaftliche Kritik*. Hence our readers will perceive that a great Catholic review, embracing general literature and science, as well as theology, and adapted for general readers, is now a desideratum in Germany. We understand that the project of establishing a review of this kind at Munich has been for some time on the tapis. It is possible that in the foregoing list, a few journals may have escaped our notice; but we can assure our readers that it is nearly complete.

On another occasion we shall endeavour to give our readers a list and short account of the universities, ecclesiastical seminaries, gymnasia or public schools for the higher classes, the popular schools, and the schools of industry, in Catholic Germany. Those in Protestant Germany shall also occupy our attention at a future time.

WEST v. SHUTTLEWORTH.

[The following decision is submitted to our readers, as involving principles of deep interest to the Catholic body. The propriety of its reconsideration before the highest tribunal, and of raising funds for that purpose, is submitted to the Catholic public, who, at least, will be warned against falling into Mrs. Townsend's mistake.—ED.]

Margaret Townsend, by her will dated the 25th of January 1814, after giving certain pecuniary legacies, disposed of the residue of her property as follows:—"As to all the rest of my estates and effects, I give and bequeath the same to Sir Henry Lawson of Brough, in the county of York, Bart., and Simon Scroope of Danby in the same county, Esq., their executors and administrators; and I appoint John Carr of Belle Vue, Sheffield, Mr. John Shuttleworth of Caunon Hall, near Sheffield, and Mr. John Furniss of Sheffield, joint executors of this my will; and hereby revoking all former wills by me made, I declare this only to be my last will and testament. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this 20th day of January 1814.—Margaret Townsend."

On the same day she wrote and signed the following testamentary paper:—"Omitted in my will, chapels and priests. To the chapel of St. George's Fields, London Road, £10; St. Patrick's Chapel, Sutton Street, £10; Lichfield Chapel, £10; the Reverend Rowland Broomhead, Manchester, £5; the Reverend Mr. Gabb, Worksop, £1. 1s.; the Reverend Mr. Duchern, £1. 1.; the Right Reverend Mr. Smith, Durham, £1. 1.; the Reverend Joseph Tristram, £1. 1s.; the Reverend John Tristram, £1. 1s. Whatever I have left to priests or chapels, it is my wish and desire the sums may be paid as soon as possible, *that I may have the benefit of their prayers and masses.* It is my desire that my vestments and whatever belongs to my chapel may be divided betwixt Mr. Smith of Bolster Stone, Mr. Broomhead of Stanington, and Mr. Gillett of Rotherham.—25th of January 1814."

The testatrix, on the same day on which her will was dated, addressed a letter to Sir John Lawson and Simon Scroop, Esq., which letter was after her death found enclosed in her will, and was in the following words:—"Gentlemen, I have herewith sent a duplicate of my will, whereby you will perceive that I have taken the liberty of bequeathing the residue of my property to you, in confidence that you will appropriate the same in the manner most consonant to my wishes, which are as follows; namely, that the sum of £10 each be given to the ministers of the Roman Catholic Chapels at Greenwich, St. George's in the Fields, Sutton Street, Soho Square, and York, *for the benefit of their prayers for the repose of my soul, and that of my deceased husband George Townsend;* and that the remainder be appropriated by you in such way as you may judge best calculated *to promote the knowledge of the Catholic Christian religion among the poor and ignorant inhabitants of Swale Dale and Wenston Dale, in the county of York.*—I have the honour to subscribe myself, gentlemen, your very obedient servant, Margaret Townseend, Sheffield, Eyre Street, 25th of January 1814."

The testatrix died in February 1815, and her will, together with the first testamentary paper above stated, was shortly afterwards proved by the executors named therein; but the letter addressed to the trustees was not proved as a testamentary paper until 1834, after the original hearing of the cause. The bill was filed by Anne West, the residuary legatee and personal representative of the sole next of kin of the testatrix, against the surviving executor, the representatives of the trustees, and the Attorney-General. The bill charged that the unadministered personal estate of the testatrix, in the hands of the executors, arose from monies due upon real securities to the

testatrix at the time of her decease, and the Plaintiff claimed to be entitled thereto by virtue of the statute of 9 G. 2. c. 36. (*Statute of Mortmain.*)

At the hearing of the cause, it was, among other things, referred to the Master to inquire what proportion of the residue of the testator's personal estate consisted of pure personalty, and what proportion of personal estate arising from mortgages, or otherwise connected with realty; and the Master by his report found, that out of 2913*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.* 3 per cent. consols, the residue of the testator's general personal estate, the sum of 2479*l.* 13*s.* like annuities, arose from personal estate connected with realty, and that the remaining sum of 434*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.* 3 per cent. consols arose from pure personal estate.

Mr. Bickersteth and Mr. Bethell, for the Plaintiff.

If the legacies given by this testatrix are void, and there is, moreover, no indication of any charitable purpose on the part of the testatrix, they will fail altogether, and the next of kin will be entitled to the benefit of the failure. The gifts to priests and chapels for the purpose of obtaining prayers and masses for the repose of the soul of the testatrix, and the soul of her deceased husband, are gifts to a superstitious use, and consequently void, either by virtue of the statute of 1 Edw. 6. c. 14; or, if not falling within the superstitious uses expressly mentioned in the statute, void *as against the policy of the law*. There is no purpose of charity indicated by these gifts; no benefit was intended to be conferred by the testatrix upon the priests; her own benefit, and that of her deceased husband, were the only objects which she contemplated; and as the law will not give effect to a superstitious use, the next of kin are as much entitled to the benefit of the failure as if she had expressly devoted a part of her real estate to a charitable purpose. The gift of the residue to be applied in such manner as may best promote the knowledge of the Catholic Christian religion among the poor and ignorant inhabitants of Swale Dale and Wenston Dale, being a gift for the purpose of propagating a religion other than that of the state, is equally void, as contrary to the policy of the law: *Cary v. Abbott*, *De Costa v. De Paz*, *Moggridge v. Thackwell*, *De Bonneval v. De Themmines*, *Attorney-General v. Power*.

Mr. Lynch and Mr. Purvis, for the personal representative of Sir H. Lawson.

The gifts to chapels and priests, for the benefit of the prayers and masses which the testatrix desired to be said for the repose of her soul, are in the nature of rewards for services to be performed, and there is no ground for supposing that the testatrix desired such prayers and masses to be said in perpetuity; on the contrary, the small amount of the sums given, and the direction for the immediate payment of those sums, are inconsistent with that supposition. The trust, therefore, so far as it respects those gifts, is neither void by the statute of superstitious uses, as it is called, nor by reason of its being contrary to the policy of the law. There is, in fact, no statute, as has been observed by Sir William Grant, making superstitious uses void generally, the statute of Edw. 6. relating only to superstitious uses of a particular description then existing: *Cary v. Abbot*. And even if the gift could be shewn to fall within the class of uses declared or recognised by the statute of Edw. 6. as superstitious, that statute would have no application, as the contest here is only for personal estate; and the fifth and sixth sections of the statute, which vest in the Crown gifts for the maintenance of obits and other like things, apply only to real estate.

With respect to the gift of the residue, which is to be appropriated in such way as the trustees may judge best calculated to promote the knowledge of the Catholic Christian religion among the poor inhabitants of the particular districts mentioned, that might have been held to be void, as contrary to the

policy of the law previously to the passing of the late acts for the relief of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, but it is now a perfectly valid bequest. By the 31 G. 3. c. 32, relief was afforded, upon certain conditions, against the severe enactments relating to Popish recusants passed in the reigns of Elizabeth and James; but that act, nevertheless, contained a provision, that all dispositions of property before deemed to be superstitious or unlawful should continue so; and it was upon that ground, that in *Cary v. Abbot*, Sir William Grant held a bequest for the purpose of educating and bringing up poor children in the Roman Catholic faith to be void, as contrary to the policy of the law. Whether that decision was or was not founded upon too narrow a view of the remedial purpose and effect of the 31 G. 3. c. 32, it is now unnecessary to consider; for the late act of his present Majesty has put beyond all question the validity of bequests, the object of which is to promote the education of Roman Catholics, and their instruction in the tenets of the Roman Catholic religion. The Catholic Relief Act (10 G. 4. c. 7.) left it still open to some doubt how far his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects were relieved from disabilities in respect of their right of holding property given for the purposes of education and religious instruction; and that doubt was removed by the 2 & 3 W. 4. c. 115, which places Roman Catholics upon exactly the same footing as Protestant dissenters, in respect to their schools, places for religious worship, education, and charitable purposes in Great Britain, and the property held therewith, and the persons employed in and about the same. That act has been held by Lord Brougham, in the recent case of *Bradshaw v. Tasker*, to be retrospective; and such being the state of the law, the only question now is, whether such a trust as is raised by this testatrix in behalf of Roman Catholics, and for the purpose of giving instruction in the tenets of the Roman Catholic religion, would be a valid trust if raised in behalf of Protestant dissenters, and with a view to religious instruction in the particular doctrines held by Protestant dissenters, or any class of them. Whatever the law may be as applied to Protestant dissenters in respect of their education and religious worship, such is now the law to be applied to Roman Catholics. In the *Attorney-General v. Pearson*, Lord Eldon says, "It is clearly settled that, if a fund, real or personal, be given in such a way that the purpose be clearly expressed to be that of maintaining a society of Protestant dissenters, promoting no doctrines contrary to law, although such as may be at variance with the doctrines of the established religion, it is then the duty of this Court to carry such a trust as that into execution." Now the doctrines of the Roman Catholic church, although at variance with the doctrines of the established church, are no more contrary to law than the doctrines of any class of Protestant dissenters; they are now placed by law on precisely the same footing; and, if a bequest for promoting instruction in the one be valid, such a bequest must be equally valid with respect to the other.

Mr. Wray, for the Attorney-General, disclaimed any disposition to narrow the construction to be fairly put upon the 2 & 3 W. 4. c. 115.; but he submitted that, looking to the preamble of that act, and to its object, which was to remove doubts as to the right of Roman Catholics to acquire and hold property necessary for religious worship, education, and charitable purposes, it could never have been the intention of the legislature, in carrying into effect that limited purpose, to change the whole policy of the law as it applied to doctrines other than those of the established church, and to sanction the unlimited propagation of the Roman Catholic religion. A gift for the purpose of propagating the Jewish or any other religion contrary to that of the established church was illegal; but such a gift indicated a charitable purpose, which the Crown was entitled to carry into effect by applying the bequest, under the sign manual, to some lawful object: *De Costa v. De Paz*.

Mr. Parker, for the surviving executors.

Mr. Bickersteth, in reply.

The gifts to the ministers of the Catholic chapels for the purpose of obtaining prayers and masses for the repose of the testatrix's soul cannot be considered as gifts for the performance of a temporary service; for it was clearly the intention of the testatrix that such prayers and masses should be continued for an indefinite period, or at any rate for as long a period as her soul might continue in purgatory. It is obvious that no personal benefit was intended to the ministers; it is a gift for a purpose in its nature superstitious, and void, therefore, as contrary to the policy of the law, independently of the statute of Edw. 6.

With respect to the gift of the residue, it is not disputed that by the Catholic Christian religion, the knowledge of which is to be promoted among the poor and ignorant inhabitants of Swale Dale and Wenston Dale, the testatrix meant the Roman Catholic religion. "To promote the knowledge of the Roman Catholic religion" might mean to promote the knowledge of the errors of that religion, and thereby to confirm and establish in a purer faith the persons among whom such knowledge was disseminated; and, if that construction could be put upon the words, the bequest might well be carried into effect by instructing the poor and ignorant inhabitants of Swale Dale and Wenston Dale in the Protestant religion. But this was manifestly not the object of a testatrix professing the Roman Catholic religion, and it cannot be denied that her object was to induce persons who previously did not believe in the Roman Catholic religion to become converts to it—to make proselytes—and to promote the spread of the Roman Catholic religion at the expense of congregations professing other modes of belief. If, then, it was the intention of the testatrix to make proselytes, this is a trust which cannot be carried into execution by this Court; for if it were capable of being so carried into execution, what would be the consequence? The Court must refer it to the Master to approve of a scheme whereby the Roman Catholic religion may be promoted in the most effectual manner. It is perfectly clear that the legislature, in passing the late act, could never have intended to sanction such a consequence as this. It is said that the 2 & 3 W. 4. c. 115. is declaratory of the intentions of the legislature, which were not, in this respect, declared with sufficient explicitness in the Catholic Relief Act, and that the act of W. 4. places Roman Catholics and Protestant dissenters exactly upon the same footing in respect of their schools and places of religious worship, education, and charitable purposes. No one who rightly appreciates the late salutary enactments for the relief of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects can desire to narrow their just construction; but it should be borne in mind that by the late act Roman Catholics are to be "subject to the same laws as the Protestant dissenters are subject to in England in respect to their schools and places for religious worship, education, and charitable purposes, and not farther or otherwise." If, therefore, this testatrix had left her property for the benefit of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion, or if she had left it for the purpose of maintaining a Roman Catholic church or school, such a bequest would have been a good charitable legacy. But it is a totally different thing to leave a provision for the purpose of making proselytes; and such a bequest would be equally unlawful whether the religion to which proselytes were sought to be made were the Roman Catholic, the Jewish, the Presbyterian, or any other religion different from that of the established church. All the authorities support this view of the subject.

In *De Costa v. De Paz*, Lord Hardwicke decided that a bequest for the maintenance of a *Jesiba* or assembly for daily reading the Jewish law, and for

advancing or propagating the Jewish religion, was unlawful, "the intent of the bequest being in contradiction to the Christian religion, which is a part of the law of the land, which is so laid down by Lord Hale and Lord Raymond; and undoubtedly is so, for the constitution and policy of this nation is founded thereon." Lord Hardwicke at first doubted whether the next of kin were not entitled to the void bequest, but he afterwards decided that the donation was a charitable use, and that the power of appointing to what lawful charitable purpose the bequest should be applied devolved upon the crown. It is to be observed, however, that Lord Eldon in commenting upon this case in *Moggridge v. Thackwell*, does not concur with Lord Hardwicke in considering the bequest a charitable use; for he says, he should not have discovered that it was a charitable bequest in the intention of the testator. No one can doubt that the same principle would be equally applicable to a trust for promoting and propagating the particular doctrines of Unitarian dissenters, or of the Presbyterian church, or any mode of religious belief or worship differing from the established religion, because, if such a trust could be executed and administered by this Court, it would follow that the Court must direct the Master to approve of a scheme for promoting the spread of Unitarian or Presbyterian doctrines, or whatever mode of religious belief it might be the object of the trust to advance and propagate. The bequest then being for a purpose which is contrary to the policy of the law, and no charitable purpose being indicated, fails altogether, and the next of kin will be entitled to the residuary estate of the testatrix.

THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

The testatrix in this case, after giving several legacies, some of which were for charitable purposes, as to the residue of her estate and effects, bequeathed the same to Sir Henry Lawson and Simon Scroop, and she appointed John Carr, John Shuttleworth, and John Furniss, her executors. There is then a paper entitled "Omitted in my will, chapels and priests. To the chapel of St. George's Fields, London Road, 10*l.*; to St. Patrick's chapel, Sutton Street, 10*l.*; to Lichfield chapel, 10*l.*" Several small legacies are then enumerated to several clergymen by name, and then comes this note: "Whatever I have left to priests and chapels it is my wish and desire the sums may be paid as soon as possible, that I may have the benefit of their prayers and masses." There is then a letter signed by the testatrix and addressed to Sir John Lawson and Simon Scroope, which has been proved as testamentary, as follows:—"Gentlemen, I have herewith sent a duplicate of my will, whereby you will perceive that I have taken the liberty of bequeathing the residue of my property to you, in confidence that you will appropriate the same in the manner most consonant to my wishes, which are as follows:—that the sum of 10*l.* each be given to the ministers of the Roman Catholic chapels of Greenwich, St. George's in the fields, Sutton Street, Soho Square, and York, for the benefit of their prayers for the repose of my soul, and that of my deceased husband George Townsend, and that the remainder be appropriated by you in such way as you may judge best calculated to promote the knowledge of the Catholic Christian religion amongst the poor and ignorant inhabitants of Swale Dale and Wenston Dale, in the county of York.

These legacies are objected to upon two grounds: first, as to the legacies to the priests and chapels, upon the ground that they are for superstitious uses, and therefore void; and secondly, as to the residue, because it is given for the express purpose of promoting the Roman Catholic religion.

I shall first consider the objection to the gift of the residue. The stat. 2 & 3 W. 4. c. 115, puts persons professing the Roman Catholic religion upon the same footing with respect to their schools, places for religious worship,

education, and charitable purposes, as Protestant dissenters; and the case of *Bradshaw v. Tasker* decided that the act was retrospective, and that the third section did not exclude the legacies in question in the cause from the operation of the act, because the suit was only for the administration of the estate. In the present case, the bill filed by the next of kin claimed the property, as inapplicable, under the statute of mortmain, to any charities, and not because it was given to promote the Catholic religion, or to give instruction to those who profess it; and the letter which raises the question as to the residue was not proved until the 15th of January 1834, so that it cannot be said that the property in question was in litigation, discussion, or dispute, upon the point now contended for at the time the act passed in 1832.

This act makes it unnecessary to consider what was the state of the law, before it passed, with respect to such dispositions of property in favour of Roman Catholics. It is only necessary to inquire what is now the state of the law with respect to similar dispositions of property in favour of Protestant dissenters. The trust is to appropriate the residue in such a way as the trustees shall judge best calculated to promote the knowledge of the Catholic Christian religion among the poor and ignorant inhabitants of certain places named. In the case of *Bradshaw v. Tasker*, the gift was in favour of certain Catholic schools, and to be applied towards carrying on the good designs of the said schools. Now, can it be said that to promote the carrying on the good designs of Catholic schools differs in principle from promoting the knowledge of the Catholic Christian religion amongst the poor and ignorant? In *Attorney-General v. Pearson*, Lord Eldon says, that the Court will administer a fund given to maintain a society of Protestant dissenters promoting no doctrine contrary to law, although such as may be at variance with the doctrine of the established church. In *Attorney-General v. Hickman*, a legacy was established, which was given for encouraging such nonconforming preachers as preach God's word in places where the people are not able to allow them a sufficient and suitable maintenance, and for encouraging the bringing up some to the work of the ministry who are designed to labour in God's vineyard among the dissenters, leaving the particular mode to the trustees. *Waller v. Childs*, and the cases which continually occur of funds left to support the chapels and schools of dissenters, proceed upon the same principle, and leave no doubt in my mind of the validity in law of the gift of the residue.

The gifts to priests and chapels remain to be considered, and these are not affected by the 2 & 3 W. 4. c. 116, which applies only to schools, places for religious worship, education, and charitable purposes. Taking the first gift to priests and chapels in connection with the letter, there can be no doubt that the sums given to the priests and chapels were not intended for the benefit of the priests personally, or for the support of the chapels for general purposes, but that they were given, as expressed in the letter, for the benefit of their prayers for the repose of the testatrix's soul and that of her deceased husband; and the question is, whether such legacies can be supported. It is truly observed by Sir William Grant, in *Cary v. Abbot*, that there was no statute making superstitious uses void generally, and that the statute of Edw. 6. related only to superstitious uses of a particular description then existing; and it is to be observed that that statute does not declare any such gift to be unlawful, but avoids certain superstitious gifts previously created. The legacies in question, therefore, are not within the terms of the statute of Edw. 6., but that statute has been considered as establishing the illegality of certain gifts, and, amongst others, the giving legacies to priests to pray for the soul of the donor, has, in many cases collected in *Duke*, been decided to be within the superstitious uses intended to be suppressed by that statute. I am therefore of opinion that these legacies to priests and chapels are void.

What then is to become of the amount of such legacies? The statute of Edw. 6. gives to the King such property devoted to superstitious uses as that act affects; but the legacies in question are not within the terms of the act, but are void on account of the general illegality of the object they were intended to answer. It has been decided, that where legacies are given to charities, which charities cannot take effect, the object being considered as superstitious, then the duty of appropriating the amount to other charitable purposes devolves upon the Crown, as in *Cary v. Abbot*; but in that case and the cases there cited, the object of the gift was clearly charity. In the present case, according to the construction I have put upon these legacies, there was nothing of charity in their object; the intention was not to benefit the priests, or to support the chapels, but to secure a supposed benefit to the testatrix herself. Upon what ground, then, can the Crown claim? Not by virtue of 1 Edw. 6., for the case is not within that act; and not upon the ground of the money given being devoted to charity, the mode of applying which devolves upon the Crown. Doubts have been entertained how far it was correct to give to the Crown for the purpose of being applied to charity, funds given for charitable purposes which are illegal, as in the case of *Corbyn v. French*, and in *De Garcia v. Lawson*, in the note to that case; but in all such cases charity was the object of the gift; and how can the claim of the Crown attach to gifts void because superstitious, but of which charity was no part of the object? These gifts are void because illegal; and as they therefore cannot take effect, and as the Crown cannot claim either under 1 Edw. 6., or upon the authorities which give to the Crown the right to direct the application of charity legacies, which cannot be carried into effect according to the directions of the donor, I am of opinion that the next of kin are entitled.

REVIEW OF NEW WORKS.

The Napoleon Medals; a complete Series of the Medals struck in France, Italy, Great Britain, and Germany, from the commencement of the Empire in 1804 to the Restoration in 1815.—Engraved by the process of Achilles Collar, with Historical and Biographical Notices. Edited by EDWARD EDWARDS.—London: Henry Her-
ing, 1837.

WE have never been able to account for the singular indifference of the English as a nation to the science of Numismatics. While every other branch of the Fine Arts has received some degree of encouragement, Numismatics alone have been wholly neglected. One would almost be tempted to think there was something in the minute elegance and classical taste so properly constituting the excellence of medals and coins, absolutely un congenial to the feelings of our countrymen; for while this art has been advancing in other countries, we fear it has been retrograding in this. It is within our knowledge that for the last century no one professor of this branch of art has been able to live solely by its practice—always excepting those who have been employed in the Mint to engrave the coin. We hope it will be among the boasts of the nineteenth century that it has remedied this glaring defect, and rescued our countrymen from the charge of indifference to the very best means of transmitting to posterity an accurate knowledge of the history of our own times.

The work before us is well calculated to improve our taste and promote inquiry into the subject. It is a faithful—we had almost said a complete transcript of the most remarkable series of medals now extant. The new process by which the plates have been engraved is very ingenious, and the result is far more satisfactory than the feeble outlines to which we have hitherto been accustomed in the best works upon such subjects. The letter press seems to be well done—it has one merit which we wish were more common;—the Latin mottoes are translated—a very desirable thing in a work of art which is intended to delight and instruct both sexes and all classes. We wish that the Medal which has been struck to commemorate Her Majesty's Visit to the City, could be recommended to the patronage of the public.

Present State of the Controversy between the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches. By Hunter Gordon, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn.—London: G. B. Whifaker, 1837.

THE prevalent feeling in this country on the Controversy alluded to, presents a strong contrast to the indifference on the subject exhibited in France, as evidenced in our article on *Saint-Simonism*. The author of this little work has discovered that the success of the Catholic Church is to be traced up entirely to the *principle of authority*, and he sketches the working of her system with great eloquence and vigour. He falls into the natural Protestant mistake of attributing this system and its splendid results to *human contrivance and organization*, and his argument is directed to the introduction of a similar organization into the Established Church, as a panacea for all her dangers and difficulties. We recommend this small Treatise to our readers, who will readily perceive the error into which the author has fallen, and will be gratified by his involuntary testimony in favour of our Holy Religion.

The usual Quarterly Account of Continental Publications for the past quarter will appear in our next Number.

Trinity College, Dublin.

ART. I.—*The Dublin University Calendars for 1833-4-5-6-7.*

THE consideration of the question, whether Catholics are legally eligible to Scholarships, and Dissenters to both Scholarships and Fellowships, in the University of Dublin, has for some time past occupied our attention. In the article on the Irish and English Universities in our Second Number, the general injustice and impolicy of excluding Catholics and Dissenters from those offices, and of giving a literary monopoly to any sect whatever, were so fully exposed as to render farther observations entirely unnecessary. The propriety of throwing these offices open to the community at large, is not, as it may seem to be, a question of mere local importance, but one that most intimately affects all classes of British subjects, however remotely situated, who feel in any way interested in the advancement of education. To the Dissenters particularly, of all parts of the empire, this subject should be one of engrossing importance. For years past they have been struggling to obtain admission to Oxford and Cambridge, but their appeals have been resisted by the heads of those Universities, with a narrow-minded bigotry, which is directly at variance with their own hackneyed professions, that the extension of the principles of the Established Church will always be in exact proportion with the progress of knowledge and civilization. In consequence of this hostility, the Dissenters of Great Britain have been at length obliged to resort to the expedient of founding a university for themselves. During all this time, we have been wondering why those gentlemen did not turn their attention to the Dublin University, which was willing to receive them within its arms, on terms far superior to those which either of the two former establishments could offer them. Lest some of our readers may be startled by this assertion, we shall here, very briefly, allude to a few of the advantages which that University holds forth.

Firstly. In it—Trinity College, Dublin—the religious principles of the students are never interfered with, except in the instance to which we shall immediately refer. On entering it,

they are required to mention the particular faith which they profess, and if they call themselves anything but Protestants of the Established Church, no question on religious matters is ever afterwards put to them. In this particular, those students who are without the pale of the Established Church, enjoy an advantage over those who are within it, as they are not required to attend chapel or catechetical examinations. Secondly. All the expenses, from the time of entrance to that of obtaining the degree of Bachelor of Arts, amount to only £82. 17s. 6d.* Thirdly. They can live all that time, a period of four years, either in the College or wherever they please, provided only that they attend two examinations in each year. And thus the injurious effects of sending young men to Oxford or Cambridge, and freeing them at the most critical period of their existence from the restraints of the parental authority, may be effectually obviated. Fourthly. The one-third of the ordinary course there, is much more extensive than the entire of the ordinary course at either of the former Universities. And, fifthly. All honours being given to well-trying merit alone, after public impartial examinations, the students have a feeling of emulation excited amongst them, which makes those possessed of any ordinary quantity of intellect, devote themselves to study for the purpose of acquiring those distinctions. In consequence of this, and particularly in consequence of those distinctions being so frequently contended for in each year, the habits of dissipation so prevalent at Oxford and Cambridge, are very seldom known there, the diligent and successful prize-man being a greater object of attraction than the wealthy and profligate spendthrift. Thus the possession of *mind* more than of *money* being the source of distinction there, those who are blessed with moderate fortunes, or have none at all, flock to it, while the rich fly from it. It is not because the course of education there is not as good as that at Oxford or Cambridge, but because it is better

* This applies only to "pensioners," who compose the vast majority of the students. The Fellow Commoners pay exactly double this sum, and the Sizar pay nothing, except £5. 1s. 3d. as entrance fees. The following is a table of the half-yearly charges, including tuition, but exclusive of rooms and commons—as it appears in the volumes before us:—

	Entrance including the first half-year.			Half-year.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Nobleman	60	0	0	30	0	0
Fellow Commoner	30	0	0	15	0	0
Pensioner	15	0	0	7	10	0
Sizar	5	1	3	0	0	0

As, "to take the degree of Bachelor of Arts, the student, if a pensioner, must keep four academic years,—i.e. he must give at least eight term examinations," he has to pay the charges for four years, exclusive of the first half-year, which, with the charge of the degree, £7. 17s. 6d., make up the gross sum of £82. 17s. 6d.

and more extensive, and that they should know it tolerably at least to obtain their degree, that these Bœotians fly from it to those places where they may get a degree almost for the asking.

These are a few of the many advantages which this University possesses above those at Oxford and Cambridge—but the rest of them we have not now either time or space to enumerate. We are at a loss to conceive, why the Dissenters of Great Britain do not more generally embrace these advantages than they have hitherto done. For though several of them annually graduate here, yet these bear no proportion to the vast numbers of the members of the dissenting sects throughout that portion of the United Kingdom. The only reason which we can imagine for this apparent indifference to a university education is, that perhaps they were deterred by the distance between this capital and the several parts of the sister isle, in which they happened to reside. If this has hitherto been the cause, surely the railways now in progress or in contemplation through every part of the country, must annihilate all impediments of this nature. We trust, therefore, that this numerous and respectable class of people will duly appreciate the various moral and other advantages which this University possesses above Oxford or Cambridge, and that they will call on their representatives to support the measure, which we will proceed to recommend for adoption.

In every point but one, we deem Trinity College, Dublin, to be the best regulated University, and the best adapted for encouraging and promoting literature, that now exists in any portion of the British dominions. It is, however, like most institutions, liable to many objections, and particularly to the following, namely, that though persons of every creed are admitted to contend for all the literary prizes, to which honour alone is attached, all those which have any permanent emoluments appertaining to them, such as Scholarships and Fellowships, are appropriated to Protestants of the Establishment exclusively.* We will, however, show that Catholics are justly and legally eligible to Scholarships, and Dissenters to both Scholarships and Fellowships; and that the system, by which they are excluded from these offices respectively, is a fraudulent usurpation by the members of the Established Church, in violation of all the charters and statutes of the University, of the common law of the land, and of several acts of parliament.

* Scholarships are, certainly, open to persons of all religious denominations, but the emoluments attached to them are so very trivial, that it is scarce worth while to take them into account. Perhaps the reason for leaving them thus open is, that they serve to introduce into the University, poor Catholic and Dissenting students, who, by the temptations of scholarships, and fellowships, and certain other "ingenious devices," are made to see the errors of their way, and become in due time, zealous and disinterested supporters of Protestantism, as by law established.

The laws respecting this subject are in general unknown to the public, and to nineteen-twentieths of the students themselves. For though every student, on the day of his matriculation, gets a copy of the charters and statutes of the College, as the code in which his collegiate rights and duties are defined, yet, as they are couched chiefly in modern Latin, and the students do not conceive themselves particularly interested in their contents, they are seldom conveyed by them beyond the gates of the University. It is generally taken for granted by those who have not attentively read the charters and statutes, that there are clauses in them securing Scholarships, Fellowships, and the other offices of trust and profit in the University to members of the Established Church exclusively, and declaring that the College was intended by its founders for the support, protection, and propagation of Protestantism "according to law." Before we leave this subject, we shall prove to the satisfaction of every impartial person, that both these suppositions, so far from having any foundation whatsoever in the charters and statutes, are directly repugnant to their whole tenor and spirit, and also to all the historical evidence of the period, as to the motives on which the University was originally endowed and established.

Before we proceed farther, it may not be improper to give some account of the value of the prizes to which we thus seek to draw public attention. Scholars have their commons free of expense, and their rooms for half the charge paid by pensioners; they pay for tuition, but are exempted from college charges or *decrements*, and receive from the College an annual salary. They hold their Scholarships till they become, or might have become, Masters of Arts. As it is generally in the junior sophister, or third year of the undergraduate course, that the students stand candidates for Scholarships, they therefore may hold it for little less than a period of five years. But it is not merely the immediate pecuniary advantage thus arising, that makes it so great an object of competition, but the distinction, the honour, and the *name*, which is attached to it, as the criterion and reward of classical proficiency, and which is so highly valued, as annually to induce several, who were previously Dissenters or Catholics, to swallow (may we be excused the expression?) the sacramental test of Church of England orthodoxy. The number of scholars is seventy. A Fellowship is the highest prize that this or any other university in the world holds out to literary merit. The Fellow has chambers and commons free of expense, a salary, we believe, of £60 per annum, and eight guineas a year for each pupil that enters under him.* This he holds for life, or till he

* So many pupils had the present Lord Bishop of Killaloe, when a junior fellow, that it was currently stated that he made £30,000 by them, before he rose to a senior's rank.

resigns, marries, is advanced to a benefice, or becomes a senior fellow, when he receives £3000 a year at the lowest. The exact amount is not known, as the College Board observes such extraordinary secrecy with regard to its funds, that it compels the bursar, who by statute must be one of the senior fellows, to keep all the accounts himself, without the assistance of a clerk, lest the public might discover by any means the extent of its revenues. The number of senior fellows is seven : the number of junior is eighteen. The average value of a junior fellowship is generally estimated at something about £600 per annum.

As the principal reason, for which these offices are enjoyed exclusively by professing members of the Established Church, it is urged, that the University was always a Protestant institution, and designed especially for the promotion of the doctrines of that Church. We shall show, by a very brief retrospect of the history of this Collège,* and of the period in which it was erected, that this is a false and unfounded assumption, and that the College was designed for the diffusion of general literature among Irishmen of all creeds without distinction, and not for the propagation of the dogmas of reformed theologians. The following account of its foundation, we take *verbatim* from the first number of the volumes before us :—

“At the dissolution of the monasteries in Ireland under Henry VIII, the mayor and citizens of Dublin were granted the scite, ambit, or precinct of the dissolved Augustinian Monastery of All Saints, lying within the suburbs of that city. Archbishop Loftus judging this a convenient situation for the intended college, applied to the mayor and citizens, and in two elaborate speeches, in which he laid before them the Queen's intention of founding a university in Ireland, and the great advantage of such a society to the city, he prevailed on them to grant the said Monastery of All Hallows, with the adjoining land, for the purpose. The Archbishop, having thus far succeeded, employed Henry Ussher, then Archdeacon of Dublin, and afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, to petition the Queen for her royal charter, and for a mortmain license for the land granted by the city. The Queen received the petition favourably ; and, by a warrant dated 29th December 1591, ordered a license of mortmain to pass the seal for the grant of the said Abbey (which is stated to be of the yearly value of £20), and for the foundation of a college, incorporated with the power to accept such lands and contributions for its maintenance, as any of her subjects should be charitably moved to bestow, to the value of £300 a year. On the 3rd of March following, being the thirty-fourth year of her Majesty's reign, letters patent passed in due form pursuant to the said warrant, which are printed in all copies of the College statutes now in circulation among the students.”—*Univers. Calendar, 1834*; p. 25.

* We call our *Alma Mater*, college or university indiscriminately, as it is a college incorporated “as the Mother of a University.”

History informs us, that the mayors and citizens of this city, both at the time of receiving the lands of this suppressed monastery, and of granting them again for the foundation of this University, were Catholics.* We beg of the reader to bear this fact in memory. The learned author of the works before us, has not once hinted, even in the long account which he has given us of the establishment of the present College, that it was founded for the purpose of promoting the doctrines of the Reformation. And can we suppose that he, the author of the "ingenious device,"† would have omitted an opportunity of mentioning a circumstance so congenial to his own feelings, and so corroborative of the claims of his party to the monopoly of the good things of the University? The simple fact of his not stating that the College was originally a Protestant institution, and founded for the promotion of Protestant interests, should be considered as a sufficient proof of the falsity of the commonly received notions to that effect. But we need not rely solely on this sort of negative evidence, as we have the letters of Queen Elizabeth herself, and her Lord Deputy, to show the design which she had in view in erecting and supporting this University. As the letter of the Lord Deputy comes first in the order of time, we shall commence by placing a few extracts from it before our readers. This was a circular issued to the principal gentry of each barony, entreating the aid of the inhabitants towards supplying funds for forwarding the building, and for other necessary charges. It is dated from "her Majestie's Castle of Dublin, xi March 1591," and is as follows:—

"W. Fitz William,

"Whereas the Queen's most excellent M^{tie}, for the tender care w^h her highness hath of the good and prosperous estate of this her realme of Irelande, and knowing by the experience of the flourishing estate of England how beneficiall yt ys to any countrey to have places of learning in the same, hath by her gracious favour passed, and ordered, and authorised us, her D^y Chancellor and the rest of her Councell, to found and establish a colledge of a university near Dublin, in the scite of All Hallows, w^h is freely granted by the citizens thereof, with the precincts belonging to the same, to the value of xx£ by the yeare, who are also willing, each of them according to their ability, to afford their charritable contributions for the furthering of so good a purpose. These, therefore, are to request you (having for your assistant such a person as the Sheriff of that county shall appoint for his substitute), carefully to labour with such persons within his barony (having made a book of all their names) whom you think can or will afford any contribution, whether in money, some portion of lands, or

* Flouiden's *Historical Review of the State of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 102,† and Harris's *History of Dublin*, p. 322-3.

† Rev. James Henthorn Todd, A.M. M.R.I.A.

anie other chattells, whereby their benevolence may be shewed to the putting forward of so notable and excellent a purpose, as this will prove to the benefit of the whole country, *whereby knowledge, learning, and civilitie, may be increased, to the banishment of barbarism, tumults, and disordered lving from among men, and whereby their children, and children's children, especially those that be poor (as it were in an orphan's hospital frely), maie have their learning and education given them with much more ease and lesser charges than in other universities they can obtain it.*"—*University Calendar*, 1833, p. 29. •

The remainder of the letter has no reference to the reasons for the foundation of the University. We shall now lay a brief extract from Elizabeth's letter before our readers. It seems that the College was dwindling away in its first years from want of funds, and that the Irish government occasionally granted it some small supplies. In 1601 she took it under her own consideration, and, by privy seal dated April 30th, not only confirmed the former grants, but also made a farther grant of £200 a year. The following is an extract from this document:—

" Being informed by letters from Ireland to our privy council here, that the Colledge is in danger to be dissolved, the maintenance thereof being wholly taken away, and no benefit received of our late grant of concealments in regard to the trowbles, and that you have signified you have had supplied them with some means for their continuance until our pleasure be signified in that behalf, we are well pleased, out of our personal care for the maintenance of this Colledge (being of our foundation), and for the *establishment of so great a means of instruction for our people*, to grant unto the provost, fellows, and scholars of the said Colledge both the confirmation and continuance of those means which you have formerly granted into them, and also the farther supply of £200 sterling per annum."—*University Calendar*, p. 35.

The rest of the document concerns only the sources from which this latter sum was to be received, and therefore it is unnecessary to transfer it to these pages.

We have not ransacked the college library for the purpose of discovering these two documents, to serve our present purposes: we merely take them, as we find them, in the volume before us. And may we not say that, if the compiler of these volumes had been able to discover any other epistles of that princess, more favourable to the cause of which he is so wily an advocate, that he would rather present us with them than with the present document? We ask can anything more clearly demonstrate the utter fallacy of the assumption, that the university was founded for the promotion of the doctrines of the Established Church, than the two documents which we have just quoted? Could anything more clearly prove the truth of our position, that the college was founded for the purpose of diffusing the elements of

general literature among Irishmen of all creeds, without distinction, than these documents, in which we are told that it was established as "a means of instruction for *the people*," "whereby knowledge, learning, and civilitie, may be increased, to the banishment of barbarism, tumults, and disordered lyving, from among men?" Let the reader bear in mind also, that the writer of the volumes before us has never once attempted to show that it was founded for the purposes to which it is now so unjustly perverted.

But if Elizabeth, and those who with her aided in founding and endowing the university, had any intention of favouring sectarian principles, it is obvious that, however they may avoid allusion to such principles in other documents, they would, at least, in compiling the charters and statutes, have given full and unequivocal expression to those sentiments. But this they have not done, and, consequently, we must conclude that they had no such intentions. As it is most satisfactory, on a subject of this nature, that we should cite our authorities, we shall go regularly through the charters and statutes,* and adduce quotations from them, or state their general purport, according as each mode shall suit best with a brief and clear elucidation of the subject.

The charter of Elizabeth, for founding and endowing the University, does not contain one word in favour of the ascendancy of any sect or party. It states that archdeacon Ussher humbly entreated her majesty, that, as there was not a college in Ireland for instructing students in literature, and the arts, "*in bonis literis et artibus*," she would be pleased to establish one near Dublin, "for the better education, institution, and instruction of the scholars and students in the said kingdom;"† and that she, through her great anxiety that the Irish youth should get "a pious and liberal education, that they should be thereby better enabled to learn the arts, and cultivate virtue and religion, wishes, concedes, ordains,"‡ &c. &c. Then follow the clauses for founding and endowing the University. These passages, and another,§ in which it is ordained that the Fellows, on the expiration of seven years, after taking the degree of master of arts, should

* The copy of these, to which we shall refer by the letter P, with the number for each page, is the same as that which is given to every student on his matriculation, and was presented to ourselves on that occasion, in 1832. It was printed at the University press, in 1826, and is entitled, "*Chartæ et Statuta Collegii Sacrosanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis Regniæ Elizabethæ juxta Dublin.*"

† P. 1. 2.

‡ "*Sciatis quod nos pro eâ curâ, quam de juventute Regni nostri Hiberniæ pie et liberaliter instituendâ singularem habemus, ac pro benevolentia, quâ studia, studiosque prosequimur (ut eo melius ad bonas artes percipiendas, colendamque virtutem et religionem adjuventur) huic piæ petitioni,*" &c. &c. p. 2.

§ P. 11.

resign their Fellowships, "*pro hujus regni et ecclesiæ beneficio*," are the only ones in the entire of that charter containing an expression of a religious nature. What more general and indefinite terms than piety, virtue, religion, and the church, could have been used on such an occasion? The entire, with the exception of "the church," are phrases common to Christians, Jews, Mahometans, and Pagans. There is not even a syllable specifying what religion the fellows and scholars should profess, nor what was the church which is so vaguely alluded to in the passage, "*pro hujus regni et ecclesiæ beneficio*." We shall immediately show that the church thus hinted at, could not by possibility be the Protestant church, as by law now established in Ireland. From all this it is manifest that the College was designed by Elizabeth, not as a nursery for Protestant divines, but an institution for the extension of literature and science among all her Irish subjects, without regard to religious distinctions.

The charter of James I, empowering the University to send two members to the Irish Parliament, makes no allusion to the creed of those members, or of the Fellows and Scholars that were to elect them.*

In like manner, the charter of Charles I, which confirms, alters, or repeals several clauses in that of Elizabeth, is completely free from all expressions of a sectarian tendency, and does not contain a single religious expression more definite than those which we have already quoted from that charter.†

The preamble, also, to the statutes of Charles I, respecting the College, does not state anything concerning the Christian religion, or religious distinctions, but merely speaks of "the efficacy of literature in polishing the human mind, and bringing men from a wild and boorish mode of life to civilization and religion."‡ In proof of which assertion it mentions the attention paid to the study of polite literature (*literarum politiorum disciplinæ*) among the ancient Hebrews, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, and also among modern nations, and "particularly in England, where so many schools and eminent academies testify that the liberal arts were an especial object of concern to her most renowned rulers," who, for the same considerations, "determined also to restore a colony, as it were, of letters to Ireland, where they formerly flourished."§ From this it plainly appears that polite literature,

* P. 15.

† P. 25.

‡ "Per magnam vim in doctrinarum studiis existere ad excolendos hominum animos, et a ferâ, agrestique vitâ, ad humanitatis et religionis officia traducendos, vel inde facile constare potest quod non solum priscis temporibus apud Hebræos, Ægyptios, Græcos, et Romanos, literarum politiorum disciplinæ viguerunt," &c. p. 55.

§ "De literarum quasi coloniâ aliquâ in Hiberniam (in quâ olim floruerunt) reducendâ cogitarunt."—p. 56.

such as was cultivated among the pagans of antiquity, and not the Reformed religion, was the object which Charles had in view with regard to the University; and that he wished it to be a school for extending among all his Irish subjects a knowledge of the arts and sciences, and not of the dogmas of Protestant theology.

On the whole it is perfectly clear that the University was founded on the most liberal principles, and that it was by no means intended for the purposes to which it has since been converted, as "the last dark fortress of expiring bigotry." If those who framed the charters and statutes had other intentions, it is obvious that they would have expressed them fully and explicitly; and it is absurd to say that it was a mistake or unintentional omission, since the charter of Elizabeth is as liberal as language could make it; and the charters of James I, and Charles I, successively commented on, confirmed, repealed, or amended, several clauses in it, and yet do not contain a single passage of a sectarian tendency. And how, we ask, can any person at the present day attribute to those monarchs intentions with regard to this subject, which they themselves never took the trouble to express? To persons, disposed to maintain the claims of the "miserable monopolizing minority," by assumptions of this nature, we would observe that, in addition to all the reasons deducible from common sense and common honesty, against such a line of argument, there is also that just and simple maxim of common law, "*expressum facit silere tacitum*," which forbids us to thwart the public enactments of a legislator, by what we may pretend were his private intentions.

But, whatever were the intentions of those sovereigns, we shall show that the propagation of the Protestant religion, as by law now established, could not have been, by any possibility, their object in founding and supporting the University; and that it was Catholics and Dissenters, and not Church of England Protestants, that mainly contributed to its foundation. With regard to the share which the Catholics had in "the putting forward of so notable and excellent" an undertaking, could we adduce a stronger instance than the fact, that the site for the College, and the adjoining grounds, were granted by the mayor and corporation of Dublin, who were all Catholics, and who testified their devotion to that faith, by their suffering—with the exception of one individual only—both fines and imprisonment, in the reign of James I, rather than conform to the new doctrines? Even Galway, the most Catholic county in this country, was the only county whose contributions to the College were deemed worthy of

* Vid. Harris *antea*.

notice by the author of the present volumes. Thus, but for the liberality of the Catholics of that city and country, the University would not have been founded at all; and can we suppose that the Protestants of that day were so unprincipled, as that they would exclude these people from all participation in the benefits of it when it was erected? Had it been originally designed to exclude Catholics from the University, it would have been useless to found it at all, and impossible to maintain it on such principles against the will of the nation. It appears, that up to the time of James I, not sixty of the Irish had embraced the Protestant religion, though Ireland then contained more than two millions of souls.* During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the greater part of the forces, employed by her in that country, were Irish Catholics;† and the majority of the Irish House of Commons were also Catholics. For, though the passing of the Act of Uniformity might appear inconsistent with this, yet it is really not so, as all our annalists declare that that act was passed surreptitiously by Stanyhurst, the Speaker, in the absence of those who were expected to oppose it; and who afterwards protested to the Lord Lieutenant against it, and were assured, by him, that it would never be put in execution.‡ In support of this is the fact, that it was seldom, if ever, executed during the remainder of her reign, a period of more than forty years. We may here observe, that it was only in the reign of James I, that the Protestant ascendancy was first established, or even sought to be established, in the Irish House of Commons, by the creation of forty new boroughs, for which, of course, government candidates were returned.§ Notwithstanding this extraordinary stretch of prerogative, the Court party had only a majority of twenty-four in a house of two hundred and twenty-six. The full complement of members was two hundred and thirty-two, but six of those returned did not appear in Parliament.

It must be obvious to our readers that it would not have suited Elizabeth's politic views to found a College here, from which her Catholic subjects were to be ignominiously excluded, when it was on them principally she was relying for support against her enemies. And it must be equally obvious that a Catholic Corporation would not have given their grounds for the erection of such a college, in the benefits of which, neither they nor any of their faith were to have the least participation, and

* Mac Geoghegan's History of Ireland, p. 422.

† Morryson, p. 120. Ireland, p. 412—306, et alibi. Sullivan, p. 117, et alibi.

‡ Plowden's Hist. Ire. vol. i. p. 98. Lond. 4to. et Analect. Sacr. p. 431.

§ Plowd. Ibidem, p. 108-9. "It appears that during her reign the penal laws were seldom, if ever, executed in Ireland."—Plowd. *antea*, p. 98.

which could serve only to secure their own degradation, and the advancement of their political and religious opponents. From these considerations we must conclude that the exclusion of Catholics could not have been an original feature in the government of this University.

We shall now prove that the class of religionists, who at that period formed the body of those who were called Irish Protestants, and enjoyed all the advantages of the Irish Church Establishment, were not believers in the doctrines then professed by the Church of England, and now by the Church of England and Ireland, but were Dissenters in the meaning attributed to that word by the legally orthodox Protestants of the present day. During Elizabeth's reign, the majority of those attached to the Reformed Faith in Ireland were Puritans.* At the accession of James I they were ascendant in Church and State: the whole body of the Reformed Clergy in Ireland were Puritan; and Ussher, the most eminent of them, was Provost of Trinity College, and afterwards Archbishop of Armagh. On this subject we shall quote the words of Carte in his *Life of James, Duke of Ormond*.

"Thus, in the year 1615 a convocation being held in Dublin, it was thought proper that they should have a public confession of faith as well as other churches. The drawing up of it was left to Dr. Ussher, who having not as yet got over the tincture he received in his first studies from the modern authority of foreign divines, inserted in it, not only the Lambeth Articles,* but also several particular fancies of his own, such as the Sabbatarian doctrine of a Judaical rest on the Lord's-day, the particular explication of what in Scripture is revealed only in general concerning the generation of the Son, which Calvin had taken upon him to determine was not from the essence but from the person of the Father; the sacerdotal power of absolution made *declarative* only; abstinences from flesh upon certain days appointed by authority declared not to be religious fasts, but to be grounded merely upon politick views and considerations, and the Pope made to be Antichrist, according to the like determination of the French Huguenots, in one of their Synods at Gappe in Dauphiné, though the characters and distinctions of Antichrist agree in all points to nobody but the impostor Mahomet. These conceptions of his were incorporated into the Articles of the Church of Ireland, and by his credit approved in Convocation, and afterwards confirmed by the Lord Deputy Chichester."—*Carte*, vol. i. p. 73. London, fol. edition.

* Plowd. *antea*, p. 101, note.

† Concerning predestination, grace, and justifying faith, sent down as a standard of doctrine to Cambridge, but immediately suppressed by Elizabeth, and afterwards disapproved and rejected by James I when proposed to him by Dr. Reynolds in the conference at Hampton Court.

Such were the doctrinal principles of the Reformed clergy of Ireland, and particularly of the Provost of the College, and the Primate of Ireland, until the year 1634, when Charles I and the Lord Deputy introduced another reformation. They were anxious to establish a uniformity in doctrine and discipline between the Churches of Ireland and England.

"The main difficulty was to engage the Primate Ussher, upon whose judgment most of the bishops and clergy depended, and whose honour might be touched by a repeal of the Articles, which he himself had drawn, and who being horribly afraid of bowing at the name of Jesus, and of some other reverences prescribed in the English Canons, which he neither practised nor approved, might reasonably be supposed averse to the reception of either the Articles, or the Canons of the Church of England.... At last an expedient was found out to reconcile the Primate. No censures were to be passed on any of the former Irish Articles, but those of the Church of England were to be approved and received; which was only a virtual, not a formal abrogation of the Irish; and the English Canons were not to be established all of them in a body, but those which His Grace scrupled at being left out, a collection was to be made of the rest for the rule and discipline to be observed in Ireland. The convocation met concurrent with the Second Session of Parliament in the beginning of November 1634. Abundance of the members were Puritanical in their hearts, and made several trifling objections to the body of Canons extracted out of the English, which were offered to their judgment and approbation: particularly such as concerned the solemnity and uniformity of divine worship, the administration of the sacraments, and the ornaments used therein, the qualification for Holy Orders, for benefices and for pluralities, and the oath against simony, and the time of ordination, and the obligation to residency and subscription."—*Carte, Ibid.* p. 74.

He then says that the Articles of the Church of England were at last received, and "established according to the deputy's mind; yet more by the influence of his authority than the inclinations of a great part of the Convocation."*

We shall now give an extract or two from a letter† of the Lord Deputy (Wentworth) to the Archbishop of Canterbury on this subject. After stating that the Lower House of Convocation had appointed a Select Committee to consider the question of receiving the Canons of the Church of England, and that this Committee "had gone through the book of Canons, and noted in the margin such as they allowed with an A, and on others had entered a D, which stood for *deliberandum*; that in the fifth Article they had brought the Articles of the Church of Ireland to be allowed and received under pain of excommunication, and that they had drawn up their Canons," he says, "When I

* *Carte, Ibid*; see also *Leland, vol.*iii.* p. 28. † Given in full in *Carte, aut.*, *ibid.*

came to open the book, and run over their *deliberandums* in the margin, I confess I was not so moved, since I came into Ireland. I told him, (Dean Andrews, the chairman of the Committee) certainly not a Deah of Limerick, but Ananias had sat in the chair of their Committee: however sure I was Ananias had been there in spirit, if not in body, with all the fraternities and conventicles of Amsterdam, and that I was ashamed and scandalized at the above measure." Having summoned all the members of the Committee before him, and having publicly lectured them on "the spirit of Brownism and contradiction," he observed "*in their deliberandums, as if indeed they proposed at once to take away all government and order out of the Church, and to leave every man to choose his own high place, which liketh him best;*" he farther told them, "but this heady and arrogant course (they might know) I was not to endure, nor, if they were disposed to be mad and frantic in this dead and cold season of the year, would I suffer them to be mad in their convocations or in their pulpits." "First, then, I required Dean Andrews, as foreman, that he should report nothing from the Committee to the House. Secondly, I enjoined Dean Lesly, their prolocutor, that in case any of the Committee should propound any question therein, yet he should not put it, but break off the sitting for the time, and acquaint me withal. Thirdly, that he should put no question at all touching the receiving or not of the Articles of the Church of England. Fourthly, that he should put the question for allowing and receiving of the Articles of England, wherein he was by name and writing to take their votes, barely *content* or *not content*, without admitting any other discourse at all; for I would not endure that the Articles of the Church of England should be disputed.*" By such violent and arbitrary proceedings were the Canons of the Church of England forced on the consciences of the Irish Puritanical Clergy. Thus we have shown that it was Catholics and Dissenters that principally contributed to the establishment of the University, and that the Church hinted at in the passage, *pro hujus regni et ecclesiæ beneficio*, could not have been the Church by law now established in Ireland; unless, perhaps, that with gentlemen of the Reformed faith, points of doctrine are matters of minor consideration, and therefore changeable at the whim of every prince and prelate, while the possession of power and property is the fundamental Article, which is never to undergo the least alteration, and is to be for ever the guiding beacon to those seeking the haven of Irish Protestant orthodoxy.

* Carte, *antea*, p. 276.

We have stated that there are no passages of a sectarian tendency in the charters of Elizabeth, James I, or Charles I. The cause of this may be found, perhaps, partly in the spirit of "leaving every man to choose his own high place, which liketh him best," for which the deputy so sharply reprehended the clergy. The sketch of ecclesiastical history which we have given, will explain why there are no clauses in the charters and statutes, excluding Protestant Dissenters from any of the offices or honours of the University, or holding out any sort of preference to those professing the peculiar doctrines of the Church of England. What we have hitherto stated tends only to the proof of the position that the University was intended by those who founded and endowed it, not for the especial protection and encouragement of Protestantism, but for the liberal education of the Irish youth of every Christian denomination. We shall now show, from the respective oaths and qualifications of the Fellows and Scholars, that it was the manifest intention of those who framed and established these oaths and qualifications, that Catholics should be eligible to Scholarships, and Dissenters to both Scholarships and Fellowships.

"Those only are to be elected Fellows, of whose *religion*, learning and morals, the Provost and seven Senior Fellows would have conceived good hopes, and who should have taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts,"* and "should not be infamous, convicted of heresy, or dissolute in morals and habits."† The reader may observe that religion is an essential qualification of a Fellow, but that there is not a word to express what that religion should be, and that it is entirely left to the discretion of the Provost and seven Senior Fellows. The compiler of the statutes seeing this, and fearing that perhaps those gentlemen may "entertain good hopes of the religion" of a Catholic, supplied this omission by inserting a clause in the chapter "on Divine Worship," inhibiting the election of any one to a Fellowship, "who should not have renounced the Popish religion as far as it differs from the Catholic and orthodox, and the jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, by a solemn and public oath."‡ The usual "office" oath of the Fellows seems likewise to have been drawn up particularly against Roman Catholics. It is as follows:—

* "Volumus et Statuimus, ut in Socios il solum cooptentur, de quorum religione, doctrinâ et moribus, tum præpositus, tum Socii septem, Seniores, spem bonam animis conceperint, quique gradum Baccalaureatûs in Artibus jam susceperint."—p. 71.

† "Provideant et statuunt, se neminem in Socium electurûs, qui sit infamâ notatus, de hæresi convictus, aut moribus et vitæ consuetudine dissolutus."—p. 72.

‡ "Præterea nemo in Sociorum numerum eligatur, qui Pontificiæ religioni, quatenus a Catholicâ et orthodoxâ dissentit, et Romani Pontificis jurisdictioni per solenne et publicum jûramentum non renuntiaverit."—p. 88.

"I, G. C., elected into the number of the Fellows of this College, sacredly profess in the presence of God, that I acknowledge the authority of the sacred Scripture to be supreme in religion, and that I truly and sincerely believe what is contained in the holy word of God, and that I will to the best of my power constantly resist all opinions, which either Papists or others maintain against the truth of sacred Scripture. As to the Royal authority, I acknowledge that of his present most Serene Majesty (George, &c.) to be the greatest next to God's in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and to be subject to the power of no foreign prince or pontiff."* The rest of the oath has no connexion with our present argument. Again, all the Fellows, except the professors of jurisprudence and medicine, are ordered, under the penalty of perpetual amotion from the College, to "assume the sacred order of Presbytership," within three years after taking the degree of A.M. Now, under what pretence can they exclude Dissenters and others, who would comply with the above oaths and regulations, from the Professorships of Jurisprudence and Medicine, or from Fellowships generally, before the period for entering into holy orders arrives? Or why should they exclude Presbyterians at all, whom the very words "Sacrum Presbyteratus Ordinem," were designed to embrace; who founded the University, and, as we have already shown, were at the time of the compilation of these statutes† almost the only persons of the Reformed religion then in Ireland? It is manifestly against the entire tenour of the charters and statutes, to exclude them from ANY of the honours or privileges of the University.

But whatever pretext the members of the Established Church may employ to monopolize Fellowships, they can have none to justify or excuse them in excluding Catholics and Dissenters

* "Ego, G. C., electus in numerum sociorum hujus Collegii, sancte coram Deo profiteor, me sacræ Scripturæ auctoritatem in religione summam agnoscere, et quæcunque in Sancto Dei Verbo continentur, vere et ex animo credere, et pro facultate meâ omnibus opinionibus quas vel Pontificii vel alii contra Sacræ Scripturæ veritatem tumentur constanter repugnaturum. Quod ad regiam auctoritatem attinet, Serenissimi nunc Regis Georgii Quarti eam secundum Deum summam in regnis Angliæ, Scotiæ et Hiberniæ esse agnosco—et nullius externi principis aut Pontificis potestati obnoxiam."—p. 76.

† "Sacrum Presbyteratus Ordinem in se suscipiat."—p. 76.

‡ These statutes, which still regulate the University in all particulars, except where they have been altered by subsequent Royal Letters, were passed by Charles I in 1637, three years after the reception of the English Canons. Yet we cannot suppose that the manner of forcing them on the Irish clergy could have converted them all in three years, unless they were of a very malleable disposition. Moreover, a rigid conformity with them was not exacted; even Ussher, the most eminent opponent of them, was that very year one of the Visitors of the College, and the Primate of Ireland. Vid. *Dubl. Univ. Cal. 1833. Introduct.*

from Scholarships. In the election of Scholars, it is "to the poverty, talent, learning, and virtue, of the candidates, that attention must be paid."* Now let the reader observe that the requisite qualifications of a Fellow are religion, learning, and morals, whereas those of a Scholar are poverty, talent, learning and virtue: that while religion is the first object of consideration in the selection of a Fellow, it is entirely excluded in the selection of a Scholar. A similar difference is observable in their respective oaths. That of a Scholar is—"I, N. N., elected into the number of the Scholars of this College, solemnly profess before God that I acknowledge the Royal authority of His Most Serene Majesty (George, &c.) to be the greatest next to God's in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and to be subject to the power of no foreign prince or pontiff."† The remainder of it concerns only the duties which they promise to perform. To this oath, no Catholic can have the least objection. It is drawn up consistently with the principle on which the oath and qualifications for Fellowships seem to have been framed—that of excluding Catholics from Fellowships, and admitting them to Scholarships and all other situations. Here there are no declarations as to the authority of the Scripture, or resistance to the doctrines of the Popes. All these, it is plain, have been omitted in accordance with the principle just alluded to.

But the irrefragable proof, if any were wanting, of the position above laid down, is to be found in the passage before recited from the chapter on divine worship, ordaining that no person be elected a fellow, who should not have renounced by a solemn and public oath the religion and jurisdiction of the Pope. The inevitable conclusion from this clause is, that the framers of it intended that Catholics should be admissible to Scholarships, and all other situations in the University inferior to Fellowships.

This principle is still farther established by the 38 Geo. III, c. 21, entitled "An Act for the relief of His Majesty's subjects of the Popish religion," (which first relaxed the severities of the penal code,) the ninth section of which runs thus, "Provided always, and be it hereby enacted, that nothing herein contained

* "In qua electione habeatur ratio ingenii, doctrinæ, virtutis, et quo magis quicunque ex eligendorum numero his excedit, eo magis, ut æquum est, præferatur."—p. 67.

† "Ego, N. N., electus in numerum Discipulorum hujus Collegii sancte coram Deo profiteor, me Regiam Autoritatem Serenissimi nunc Regis Georgii Secundum Deum summum esse, in regnis Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ æquum esse, et nullius externi Principis, aut Pontificis, potestati obnoxium."—p. 68. Neither this oath, nor any other, is now ever tendered to the scholars.

shall extend, or be construed to extend, to enable any person to sit, or vote, in either House of Parliament, or to exercise, or enjoy, the office of Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy [the names of several offices follow here, which it is unnecessary to mention], Masters in Chancery, Provost, or Fellow of the College of the Holy Undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin, Postmaster-general, Lieutenant-general of his Majesty's Ordnance, &c. [here again follow several offices, which having no connexion with the present subject, it is needless to insert], unless he shall have taken, made, and subscribed the oaths and declarations, and performed the several requisites, which by the laws heretofore made, and now of force, are required to enable any person to sit or vote, or to hold, exercise, or enjoy, the said offices respectively." Is not this clause as express in favour of the position for which we contend, as if it were couched in the affirmative, enacting that Catholics should be eligible to Scholarships, and all other situations in the University, except those of Provost and Fellow? It is impossible to draw any other inference from it: if it do not mean this, it means nothing. On this point we think that a doubt cannot be any longer entertained by any unprejudiced person.

But there is no necessity for proving this principle farther, as the Fellows themselves declare that it is not by any law contained in the charters and statutes that Catholics and Dissenters are excluded from Scholarships, but merely through a bye-law of the College Board, that no person shall be elected a Scholar, unless he shall have previously taken the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, after the rites of the Established Church, in the College Chapel, on some Sunday between the days of examination and of election.* On this our readers may naturally ask, why then have we taken such a circuitous mode of demonstrating an acknowledged truth? Our answer is simply this, to show that the bye-law is opposed to the expressed will of the founders and endowers of the University, and to the tenour and principle of all the charters and statutes.

That the board has not the privilege of passing bye-laws such as this, we shall now endeavour to demonstrate. Queen Elizabeth gave the Provost and Fellows power to establish whatever rules and laws they might consider necessary for the government of the University.† This power Charles I took from them, and vested in himself, his heirs, and successors for ever,‡ and repealed

* The examinations are held in the week preceding Whit-Sunday, and the Scholars are declared on the day after Trinity-Sunday.

† Page 10.

‡ Page 33.

all the laws passed by them during their exercise of that authority, except those concerning the augmentation of the number of Fellows from 8 to 16, and of the scholars from 8 to 70, and the distinguishing of the former into senior and junior, and the committing of the management of the University to the Provost and seven Senior Fellows for the time being.* He then† ordered that the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars, and their successors, should for ever obey the laws enacted by him, unless he, his heirs, or successors, should think proper to alter them in any particular. But as "many casualties may occur, all of which human prudence cannot foresee," he empowered the Provost and major part of the Senior Fellows to make new decrees and ordinances in such omitted cases, *where nothing certain is defined in the statutes*, and which are to be obligatory, provided they be not repugnant to the statutes, and, be sanctioned by the consent of the visitors of the College.‡ Again, he provides that, if any ambiguities should arise on the construction of the statutes, "they should, in order to discover the truth, consider the literal and grammatical sense, and also his intentions:"§ and that if a decision, in which all parties would acquiesce, should not be pronounced within eight days after the commencement of a dispute, by the Provost and Senior Fellows, that two Fellows to be assigned for that purpose should go together with the contending parties to the visitors of the College, and submit the controversy to them, "beseeching them to interpret and determine all ambiguities, according to the plain, common, literal, and grammatical sense, and the meaning most suited to the existing doubt."|| With respect to these disputes, he uses the following, almost prophetic, language, "We being unwilling, that any one should derogate in any particular from the words, or intentions, of the said statutes *through any custom, long abuse, or any act whatsoever.*" The language of these clauses is so very plain, that we will not make a single comment on it.

* Page 34.

† Page 35.

‡ "Quod Præpositus et major pars Sociorum Seniorum pro tempore existentium in casibus omnis (ubi nihil certum in statutis nostris definitum fuerit), nova decreta et ordinationes condere valeant et possint, quæ, modo non repugnent statutis nostris, et habeant consensum visitatorum collegii, qui inferius nominantur, vim, obligandi sub pœnis in eadem præscriptis obtinere volumus et concedimus."—p. 36.

§ "Ut ad veritatem exquirendam, literalem et grammaticalem sensum, pariter et mentem nostram respiciant"—p. 147.

|| "Ut juxta planum, communem, literalem, et grammaticalem sensum, et ad dubium præstentem aptiorem, omnes hujusmodi ambiguitates interpretari et determinare velint."—p. 148.

¶ "Nolentes quod per consuetudinem, usum aut diuturnum aliquem abusum aut actum quemcunque, verbis aut intentionibus Sociorum statutorum in aliquo derogetur."—ibid.

Now, if this bye-law were established prior to the date of the charter of Charles I, it was abolished by that charter; and it could not, by any legal means at least, be established since that time; as under that charter the Provost and Fellows can form new laws and regulations "in omitted cases only, where nothing certain is defined in the statutes." No one can be so stupid, or so prejudiced, as seriously to assert that the election of Scholars comes under this head of "omitted cases." For if ever any "thing was certainly defined," it was this, where the days* and hours of examination, the qualifications of the candidates, the mode of election, and the oaths of the electors† and elected‡ are precisely and particularly determined. Nothing could be more precisely, "more certainly defined" than this. We know not by what perversion of reason any one can force himself to believe that this was an "omitted case," in which the Board might exercise its legislative functions. It certainly was an unpardonable offence in Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I, not to have foreseen the existence in that country of a sect professing the peculiar tenets of the present Church Establishment; and a still more unpardonable omission not to have secured to it by anticipation all the good things of the University. But to those, who may seriously pretend that this was an omitted case, we have only to reply, that in interpreting charters and statutes such as these, and other legislative records, we are bound by what is said, not by what we may think ought to have been said.

But it must be superfluous to pursue this argument farther, particularly when we can adduce the testimony of the Board in support of the position which we have undertaken to establish. If a doubt could exist before as to the correctness of our views, this testimony must completely remove it. The board, we may here observe, consists of the Provost and seven senior Fellows.§ So limited did they consider their powers of either dispensing with the old laws, or enacting new ones, that they could not alter even the days or hours of examinations, or close or open the college gates a minute later or earlier than the time prescribed in the statutes, or even diminish the double quantity of viands served up on Trinity Sunday, and were obliged to petition Geo. III, in 1819, for a relaxation of the statutes in these and some other particulars. The statute which granted them relief, was drawn up

* Page 67.

† Page 138. Ego. C. Deum testor in conscientia mea me statuta super nuper lecta fideliter et integre observaturum, et illum vel illos in socium vel socios aut scholares discipulos nominaturum et electurum quem vel quos statuta nuper lecta significare et apertius describere mea conscientia judicabit, omni illegitima affectione, odio, amore et similibus sepositis."

‡ Page 69.

§ Page 64.

by themselves, and established as one of the statutes of the College by Royal Letters Patent, bearing date the 13th of December, 1819. We shall give the evils complained of, and the remedies applied to them, as we find them in that document :—

“Whereas in different statutes days and hours are prescribed, as well for examining into the progress of the students, and for observing the terms, as well as for closing and opening the College gates; and very many academical duties, and the times for performing them, are too strictly limited, and it has been found that many and grievous inconveniences have therefrom arisen to the College, to which the Provost and Senior Fellows have most humbly petitioned that we would be graciously pleased to grant a remedy. We therefore concede by these presents a power for the future to the Provost and major part of the Senior Fellows to alter, with the consent of the visitors, as circumstances shall seem to require, all the times fixed in the statutes for performing any duties, or doing anything else, except only the hours of morning prayers and prælections, and the times for the examinations and elections of fellows and scholars.”*

Even the amount of the commons on Trinity Sunday was not left to their discretion; but it was specially enacted that it should not exceed the ordinary allowance. We ask, can any one suppose that this Board, which could not dispense with the statutes in these trifles, could dispense with them in the most important matters connected with the University; or that they, who could not even alter the times for the examination and election of Fellows and Scholars, could alter the qualifications for them, by requiring tests, not only not warranted by the statutes, but totally repugnant to them? To say more on this point “would be wasteful and extravagant excess.” We presume that we have thus satisfactorily demonstrated, that the Board has not the privilege of passing bye-laws in general, and particularly such a one as that which forms the subject of the present remarks.

But even supposing that the Board has a general power of making bye-laws for the government of the University, which we have shown it has not, we will now prove that its exercise of it in the present instance, in requiring a qualification not war-

* “Cum in diversis statutorum capitibus Dies et Hora tum examinationi scholarum in disciplinis progressus terminique observanda, tum portis Collegii observandis et aperiendis præscribuntur, et plurima officia academica et tempora certa limitantur, compertum autem sit multa et gravia exinde inconveneria collegio provenisse, quibus remedium gratiosè præstare dignaremur humillime a nobis petierunt præpositus et Socii Seniores: potestatem igitur concedimus in futurum per præsentem præposito una cum majore parte Sociorum seniorum, tempora omnia ad officia quælibet præstanda aut omnino ad aliquid agendum in statutis definita (Exceptis solummodo horâ precum et prælectionum matutinarum atque temporibus examinationum et electionum sociorum et Scholarum discipulorum) cum consensu visitatorum mutandi prout res ipsæ exigere videbitur.”—p. 183-4.

ranted by the charters, is not only unjust, but illegal. The doctrine of law on which we rely, is laid down in Espinasse's *Nisi Prius*, p. 694, as the second general rule for deciding the validity of a bye-law. The first general rule is this: "Where a corporation is by charter, they cannot make bye-laws to restrain the number of those by whom the election is to be made by charter." The second rule, to which we particularly call attention, is thus laid down in that useful work: "On the same principle, a bye-law cannot narrow the number of persons out of whom an election is to be made: as, for example, by requiring a qualification not required by the charter." And he gives, as an instance and proof of it, the case of the King *versus* Spencer, 3 *Burrowes' Reports*, 1827: "As where the election of the common council was in the mayor, jurats, and commonalty, a bye-law limiting it to the mayor, jurats, and such of the common freemen who should have served for one year the offices of churchwarden or overseer of the poor, was held to be bad, as not warranted by the charter." We have already proved that the taking of the sacrament after the ritual of the Established Church is a qualification not required or warranted by the charters or statutes: and the sceptic, who could doubt whether that qualification narrows the number of persons out of whom the election is to be made, would entertain doubts of his own existence. As, therefore, this bye-law narrows the number of persons out of whom the election is to be made, by requiring a qualification not warranted by the charter, it is bad and illegal.

This bye-law appears to us to be only a remnant of the Test and Corporation Acts. The sacramental test was established by these acts: and now, though it is by law abolished, the liberal fraternity of "the Silent Sister" still continue it, as the only means of maintaining an unjust monopoly. This is the real origin of this desecration of the most solemn rite known to the Christian world. Is it not monstrous injustice, that these gentlemen should still continue to enforce these laws, long after they have been repealed by the legislature? Thus, they who pretend such a scrupulous regard for the laws of their country, are in the practice of habitually evading and violating them, to preserve their ascendancy. So conscious are they of the indefensible nature of their conduct in this particular, that they never make any allusion to this sacramental test in any of their works; they do not even insert it in the body of laws delivered to every student as the code of his collegiate rights and duties. Is it not manifest, that, if they deemed it a valid bye-law, they would insert it, as well as they have done all their other rules, or even

their decree against attending meetings without the College?*

The student, who may labour for years to acquire these honours, though he may hear from his companions of the existence of such a practice, has absolutely no official knowledge or notice of it, until a few days before the election, when he gets a hint from his tutor, that he must receive the sacrament in the College chapel, if he wish to stand a chance of being elected. As an additional proof of the great secrecy they observe with regard to this, we may mention the fact of there not being the slightest allusion made to it even in any of the volumes before us, which have been published under the sanction and patronage of the heads of the College, and edited by one of the junior Fellows,† and which descend to the most minute details of every the most trifling particular connected with the University. Under the head of "Examination for Scholarship," these volumes mention the literary exercises which must be performed by the candidates, and then state the other requisites :

"On or before the day of election, every candidate must send in to each of the examiners his name, his father's name, the name of the county in which he was born, and the schoolmaster by whom he was educated. The form in which it is done is as follows: *Ego, A B— filius, natus in comitatu, N. sub ferula — educatus, discipulatum a te peto.* THE STATUTES DIRECT THAT A PREFERENCE BE GIVEN, *ceteris paribus*, TO THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN EDUCATED IN DUBLIN SCHOOLS, OR BORN IN THOSE COUNTIES WHERE THE COLLEGE HAS PROPERTY: WITH THIS EXCEPTION, SCHOLARSHIPS ARE OPEN TO ALL THE SUBJECTS OF THE BRITISH CROWN, WITHOUT DISTINCTION."‡

There are no hints here as to religious distinctions, or as to taking the sacrament: this is a true and fair version of the statutes, and proves, beyond contradiction, the truth of all for which we have contended. But the learned editor of this work knew quite well, that, in practice at least, receiving the sacrament was an indispensable requisite also. Now, it must be either fear or shame that prevented him from honestly stating this. He would not, assuredly, suppress the most important requisite of all, if he did not fear to draw public attention to the subject. From this our readers may judge how apprehensive the heads of the University are of exposing the unwarrantable means which they adopt to secure all the honours and advantages of the College to those of their own sect, that they may be thereby enabled to

* Page 227.

† Rev. James Henthorn Todd, A.M. M.R.I.A.

‡ See *Dublin University Calendar* for any year since its first appearance—Chapter on SCHOLARSHIP EXAMINATION.

attach them the more strongly to their party, and to allure poor unprincipled proselytes.

We shall now consider the several ways by which parties aggrieved by this test may endeavour to procure the abolition of it. There are three ways of doing it: by application to the Queen's Bench, the Queen in Council, or to Parliament. The method of applying to the first is by writ,* which should be sued out by some candidate, whose answering would entitle him to a Scholar's place, but who would not have complied with the customary regulation of receiving the sacrament. This course was adopted in 1836, by a gentleman (Mr. Timothy Callaghan) whose highly praiseworthy exertions were baffled by a legal quibble, he having proceeded by a *Mandamus* instead of a *Quo Warranto*. His conduct cannot be too highly appreciated by the Dissenters and Catholics of the empire. He expended years of assiduous labour in acquiring that knowledge, which enabled him to make this attempt to render the highest honours of the University accessible to them: and when the tempting lure was held forth to himself, he scorned the bait, that would be the reward, at the same time, of his talent and his apostacy; and looking only to the general good, he made the noble effort to which we have alluded. This is not the course which we would now recommend as the most feasible. It is not every day we meet gentlemen who have such talent and public spirit as Mr. Callaghan. Since the year 1793, when the 33rd Geo. III, c. 21, to which we have before drawn attention, first exempted Catholics from the necessity of taking the Sacramental Test on entering the College, or standing for Scholarship, he has been the first to endeavour to force the Board to comply fully with that enactment. If we are to expect no more from the future than we have experienced from the past, it will be forty-four years more before such another attempt will be made. But there are other difficulties in the way of a proceeding of this kind, which we feel bound to lay before the public. In suing out the writ, the party must swear that his answering is such as entitles him to a Scholarship: without this he cannot proceed a step. But to this he cannot swear, unless he gets the list of his own answering, and that of those who have been elected Scholars. Here, again, the Board displays its dread of having the illegality and injustice of its conduct in this particular brought before the

* Perhaps it would be prudent for the sake of formal regularity, to appeal to the Visitors before applying to the Queen's Bench. The Visitors are the Archbishop of Dublin and the Chancellor of the University, (the present King of Hanover) or, in his absence, the Vice-Chancellor. The present Vice-Chancellor is the Most Rev. John George Beresford, the Primate of Ireland.

public. In all other examinations the students get the returns of their answering as a matter of course, while in this one they cannot get them except by special favour, and it is only a very few that can get them at all. So that the Board can, and perhaps will for the future, completely prevent this mode of trying the legality of their proceedings, unless the present liberal Provost, Dr. Sadleir, should interpose his authority to check such an undue and partial exercise of their functions.

If an application were made direct to Her Majesty, she would not, in all probability, interfere with the question.

Therefore, the best and surest method is, that some member of either House should move an address to Her Majesty, praying that she would be graciously pleased to issue her royal letters patent, ordering the Board of Trinity College, Dublin, not to put any tests to the candidates for Fellowship, or Scholarship, but such as are required or warranted by the Statutes and Charters of the University, or the law of the land. A motion so framed would effect all our purposes, and would not yield a fair pretext for resisting it to the partisans of monopoly. To such a motion we cannot anticipate a valid objection.

But it might be said, that even though the legislature should adopt such an address, and declare the exaction of the sacramental test to be opposed to the laws of the land and the statutes of the University, yet as the election would still rest solely with the Board, they might and would advance to Scholarships and Fellowships those only whom they should know to be members of the Established Church. We grant the election should still rest with the Board, and that it would be in their power to act in this manner. But those individuals must entertain a very contemptible opinion of the morality of the members of that body, who would suppose them capable of entering into so base a conspiracy to evade and violate the law. Those members would be reckless of feeling, who would violate their electoral oaths,* and sacrifice their honour, for the purpose of pandering to the passions and interests of any section of the community. We are confident, from the known liberality and independence of Drs Sadleir and Hare, that they never would be parties to so flagitious a confederacy. Were there a majority on the Board of such men as these, we should be quite willing to trust the working of the measure to them. But even as it is now constituted, we entertain some hopes that Catholic and Dissenting candidates would not suffer any fragrant injustice. We do not despair of the Board: a new era is breaking in on it. Calcu-

* Vid. *antes*, p. 265, note.

lating by what has taken place within the last few years, we should not be surprised to see on it, in a few years hence, a decided preponderance of liberals. We will not, however, attempt to dive into futurity; but whatever alterations shall occur, we trust that the present Provost will oppose no impediments to the infusion of some liberality into the institution over which he has been called to preside.

The sacramental test was well described by an able Presbyterian writer, as "only an engine to advance a state faction, and to debase religion to serve mean and unworthy purposes." It is notorious in Ireland, that it makes ten infidels for one Protestant, of those whom it decoys from the bosom of Catholicism. It serves more to spread a systematic disregard of the most sacred rite of the Christian religion, than the writings of all the Deists and Atheists that have ever breathed. It holds out a premium to the young Catholic, ambitious of honour, and struggling to rise in the world, to laugh at the doctrines of his Church, and to look upon freedom from moral restraint, as the triumph of philosophy over prejudice and ignorance. It is a test more of infidelity than of Protestantism, as it proves only that the communicant has lost all scruples as a Catholic, not that he has acquired any steady principles as a Protestant. For, be it known to our readers, that there is no confession of faith, or declaration of belief, in any article or articles whatsoever required of the neophyte. He is not taught to believe the doctrines of the Church of England, but to disbelieve those of Rome. The entire object is gained, if he be made a renegade from the creed of his fathers—and experience shows, that we may apply to the mercenary proselyte, what has been said of the political renegade—"a renegade seldom carries aught but his treason to whatever party he advocates." The melancholy truth of this is felt in Ireland: the young proselyte, who begins by sneering at "Popery" and "Puritanism," almost invariably ends by sneering at Christianity.

Thus the Church of England does not finally gain by these conversions; for though she thereby reduces the ranks of Dissent and Catholicism, yet she does not increase her own strength and security. If the members of that Church be so bigoted as to desire to see Atheism predominant in Trinity College, in preference to the principles of Dissent and Catholicism, the best mode of effecting their object is, by persevering in the present system.

This is not a question peculiar to any sect or party, or to any portion of the empire. All Her Majesty's subjects, who are not members of the Established Church, are equally injured, equally

defrauded by the present system. Nothing can be more unjust than that the College Board should appropriate to one sect privileges and emoluments, which were intended by the founders and endowers of the University to be common to all—that they should remove the stimulants to industry, and deprive merit of its reward, if that industry and merit be unfortunately without the pale of the Establishment: and that they should do this in violation of several Acts of Parliament, of the common law of the land, and of the very charters and statutes which gave them existence as a Corporate Body.

We trust that when this question shall be brought forward in either House of Parliament, the present Ministers, who have laboured so strenuously to promote education among all classes of their fellow-subjects, will not refuse their assistance. By supporting such a motion as we have proposed, they would be enabled to crown with success all their past exertions in the cause of national education—as they would thereby give an incitement to youths to distinguish themselves in the elementary schools, by holding forth to the ambitious and the talented an opportunity of contending for the highest literary prizes at the University without renouncing the ever-cherished creed of their fathers. Never has there been so auspicious a moment for bringing this question forward as the present—in the first session of the first Parliament of the first Virgin Queen who has sat on the throne of these realms since the death of Elizabeth—and, as the honour of founding the University as a school, by which “knowledge, learning and civility,” might be diffused through all classes of her subjects without regard to religious distinctions, and in which the “poor (as it were in an orphan’s hospital freely) may have their learning and education given them,” belongs to Elizabeth, we hope that Victoria will have the glory of restoring it to these truly noble and national purposes.

ART. II.—*Tracts for the Times*. 3 Vols. London. 1833-6.

THE times, Heaven knows, are sufficiently bad. It is a work of charity to try to mend them. The collection of Tracts, some very short, others of considerable length, which forms the three volumes before us, was published for this purpose. As a well-intentioned attempt, it deserves our sympathy. It is a proof of great zeal, of considerable intrepidity, and of some research. The *Tracts* are the production of a well-known knot

of divines at or from Oxford, the determined foes of dissent, the inconsistent adversaries of Catholicity, and the blind admirers of the Anglican Church. In other words, they are written by staunch assertors of High-Church principles.

Will they succeed in their work? We firmly believe they will: nay, strange to say, we hope so. As to patching up, by their prescriptions, the worn-out constitution of the poor old English Church, it is beyond human power. "*Curavimus Babylonem et non est sanata*," (*Jer.* li. 9) will be their discovery in the end. It is no longer a matter of rafters and partition-walls; the foundations have given way, the main buttresses are rent; and we are not sure but that one who has been, for three centuries, almost deprived of sight, and kept toiling in bondage, not at, but under the grinding wheel, has his hands upon the great pillars that support it, and having roused himself in his strength, may be about to give them a fearful shake. We speak only of moral power, but it is of the immense moral power of truth.

How, then, will they succeed? Not by their attempts to heal, but by their blows to wound. Their spear may be like that in Grecian fable, which inflicted a gash, but let out an ulcer. They strike boldly and deeply into the very body of dissent, and the morbid humours of Protestantism will be drained out. Let this be done, and Catholic vitality will circulate in their place. They show no mercy to those who venture to break unity in their Church, and like all unmerciful judges, they must expect no mercy. Why did *you* separate from the Roman Church? is a question that every reader of these volumes will ask twenty times. He will find, it is true, what is intended for an answer given him as often: but he will be an easily-satisfied enquirer, if any of these answers prove sufficient for him.

The scope of these *Tracts* seems to us two-fold. First, they endeavour to revive in the Anglican Church a love of ancient principles and practices, by showing on how many points it has departed from them, and how wholesome it would be to return to them. Secondly, they endeavour to place their Church upon the foundation of apostolical succession, enforcing their claims to authority upon the laity, and pressing the clergy to a maintenance of it as a right. Antiquity and authority are their watchwords. They consequently maintain that the English Church has suffered great change during the last century, in having become too Protestant. (*Tr.* 38.) The Fathers of the Reformation, as they are called, are said by them to have kept close to primitive practices, and consequently to have separated less (this they are obliged to own) from the Romish—that is the Catholic Church—than their

successors. The Anglican Church, therefore, already stands in need of another reformation, (*Tr.* 38) which shall lead it back to what those Fathers made it. There must have been a sting in this confession. But still it is made boldly—with profession, however, that such an approach to Catholicity, would only be so inasmuch as we have better preserved primitive forms.

The two heads which we have just rehearsed, as embracing the subject-matter of these books, often run into one another, and it is not always easy to separate them. For authority, based upon apostolical succession,* is necessarily a part of antiquity, and ancient practices and doctrines are upheld by an appeal to authority. Wishing, as we do, to treat of these two matters distinctly, we shall endeavour to examine each upon its own peculiar merits; and perhaps we shall better succeed in keeping them distinct, by making each the subject of a separate paper. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves at present to the desire of bringing back the Anglican Church to ancient practices.

The enquiry into this sentiment presents itself to our minds under the form of a very simple question. What was gained by the Reformation, considered as these authors would have it, that is, as a purgation of such malpractices and errors as time had introduced into primitive usages and belief, and a return to the purity of the early ages? Two things should seem to have been necessary to authorize the naming a religious change by such a title. First, all that was really abuse should have been skilfully removed, yet so as to leave all that was ancient and good. If a surgeon, in cutting away a gangrene, cut off a sound limb, he would be said rather to destroy than to heal. Secondly, such measures should be taken, as that similar or worse abuses should not again return. If it had required a thousand years to deform the Church so as to call for a first reformation, this would have proved a sorry work, if, in a couple of hundred more, things had become as bad again. Still worse it would be, if the very Reformation itself had opened a door to similar or worse abuses.

It will be a curious and unexpected result of such mighty convulsions in the religious and political world, as the *Reformation* caused, that the great safeguards of revealed truth should have been pulled down; the stable foundation of divinely appointed regiment in the Church plucked up; rites and ceremonies coeval with christianity abolished; practices come down from the first ages discontinued and discountenanced; and ordinances, believed of old to have been apostolical, abrogated and condemned. And yet all this must be called a “godly work of reformation,” that same “Reformation” signifying a repristination of primitive christianity! But will it not be stranger to see the old religion,

which needed such an operation, preserving all these good things intact, to the jealousy of the Reformed, in such wise that when this one wished to return to purer or perfecter forms, it must needs seek its models in the other? Shall we upon examination find things so? Let us see.

1. Episcopal authority is justly considered by the Tract-writers as the foundation of Church government. Of its present state in their Church they write as follows, having quoted passages from St. Clement of Rome, and St. Ignatius Martyr.

"With these and other strong passages in Apostolical Fathers, how can we permit ourselves in our present *practical* disregard of episcopal authority? Are not we apt to obey only so far as the law obliges us? Do we support the Bishop, and strive to move all along with him as our bond of union and head? Or is not our every-day conduct as if, except with respect to certain periodical forms and customs, we were each independent in his own parish?"—No. 3, p. 8.

"We who believe the Nicene Creed, must acknowledge it a high privilege, that we belong to the Apostolic Church. How is it that so many of us are, almost avowedly, so cold and indifferent in our thoughts of this privilege? . . . Scripture at first sight is express" (in favour of the divine ministerial commission.) . . . "*The primitive Christians read it accordingly. and cherished with all affectionate reverence the privilege which they thought they found there. Why are we so unlike them?*"—No. 4, p. 1.

"I readily allow, that this view of our calling has something in it too high and mysterious to be fully understood by unlearned Christians. But the learned, surely, are just as unequal to it. It is part of that ineffable mystery, called in our creed the communion of saints, &c. . . . Why should we despair of obtaining, in time, an influence far more legitimate, and less dangerously exciting," (than that obtained by the upholders of the holy discipline) "but equally searching and extensive, by the diligent inculcation of our *true* and *Scriptural* claim? For it is obvious that, among other results of the primitive doctrine of the apostolical succession, thoroughly considered and followed up, it would make the relation of pastor and parishioner far more engaging, as well as more awful, than it is usually considered at present."—p. 76.

It is certain that all here desired, existed in the English Church down to the time of the Reformation; it is certain that it exists in all countries that have remained Catholic; it is certain that it exists among those who have clung to the old faith in these islands. What, then, was gained by the Reformation on this score? Had you remained Catholic, you would have had no "practical disregard of episcopal authority," nor would each clergyman have acted "as if independent" of his bishop. Had you remained Catholic, you would have found no difficulty in causing this article of the Nicene Creed to be heartily believed and followed up, nor found yourselves so "unlike the primitive Chris-

tians" in your feelings and conduct respecting it. You would have had no need of treating as a matter not desperate, the prospect of one day acquiring the influence over your flocks which unepiscopal teachers have acquired. A reformed, apostolic Church not to *despair* of acquiring an influence which it possessed before it was *reformed*! If, in regard to episcopal authority and its practical influence, the Reformation did no good, did it do any harm? Clearly so. For if this authority was practically lost only after the Reformation, and only where the Reformation was adopted, it must evidently be charged with having caused the practical abandonment of one of the articles of the Nicene Creed, and produced a great dissimilarity between its followers and the primitive Christians. We unreformed have continued to resemble them. How obstinate of us not to embrace the Reformation!

2. The sad effects of this loss of practical authority in the episcopacy are even more awful than the cause itself. This authority, it is often repeated through these volumes, is not so clearly contained in Scripture as might, *a priori*, have been expected. Men are thus easily led to reject, or, at least, to despise it. This, of course, they would not, if they laid a proper stress on tradition. The consequence of this departure from traditional teaching, in one respect, leads to a similar departure in more important ones: for instance, regarding the doctrines of the blessed Trinity and the Incarnation. Consider well what follows.

"What shall we say, when we consider that a case of doctrine, necessary doctrine, doctrine the very highest and most sacred, may be produced, where the argument lies as little on the surface of Scripture—where the proof, though *most conclusive*, is as indirect and circuitous as that for episcopacy, viz. the doctrine of the Trinity? Where is this solemn and comfortable mystery formally stated in the Scriptures as we find it in the creeds? Why is it not?—Let a man consider whether all the objections which he urges against episcopacy may not be turned against his own belief in the Trinity. It is a happy thing for themselves that men are inconsistent: yet it is miserable to advocate and establish a *principle*, which, not in their own case indeed, but in the case of others who learn it of them, leads to Socinianism. This being considered, can we any longer wonder at the awful fact, that the descendants of Calvin, the first Presbyterian, are at the present day in the number of those who have denied the Lord who bought them?"—No. 45, p. 5.

"For the present, referring to that ineffable mystery (the Incarnation), from which, on this day especially, all our devout thoughts should begin, and in which they should end, I would only ask one question; *What will be the feelings of a Christian, particularly of a Christian pastor, should he find hereafter, that, in slighting or discouraging apostolical claims and views (be the temptation what it may), he has really been helping the evil spirit to unsettle man's faith in THE INCARNATION OF THE SON OF GOD?*"—No. 54, p. 12.

These are, indeed, awful consequences of the unsettling of men's minds caused by the Réformation. And they are clearly traceable and imputable to that event. For be the doctrine of Anglicanism what it may, respecting Scripture and tradition, it is evident that in it, as in all Protestant communions, exclusively, could exist this haggling about proofs, because not clear in the written Word. This is manifest; that among Catholics it is not usual for the faithful, still less for pastors, to question, or to "slight, or to discourage, apostolical claims and views:" nor has any one, so far as we know, contended that the dogmas of the Trinity and Incarnation have been perilled amongst us, through insufficient views of Church polity. These, therefore, are peculiar blessings introduced by the godly Reformation. In the English reformed Church a door has been opened to Socinianism, which was close barred before it became reformed, and the unreformed Catholics still contrive to keep well shut. With such confessions, is it strange that we should not be enamoured of the *Reformation*?

3. The constitutional weakness of the body episcopal could not but be followed by the enervation of its right arm. It has long ceased to wield the thunderbolt of ecclesiastical reproof and public censure against incorrigible sinners or open apostates.

"CHURCH REFORM.—All parts of Christendom have much to confess and reform. We have our sins as well as the rest. Oh that we would take the lead in the renovation of the Church Catholic on Scripture principles.

"Our greatest sin, perhaps, is the disuse of a 'godly discipline.'" Let the reader consider—

"1. The command.—'Put away from yourselves the wicked person.' 'A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject.' 'Mark them which cause divisions and offences, and avoid them.'

"2. The example, viz. in the primitive Church.—'The persons or objects of ecclesiastical censure were all such delinquents as fell into great and scandalous crimes after baptism, whether men or women, priests or people, rich or poor, princes or subjects.'—*Bingham, Antiq.* xvi. 3.

"3. The warning.—'Whosoever shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven.'—No. 8, p. 4.

Until the Reformation, this godly discipline was in use. Even as yet, in Catholic countries and in our own, ecclesiastical censures are in force, and may be incurred by the violation of the ecclesiastical law. Sometimes they are inflicted by special decree, and are held in the greatest awe by priests and people. We have seen, on the Continent, excommunication taken off before a vast concourse of people, with all the solemn ceremonial of the

ancient Church. The king-queller Napoleon felt the power of the Pontiff's arm, and staggered beneath the blow of his excommunication. Not long ago the present Pope pronounced it in general terms against all the participators in an outrage upon his authority; and numbers, conscience-struck, secretly entreated for absolution. The "godly discipline" was lost at and by the godly Reformation: the Church of England went back from "the example of the primitive Church," when it pretended to return to primitive Christianity: it soon forgot the divine "command" in its eagerness to combat the supposed human commands which it imputed to the Catholic Church. And the latter, which pertinaciously opposed this strange return to primitive Christianity, somehow or other has contrived to keep to this example of the early Church.

4. Another great departure from primitive Christianity, caused by the Reformation, was, according to the Tract-writers, the curtailment of the Church services:—"The services of our Church," they write, "as they now stand, are but a very small portion of the ancient Christian worship: and, though people now-a-days think them too long, there can be no doubt that the primitive believers would have thought them too short." (No. 9.) The writer then explains himself farther, by observing that the early Christians taking literally the scriptural intimation of praising God seven times a day, instituted the canonical hours. "Throughout the Churches which used the Latin tongue," he adds, "the same services were used with very little variation: and in Roman Catholic countries they continue in use, with only a few modern interpolations, even to this day." (p. 2.) Here, then, is a plain confession. The first Christians, in conformity to scriptural suggestion, instituted a certain form of prayer, divided into seven portions, and of considerable length. This was in actual use at the time of the Reformation, with very little variation. Well, the restorers of ancient practices, the purgers of all modern abuses, sweep away the whole system: the unyielding Catholics keep hold of it, and possess it till this day. Which was right?—or what good did the Reformation do here?

Towards the end of the paper we have quoted, there are several statements respecting these offices which need emendation. It is pretended that already before the Reformation the offices of the Church had been compressed into two groups, called matins and vespers, and the spirit which had ordered them in their primitive form had been lost. That consequently, "conscious of the incongruities of primitive forms and modern feelings, the reformers undertook to construct a service more in accordance with the spirit of their age. They adopted the

English language; they curtailed the already compressed ritual of the early Christians, &c."

As to the first part of these reflections, we observe, that it is by no means common in religious communities to group the offices together as stated. Matins are generally sung alone, by many orders at midnight, by some over-night, by others early in the morning. Prime is sung at daybreak, and the shorter canonical hours later, with mass interposed, often a solemn mass between every two. Vespers and complin are also performed separately. In collegiate churches, where the canons reside at some distance from the church, the offices are more brought together. It may be said that the writer of the Tract spoke only of the state of things at the Reformation. If so, we have not the means at hand to verify his assertion. But we will take it as well grounded: what follows? Why that the Catholic Church contrived to correct abuses then existing without abolishing the ordinances they affected. That she at least knew the difference between destruction and reformation. Why could not Protestants do the same? In their zeal to return to primitive practices, why did they abolish them? Surely the Catholic Church proved that it was not necessary to humour modern feelings by such sacrifices. Which, then, is the true lover, follower, or restorer of early Christian observances?

On the latter part of our extract we frankly own, that when first we perused it, we were quite mistaken. We fancied that the writer meant to cast some censure on the adoption of the English language, in preference to that uniform speech "which had reversed the curse of Babel." By Dr. Pusey's vindication of the Tracts, we learn that such was not the author's meaning, but that the passage in question was favourable to the change of language. (vol. iii. p. 17.) We think any dispassionate reader would not have so understood it. However, it is plain that if the reformers found it necessary to abridge the services of the Church, in compliance with the spirit of the age, it could not have been the spirit of a *papistical* age, as Dr. Pusey there explains it. For our Church, which he thus designates, has found no need of curtailing, or of farther compression, but rather found means to correct abuses.

But this matter of ancient Church offices lost at the Reformation, is treated more at length in the 75th and following Tracts. In these, the entire office for Sunday, for the dead, and for several festivals, is given by way of specimens. But the introductory sentences to the explanation there premised of these offices, are unmatched in controversial assurance. They are as follows:—

"There is so much of excellence and beauty in the services of the Breviary, that, were it skilfully set before the Protestant by Romanistic controversialists as the book of devotions received in their communion, it would undoubtedly raise a prejudice in their favour, if he were ignorant of the circumstances of the case, and but ordinarily candid and unprejudiced. To meet this danger is one principal object of these pages; in which whatever is good and true in those devotions will be claimed, and on reasonable grounds, for the Church Catholic in opposition to the Roman Church, whose real claim above other Churches is that of having adopted into the service certain additions and novelties, ascertainable to be such in history, as well as being corruptions doctrinally. In a word, it will be attempted to wrest a weapon out of our adversaries' hands; who have in this, as in many instances, appropriated to themselves a treasure which was ours as much as their's; and then, in our attempt to recover it, accuse us of borrowing what we have but lost through inadvertence."

The only real claim of our Church above other Churches (e. g. the Anglican) consists in having made some addition to the breviary! The having known how to appreciate it, and having kept it, go for nothing. Suppose a case in point.

Two brothers are in joint possession of a noble estate, descended to them from their remote ancestors. The younger, prodigal-like, considers it not worth having, abandons it with contempt, and by public deed, takes instead of it a new paltry patch of uncultivated ground. After 300 years, his descendant comes out, and says to the other's heir, "Sir, I will thank you to understand, that your fine ancestral mansion and broad domains are mine quite as much as yours. It is exceedingly impertinent of you to call your own what once belonged to my family as well as to yours. I claim it 'on reasonable grounds,' for my ancestors lost it 'through inadvertence.' Nothing is yours except certain additional buildings, which it was a great presumption in you to erect." "This is indeed a strange claim," the other might reply; "I was by no means prepared for it. But surely, sir, you will allow that three centuries of undisputed and exclusive possession, and no small labour and expense in cultivating and preserving it, give *some* little superiority of right to the property, over that of former coproprietorship, 'inadvertently' (that means, I suppose, *very foolishly*) cast away, by one who publicly chose a substitute for it?" "None upon earth, my dear sir," the claimant rejoins, "none upon earth, as you must clearly see. It is true that if *you* had not kept it uninterruptedly in your family so long, and if your fathers had not bestowed great pains upon it, I should not have now known where to put my hands upon it. But that only makes it a matter of greater convenience for *me*; it can give no right to *you*. Now that I

choose to have the property again, I shall be extremely obliged to you, if you will no longer call it yours. As for your additional buildings, I shall take them down at the earliest opportunity."

Such is the reasoning which these grave divines pursue to wrest from us the breviary of which they are jealous. Every single *reformed* country, through "inadvertence," lost this collection of offices. We have never heard of an Anglican, German, Swedish, Danish or Dutch breviary. Had all Europe followed the example of reformation, it is clear that the breviary would have been now known only from manuscripts, or a few black-letter editions. Virtually it would have been lost in the Church. Yet it is a service which "seems to have continued more or less, in the same constituent parts, though not in order or system, from apostolic times." (p. 3.) Now, the dear old obstinate Roman Church, could not be brought into the strange inadvertency of reforming itself, by casting away this apostolic institution. She tried another plan. The Council of Trent passed measures for its correction. St. Pius V carried them into effect, and subsequent pontiffs completed the work. Every ecclesiastic in the Catholic Church is bound to the daily recital of the breviary. In fact, the writer in the Tracts cannot give it any intelligible name but that of the "*Roman* breviary." And yet it is no more ours than theirs who no longer possess it!

However, we are not disposed to quarrel seriously about our rights on this head. Let it first be restored, and practically enforced, in their Anglican Church. Let us first learn that in all the collegiate churches it is daily sung with the punctuality that it is in those of France or Italy. Let us see published a "*Breviarium Anglicanum ad usum Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis*," as we have one for St. Peter's Church at Rome, or Notre-Dame in Paris. Let us be informed that each portly dignitary has furnished himself with a Plantinian quarto, and that every curate pockets, on leaving home, a Norwich duodecimo. Put yourselves upon a footing of equality with us in point of *possession*, and it will be quite time enough to discuss the question of *right* to the property.

5. Intimately connected with this matter, which, perhaps, we have too lengthily examined, is another,—the loss of daily service.

"Since the Reformation, the same gradual change in the prevailing notions of prayer, has worked its way silently but generally. The services, as they were left by the Reformers, were, as they had been from the first ages, *daily* services: they are now *weekly* services. Are they not in a fair way to become *monthly*?"—No. 9, p. 3.

If, at the sixteenth century, there was a tendency to shorten

and diminish the services, this tendency was completely stopped in all *Catholic* countries, and only went on "working its way" in *Protestant*. Which gained on this score, those who reformed, or those who refused to do so? Again, the services of the Catholic Church yet remain what they then were, daily services. Every cathedral, collegiate, and generally every conventual, church, all over Catholic christendom, has daily performed in it the divine office, with a numerous attendance of the members who form the chapter or community. Besides this, every church and chapel is open daily to the devotion of the faithful, and the divine Eucharistic sacrifice is daily offered in each. We, therefore, are in no danger of seeing *our* offices become monthly, or even weekly. The 25th Tract contains an extract from a sermon of Bishop Beveridge, in which this neglect of daily prayer is condemned as a breach of duty. After quoting the rubrics concerning this matter, the bishop thus urges it on the clergy. "But notwithstanding this great care that our Church hath taken to have *daily Prayers* in every parish, we see, by sad experience, they are shamefully neglected, all the kingdom over; there being very few places where they have any Public Prayers upon the week-days, except, perhaps, upon Wednesdays and Fridays; because it is expressly commanded that both Morning and Evening Prayers be read *every day* in the week, as the Litany upon those. And why this commandment should be neglected more than the other, for my part I can see no reason. But I see plain enough that it is a great fault, a plain breach of the known laws of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, and particularly of that part of it which, by his blessing, settled among us." We leave it to the sensible reader to conclude, whether the Reformation did good or harm in this part of Christian duty. We will trust him also with the decision, as to which Church has stuck closest to the primitive practice.

6. Besides the performance of daily service, the daily celebration of the Lord's Supper was appointed at the Reformation, with the practice of daily, and still more, weekly communion. It is allowed, that when the Reformation was introduced, these practices were followed in England. For, another extract from the same bishop, published in the 26th Tract, acknowledges this. "Where we may observe, first, that in those days there was daily communion in cathedral churches, and other places, as there used to be in the primitive Church." (p. 9.) Proof is then given of this practice in St. Paul's. "From whence it is plain, that the communion was then celebrated in that church every day. And so it was even in parish churches." Of which likewise proof is given. The loss of this primitive practice, is called in capital let-

ters, "A SIN OF THE CHURCH," (Tr. 6, p. 4,) that is of the Anglican. For it is the practice solemnly to celebrate the Eucharistic rite, or, as we express it, to say Mass, every day, in every Catholic Church over the world, as it was in England when the Reformation took place. And as this custom is acknowledged to have been primitive and apostolic, we presume it will be granted that, in this respect, as in the preceding, the unreformed have been more successful than the reformed.

7. Let us proceed with rites or practices belonging to this Blessed Sacrament. And first, take a less important one.

"A poor woman mentioned, with much respect, her father's practice never to taste food before receiving the Lord's Supper, adhering unconsciously to the practice of the Church in its better days, and, indeed, of our own in Bishop Taylor's time."—Tr. 66, p. 11.

These better days were the earliest ages. The abuses introduced into the Church of Corinth are groundedly supposed to have led to the practice here mentioned. Tertullian describes the Eucharist as that which was received "*ante omnem cibum*," before every other food. Thus has another primitive observance, held in England till the Reformation, and even continued for some time after, through the impulse of preceding better principles, been completely lost. So much for the efficacy of the Reformation in retaining primitive practices. What shall we say of its ability to return to them? We need not add, that this practice is rigidly followed in the Catholic Church, just as it was "in better days."

8. When the spirit of reformation invaded England, the country was in possession of a liturgy, precisely that which we Catholics now use. On this, let us have the opinion of the Tract-writers. "All liturgies now existing, except those in use in Protestant countries, profess to be derived from very remote antiquity." (No. 63, p. 1.) After this preliminary sentence, the writer proceeds to show, from a comparison of the different liturgies, the justice of their claim. He thus speaks of ours. "Another liturgy, which can be traced back with tolerable certainty to very remote time, is the Roman Missal." Manuscripts are then referred to, which prove the Mass to have been essentially the same when revised by Pope St. Gregory the Great in 590, and a century earlier by Gelasius, and even under Pope St. Leo the Great. "It also deserves to be noticed, that, at the time when the Roman Liturgy was undergoing these successive revisals, a tradition all along prevailed attributing to one part of it an apostolic origin, and that this part does not appear to have undergone any change whatever. Virgilius, who was Pope between the times of Gelasius and Gregory, tells us, that the 'canonical prayers,' or what

is now called the 'Canon of the Mass,' had been handed down as an apostolical tradition. And much earlier we hear the same from Pope Innocent, who adds, that the apostle from whom they derived it was St. Peter." (p. 5.)

On this precious deposit of apostolical tradition, received from St. Gregory by the English Church, on its conversion, the Anglican reformers laid their sacrilegious hands. These worthy champions of primitive usages, these pious vindicators of the early ages, these zealous restorers of apostolic piety, recklessly (shall we say "through inadvertence?") rejected and abolished this venerable monument of antiquity, and substituted a patch-work liturgy, or "communion service," in which hardly a rite or a prayer is observed that existed in the old. In pages 8 and 9 of the cited Tract, are tables to prove this. The four principal ancient liturgies are compared together, viz. St. Peter's or the Roman, St. James's or the Oriental, St. Mark's or the Egyptian, and St. John's or the Ephesian and Mozarabic. The result is, that in *eleven* points connected with the consecration and communion, they all wonderfully agree. This number might have been probably increased; but we are content to take the statement of the Tract. The communion service discards *five* of these points, alters and mutilates some of the remainder, and arranges the little it has preserved in a different order from any. The statement of this modification is coolly introduced by these words: "The English Reformers prefer an order different from any of these." (p. 8.) We will not enter into any discussion about their right to do so. Oh, no! It would have been quite a pity, if, by any chance, they had preserved in a modern religion practices of such venerable antiquity. But, at any rate, do not call such men *Reformers*. If you will, do not tell us that the purpose of the Reformation was only to clear away modern abuses, and to retain and restore all that was primitive and apostolical! You yourselves say, "it may perhaps be said without exaggeration, that next to the Holy Scriptures, they (the ancient liturgies) possess the greatest claim to our veneration and study." (p. 16.) Yet they whom you call your Fathers, made no scruple of abolishing or completely disfiguring them!

On the other side, we need hardly remind our readers, that the Catholic Liturgy or Mass, as now used, and translated in pocket missals, is nearly word for word identical with that of Gelasius, referred to in our Tract. This subject, however, deserves a fuller discussion than we can at present afford it.

9. Among the points excluded from the Liturgy at the Reformation, one is thus specified: "And likewise another prayer (which has been excluded from the English Ritual) 'for the rest

and peace of all those who have departed this life in God's faith and fear,' concluding with a prayer for communion with them." (p. 7.) On this subject Dr. Pusey enlarges in a letter, now prefixed to the third volume of the *Tracts*. He allows that this prayer was excluded from the Anglican Liturgy, by "yielding to the judgment of foreign ultra-reformers." We need not observe that Catholics have retained the practice and the words. Nor shall we find it difficult, in a proper place, to disprove Dr. Pusey's assertions respecting the object of these prayers in the ancient Church, and to show that it was the same as Catholics now propose to themselves.

10. When the most solemn of all Christian rites was thus rudely and irreverently treated, it must not surprise us to find others, less important, handled in like manner. Dr. Pusey has divided into three *Tracts* (67-69) a long treatise on "Scriptural views of Holy Baptism." It deserves, in many respects, our highest praise; and we freely give it. At pages 266 and following, he presents, in parallel columns, those baptismal rites which were very generally, if not universally, observed in the ancient Church, and which we have retained. The Anglicans, too, kept them for a time. But naturally they could not understand their worth, and sacrificed them to the good pleasure of Bucer. Dr. Pusey thus laments the loss of those primitive observances. "We have lost by all those omissions. Men are impressed by these visible actions, far more than they are aware, or wish to acknowledge. Two points especially were thereby visibly inculcated, which men seem now almost wholly to have lost sight of,—the power of our enemy Satan, and the might of our Blessed Redeemer." (p. 242.) Thus we see what a practical influence on faith these omissions may have. Again: "It has undoubtedly been a device of Satan, to persuade men that this expulsion of himself (by the exorcisms prefixed to our baptism) was unnecessary; he has thereby secured a more undisputed possession. Whether the rite can again be restored in our Church, without greater evil, God only knoweth; or whether it be not irrevocably forfeited; but this is certain, that until it be restored, we shall have much more occasion to warn our flocks of the devices and power of him against whom they have to contend." (p. 243.)

Hence, in another *Tract*, these authors feelingly deplore the loss, or better to speak, the rejection, of the Catholic Ritual. After quoting passages from the Fathers upon the origin of many ceremonies still retained by us, they conclude: "that, as a whole, the Catholic Ritual was a precious possession, and if we, who have escaped from Popery, have lost not only the possession, but the sense of its value, it is a serious question whether we are not

like men who recover from some serious illness, with the loss or injury of their sight or hearing; whether we are not like the Jews returned from captivity, who could never find the rod of Aaron or the Ark of the Covenant, which, indeed, had ever been hid from the world, but then was removed from the temple itself." (No. 34.)

These are grievous lamentations. Thank God, *we* have no reason to make them. The deposit of traditional practices which we received from our forefathers we have kept inviolate. We have rejected no rite, we have hardly admitted one, in the administration of the sacraments, since the days of Gelasius or Gregory.

11. Another primitive practice avowedly neglected in the English Church, is that of fasting, and other austerities. Dr. Pusey has written several Tracts upon the subject. In one he says: "I would fain hope that there will not long be this variance between our principles and our practice." (No. 18, p. 21.) Again: "the other fasts of the Church require the less to be dwelt upon, either because, as in Lent, her authority is in some degree recognized, although it be very imperfectly and capriciously obeyed," &c. (p. 23.) In this *Tract*, as in many others, a captious spirit, in relation to Catholics, is observable. We lament it. It is but little creditable to the writer. "To urge," he writes, "that fasts were abused by the later Romish Church, is but to assert that they are a means of grace committed to men, &c. It was then among the instances of calm judgment in the Reformers of our Prayer-book," (we have seen specimens of this calm judgment,) "that, cutting off the abuses which before prevailed, the vain distinctions of meats, the luxurious abstinences, the lucrative dispensations, they still prescribed fasting."... "The Reformers omitted that which might be a snare to men's consciences; they left it to every man's Christian prudence and experience *how* he would fast, but they prescribed the days upon which he should fast, both in order to obtain an unity of feeling and devotion in the members of Christ's body, and to preclude the temptation to the neglect of the duty altogether." (p. 7.) Yet, on the whole, the duty, as a general one, *is* neglected. The Common-prayer book prescribes as days of fasting or abstinence, "All the Fridays in the year, except Christmas-day." Is this observed in the Anglican Church? The forty days of Lent; are they observed? The Ember days; are they observed? Yet among Catholics, in England as on the continent, all these days are strictly observed; all Fridays by abstinence, and all the rest by fasts. The appointment of days, then, was not sufficient. The Reformers, with all their calm judgment, went wrong in not

prescribing *how* men are to fast. But, in reality, they rooted up in the Church all the principles by which alone fasting could be practically preserved in it. There is something, therefore, to say the least, ungenerous and unhandsome in praising the Reformers at the expense of the Catholics, for "cutting off abuses which before prevailed," when this amputation was so clumsily performed as to lead to the total destruction of the thing itself. And this unhandsomeness is doubled by the consideration, that if these abuses existed till then, Catholics were able to correct them without any such violent effects. For if dispensations were then lucrative, they certainly are not so now, either in this country or abroad. There is a heavy penalty in Italy, renewed every year, not only upon every ecclesiastical authority receiving a fee for giving a dispensation from abstinence during Lent, but upon any medical man demanding it for a certificate of weak health, intended for obtaining such dispensation. The difference, then, between our Church and the Anglican has been this: that *supposing* dispensations till the sixteenth century to have been lucrative, we wisely removed the lucre, but kept the necessity of dispensation by ecclesiastical authority, and thereby preserved the practice itself. The Anglicans, retaining the ecclesiastical precept of fasting on stated days, with what Dr. Pusey considers "calm judgment," vested in each individual the dispensing power, lest it should be lucrative to pastors, and of course, lost all ecclesiastical power of enforcing an ecclesiastical precept. When each man is constituted his own judge, when selfishness is made the supreme umpire between the appetites and an irksome, painful duty, it is easy to foresee the decision. We are sure that a Protestant clergyman would be astonished, if one of his parishioners called upon him at the commencement of Lent, or in an Ember week, to ask his permission, as a pastor and organ of his Church, not to fast. He would probably be more astonished to find that he had a parishioner who thought about fasting at all. Indeed, we have little doubt that Dr. Pusey and his friends would be very glad to place the duty of fasting once more under the safeguard of the Church's jurisdiction; by bringing men to the practical conviction that, whatever the Church has enjoined, no faithful son ought to neglect, without a reason which she herself has approved. Did every one fast, who had not obtained this approbation of his neglect, the precept of the Church would not be a dead letter.

Then as to "vain distinctions of meats," surely Dr. Pusey is fully aware that, in the primitive Church, pretty nearly the same distinctions existed as do now among Catholics. St. Chrysostom (*8d Hom. to the People of Antioch*), St. Cyril of Jerusalem

(*Catech.* 4), St. Basil (1st *Hom. on Fasting*), and Hermes, an apostolic Father (*Pastor.* i. iii.), not to quote many decrees of councils and other authorities, tell us that flesh-meat was forbidden on all fast-days. St. John Baptist did not consider distinction of meats vain, when he chose locusts and wild honey for his diet; nor did God when he instituted the old law. The rule for the English Church St. Gregory gave to our apostle St. Augustine, the same as is found in Canon Law. "We abstain from flesh-meat, and from all things which come from flesh, as milk, cheese, and eggs."

What is meant by "luxurious abstinences?" That the rich will often turn into a luxury what is meant for humiliation, must not surely be cast as a reproach upon the duty, nor alleged as a sufficient motive for its abolition. Because the voluptuous who loll upon velvet cushions in well-fitted pews, are better at ease when kneeling in church, than the poor are in their hard beds at home, should the custom of kneeling at worship be abolished? If occasionally conviviality is more indulged on a day of abstinence than becomes it, to the generality it is truly a day of restraint and penance. A Catholic can seldom invite a friend, certainly not a Protestant, to his table on those days, and is generally precluded from accepting an invitation from others. We know Catholics not a few, who, so far from considering fish a delicacy, from being obliged to confine themselves to the use of it on certain days, will not allow it on others to be served on their tables. And many, too, we know who, week after week, find pain in complying with the duty of abstinence. In fact, so generally has this been felt, that within these few years, the Holy See has assented to the petition of the British and Irish Catholics, for the abolition of the abstinence on Saturdays. And the dispensation thus granted, though on such a great scale, was not a "lucrative" one, for it did not put a stiver into the papal treasury.

Dr. Pusey's own *Tracts* afford us sufficient proof of the vast wisdom in his Church, when she "left it to every man's Christian prudence and experience *how* he should fast." The natural consequence has been, that those who wish to do it, know not how. The *Tract* 66 is in answer to a letter by a clergyman (mark that!) who, through the *British Magazine*, desired many illustrations of No. 18. Among these queries are,—“In what is the abstinence of fasting to consist?” “Is there any difference between abstinence and fasting?” The answer to this question is in these different terms,—“Not, I imagine, in our Church.” Now, all this uncertainty, or rather ignorance, proceeds from the Anglican Church not having thought it proper to define *how*

men were to fast. A very indifferently instructed Catholic would be ashamed to ask such questions; much more a clergyman.

In conclusion, Dr. Pusey finds himself obliged to answer the objection that "fasting is Popish." Of course, he denies it. He is right. It may belong to anyone who chuses to practise it. Is it Anglican?

12. To the practice of fasting is joined that of other works of mortification, such as "hard lodging, uneasy garments," (hair shirts?) "laborious posture in prayer, sufferance of cold," &c., and it is called "part of the foolish wisdom of the day to despise these small things, and disguise its impatience of restraint under some such general maxim as—'that God has no pleasure in self-torture or mortification.'" (No. 66, p. 9.) These sentiments hardly call for a commentary. Few Protestants will read them without pronouncing them popish; no Catholic, without admitting their general truth.

We pass over other points of less importance, in which the defection of the Anglican Church from primitive practices is openly or tacitly acknowledged. There are one or two matters, however, which we think it right to notice, before coming to our concluding remarks.

In the first place, there is constantly a desire manifested to bring the rite of ordination as nearly as possible to the definition of a sacramental institution. Thus, we are told that "ordination, though it does not precisely come within our" (*i. e.* the Anglican) "definition of a sacrament, is, nevertheless, a rite partaking, in a high degree, of the sacramental character, and it is by reference to the proper sacraments that its nature can be most satisfactorily illustrated." (No. 5, p. 10.) The difference seems to be placed in the circumstance, that in the other sacraments the essence lies in the words or form, while in ordination it is placed in the imposition of hands, or outward rite. (No. 1, p. 3.) This is rather a bungling view of the sacramental theory, and leads to important consequences respecting the Eucharist. Of these we shall find a proper place to speak. Dr. Pusey, in his vindication of the *Tracts*, goes even farther, and shows that, according to St. Augustine's definition, ordination might well have been numbered among the sacraments. This definition is no other than that of our Church, "a visible sign of invisible grace." (Vol. iii. p. 11.) On the whole, we should conclude, that the Anglican Church would have done better to have kept St. Augustine's definition. It would have acted in conformity with antiquity, and it would have better preserved the dignity of its supposed priesthood.

Secondly. The retention of ancient doctrines and rites by

Catholics is clearly acknowledged. Thus, speaking of the visible Church, we have what follows:—

“ Now, the Papists have retained it; and so they have the advantage of possessing an instrument, which is, in the first place, suited to the needs of human nature; and next, is a special gift of Christ, and so has a blessing with it. Accordingly, we see that in its measure success follows their zealous use of it. They act with great force upon the imaginations of men. The vaunted antiquity, the universality, the unanimity of their Church, put them above the varying fashions of the world, and the religious novelties of the day. And truly, when one surveys the grandeur of their system, a sigh arises in the thoughtful mind, to think we should be separated from them. ‘Cum talis sis, utinam noster esses!’ But, alas, AN UNION IS IMPOSSIBLE. Their communion is infected with heterodoxy: we are bound to flee it as a pestilence. They have established a lie in the place of God’s truth; and by their claim of immutability in doctrine, cannot undo the sin they have committed. *They cannot repent. Popery must be destroyed, it cannot be reformed.*”—No. 20, p. 3.

This last phrase we hail with a mixed feeling of pity and satisfaction. Of pity for those who possess not the same stability as ourselves: of satisfaction at here finding a plain and manly declaration of the attitude in which we mutually stand. To us is left the blessed hope of bringing others into unity with us by gentle arts of persuasive argument; to themselves they reserve, as an *only* resource, the ungracious work of destruction.

Thirdly. The spiritual and devotional character of the Catholic worship*and religion is openly avowed. Of the approaching contest between the English Church and ours, it is said:—

“ The same feelings which carry men now to dissent will carry them to Romanism—novelty being an essential stimulant of popular devotion; and the Roman system, to say nothing of the intrinsic majesty and truth, which remain in it amid its corruptions, abounding in this and other stimulants of a most potent and effective character. And farther, there will ever be a number of refined and affectionate minds, who, disappointed in finding full matter for their devotional feelings in the English system, as at present conducted, betake themselves, through human frailty, to Rome.”—No. 71, p. 4.

Let us now apply ourselves to drawing general conclusions from the view which we have given of these *Tracts*. Observe, we have only treated of their proposed return to ancient practices, now lost among the Anglicans. We resume, then, the query proposed at the beginning of our article. What has been gained by the Reformation, considered as an attempted return to primitive purity? We have here a clear confession that, upon a dozen points, affecting nothing less than the constitution of the Church, and the authority of its hierarchy, the grounds

upon which the most solemn dogmas rest, the public offices of the Church, the frequent use of the Eucharistic sacrament, the performance of daily service, the observance of fasting, and other great moral precepts, the Anglican Church, under the mask of a reformation, contrived to place things in a worse state than they were before, and than they now exist in the Catholic Church. What title can be established to the name of reformation in all these particulars?

But we fear lest, in often repeating this query, we may have been guilty of a mistake, small in itself, but more important in its results. We have spoken of our Church as the unreformed, in opposition to the Anglican, as *professing* to be reformed. By applying to ourselves the negative epithet, we only meant to speak of such reformation as led to the deplorable effects acknowledged in the *Tracts* to have taken place in Anglicanism. We disavow any reform amongst us, wrought on the principle it adopted, of destroying, or abolishing, all in which there was abuse, real or pretended. No Catholic will deny that, in many matters of Church discipline, relaxation had crept into religious practices, before the Reformation. The Church, in many ways, through Papal constitutions, particular synods, and chiefly by the council of Trent, issued decrees of reform. Whoever opens the statutes of the council, will see in every sheet "*Decretum de reformatione.*" The Catholic Church, however, went to work upon principles totally different from the Anglican. The religious orders were supposed to be lax in discipline, and open to abuses. England suppressed them, seized their revenues, turned upon the world thousands of inoffensive men and women who had long abandoned it, and abolished the ascetic life, which the *Tracts*, after Bingham, acknowledge to have existed in the primitive Church. (*Records of the Church*, No. XI, p. 3.) The Catholic Church inquired into the abuses, framed the wisest regulations for their correction and prevention, and only suppressed, where, as in the case of the Humiliati, real crime or gross degeneracy could be established on proof. The education of clergy was a matter much neglected in many dioceses. The English reformers took not a single step towards establishing a system of clerical education, unless it was the suppression of schools and chantries. The Catholic "reformers" at Trent, obliged every diocese to erect and maintain an ecclesiastical seminary, in which the young aspirants to the clerical state should live in community, dividing their time between study and spiritual exercises, under the watchful eye of the bishop, and persons deputed by him.

There had been grievous abuses complained of in the colla-

tion of benefices, from the pluralities accumulated on one individual, or their collation on absentees, such as officers of the Papal court. The Anglicans have left all these evils, perhaps have aggravated them. They allow many benefices, with cure of souls, to devolve on one man's head; and Cheltenham, and Leamington, and Brighton, will bear testimony to the Irish rectories and vicarages, which allow their incumbents to live beyond the reach of their flocks' complaints. Since the council of Trent, those abuses have been completely cut off in the Catholic Church, and pluralities, with cure of souls, are totally unknown among us.

We could run on through some hundred such comparisons, to show the opposite characters of our two reforms. Ours was a *conservative reform*; we pruned away the decayed part; we placed the vessel in the furnace, and, the dross being melted off, we drew it out bright and pure. Yours was *radical* to the extreme; you tore up entire plants by the roots, because you said there was a blight on some one branch; you threw the whole vessel into the fire, and made merry at its blaze. Now that you go to look for it again, you find nothing but ashes. And you are surprised at this!

Gladly, too, would we institute a comparison between the instruments of our respective reformations. We would put St. Charles Borromeo against Cranmer, or Bartholomew de Martyris against Bucer; the first as agents, the latter as auxiliaries. It has often appeared to us, that Divine Providence was graciously pleased to give the lie to those who, under pretence of grievous abuses and errors, caused schism in the Church, by raising from its bosom, at that very moment, and soon after, such men as no Reformed Church can boast of. The tree might have been known by its fruits; an evil tree could not have brought forth such worthy fruits of charity, of pastoral zeal, of penitential spirit, as then came to adorn the Catholic Church. And two things strike us principally in this matter. First, that they flourished exactly after the western continental Church is supposed by these Anglican writers to have set on itself the seal of reprobation, by sanctioning heresy at Trent. Nay, some among them, as St. Charles, were the most active promoters of its decisions. Secondly, that these extraordinary men were all distinguished for their attachment to this Church, and made it their glory that they belonged to it. We meet in their writings with no regrets at a single step it had taken, no intimation of a thought, that it had inadvertently let slip a particle of primitive truth.

They were really a crown, aye, a crown of gold, to their

mother; not as the fading garlands of Ephraim, put on the head in a moment of intoxication. They were heroes, whose names, after three centuries, are fresh in the mouths of men. Who, among the ordinary class of Anglicans, speaks of Parker, or Jewel, or Bancroft, or Cranmer, or Bramhall, as of men whose good deeds have descended in blessings on generations, or whose wise sayings are as maxims of life upon the lips of children? But such are the memories of a Francis de Sales, and a Vincent of Paul, a Philip Neri, and an Ignatius Loyola. Cities, provinces, and kingdoms, publicly testify their veneration for their memories, and their gratitude for the benefits they conferred. Children, who owe their early knowledge of God, and of good letters, to the gratuitous education of the continent, hush with tender affection the names of a Joseph Calasanctius, or a Jerom Emilian. Thousands of sick, whose pillows are watched with kindness by self-devoted, unpaid attendants, pronounce blessings on a Camillus de Lellis, or a John of God, or a Vincent of Paul, who inspired their successors with such charity. Has any diocess of England raised a statue to its bishop like the colossus of Arona? Has any of its cities ever honoured one of its priests, as Rome has done Philip Neri, with the title of its apostle?

But this comparison between the English and the true Church, at the time when the former boasts of having risen into primitive splendour, and left the other buried in error and corruptions, becomes still more striking, when made with reference to the spiritual life. Never in any period of the Church was it illustrated by persons more deeply enamoured of the cross, more versed in the science of the inward life, or more sublimely occupied in contemplation, than the Catholic, at the very moment when England thought proper to abandon its unity. The writings of St. Theresa, and St. John of the Cross, not to mention the lives of such men as Felix a Cantalicio, Peter of Alcantara, Pascal Baylon, and innumerable others, are enough to have added glory to the true Church, in the brightest period of its history. One would have supposed, that a young and vigorous establishment, the Phoenix-church of England, springing forth into a new life from the funeral pile where she had consumed the decayed elements of her previous existence, would have flown upwards with a steady gaze upon the sun of righteousness, and given proof of her renewed vigour, by her eagle-flights towards the regions of heaven. Instead of this, she fell heavily on the ground, scorched in plumage, and shorn of wing, and condemned to walk or creep upon the earth's surface, and to seek her food, with dimmer eye, in its stagnant, lifeless pools. At

the same time, the spirit of God seemed restless and prolific in the heart of her rival, bringing forth thoughts and aspirations which rose up heavenwards, as to their proper home, unclouded by the smallest stain that would show them to have risen from a bosom tainted by heresy and corruption.*

If, then, nothing was gained by the Protestant Reformation on behalf of good discipline, the salutary use of the sacraments, and other such-like holy practices, nothing surely was gained in deep spirituality, and the perfection of the inward life. And if, on the other hand, the Catholic reform of the Church cleared away abuses by time introduced, leaving the good intact, so did it, at the same time, witness within it a marvellous development of the principles of divine contemplation and close union of the soul with God. That Christianity could hope for no advantage in this respect from the Reformation, is acknowledged by a late writer, whose sentiments on the German department of that awful revolution we hope on some future occasion to lay before our readers. Speaking of the ruin which it caused to the German empire, Menzel observes:—"At so high a price as this, the small gains of this measure were too dearly bought. For, whatever improvements the new Church might boast of, whatever errors and malpractices she could charge her mother or elder sister with, never will she be able to deny her the merit of having preserved and disseminated the light of divine truth and of human learning; never will she have it in her power to make out a case of necessity, or to form another path to salvation, than that on which Tauler, Thomas à Kempis, and Fenelon, have found the right way." (*Menzel, neuere Geschichte der Deutschen von der Reformation*, Breslaw, 1826, vol. i. p. 7.)

We shall of course be told, that the separation from the Church of Rome took place in consequence of doctrinal errors. Or, according to the theory of the *Tracts*, that, by sanctioning those errors, she separated herself from the reforming Anglican Church. Much that is connected with this question hangs upon the important one of apostolical succession, and the existence of schism in that Church. That must be laid aside for the present. But we look at the matter under another aspect.

We are told, then, that the Catholic Church had departed in matters of faith from primitive truth, and had enslaved the hearts of men to error. The charge was twofold. The Catholic Church was accused of having corrupted faith, and loaded the

* "And to what else" (than the practice of rigorous fasting) "can one attribute it, that so many men in the French Church, amid all the disadvantages of a corrupt religion, attained a degree of spirituality rare among ourselves?"—*Tracts for the Times*, No. 68, p. 16.

practices of the Church with human and superstitious usages. The Reformation attacked both. It cut off many doctrines then believed by all the Church, saying? "these are not warranted by primitive belief." It abolished almost the entire liturgy, and other services in the Church, the rites used in the administration of sacraments, and many other observances, saying: "these are human inventions."

Well, the work was done, and God knows, thoroughly done. Nearly three hundred years roll on, the minds of men gradually cool, and they begin to discover that almost every one of the rites, ceremonies, and practices, abolished at the Reformation as superstitious additions to the primitive simplicity of worship, were, and are, most venerable, and even traceable to apostolic origin! What becomes of the other half? "Oh, there we do not yield an inch. Our reformers were certainly too hasty in dealing with outward observances. They allowed themselves to be misled. But in matters of faith, in which they condemned Rome, you must not touch them. There all was done deliberately and wisely."—Gently, good sirs: you yourselves have yielded much. You have certainly betrayed a lurking desire that ordination should be considered a sacrament. You yourselves acknowledged "that the English Church has committed mistakes in the practical working of its system: nay, that it is *incomplete* even in its formal doctrine and discipline." (No. 71, p. 27.) You concede, that "though your own revolution" (here you have for once hit upon the right name) "of opinion and practice was slower, and more carefully considered than those of your neighbours, yet it was too much influenced by secular interests, sudden external events, and the will of individuals, to carry with it any vouchers for the perfection and entireness of the religious system thence emerging." You have confessed that "the hurry and confusion of the times led to a settlement of religion incomplete and defective." (p. 30.) You allow that your "doctrine on the Blessed Eucharist, though, on the whole, protected safe through a dangerous time by the cautious Ridley, yet, in one or two places, was clouded by the interpolations of Bucer." (p. 32.)

In other words, you allow the godly work of Reformation to have been but an incomplete and ill-digested work. You see in it errors and omissions in every part. But not a fault of commission will you acknowledge. Not a single positive definition was mistaken. You have drawn a nice limit: you have traced very minutely the boundary mark. On one side you see palpable imperfections, inconsiderate rejections, unnecessary changes, excessive innovations, unwarranted interferences of the civil

power, unlucky concessions to the pressure of circumstances, and, by consequence, “a system of religion incomplete and defective.” But on the other side of the boundary, these same men, under the very same circumstances, without any new light, did not commit a single error. Oh no, there they were impeccable. They were repeatedly deceived when the question was about omissions,—never when they adopted. They fell into constant oversights when they rejected, never once when they defined. Wonderful sagacity! Incomprehensible—far beyond the gift of infallibility, which you are so careful to disclaim for your Church! (p. 27.)

But we fancy that a prudent enquirer will ask for some better proof of this wonderful preservation, than the mere assertion of these gentlemen that their own Church “kept the nearest of any to the complete truth.” (p. 29.) When you acknowledge so many false steps, and allow that you have no security against others, surely men have a right to doubt whether you *have* escaped them. The Catholic Church is consistent. She says, “I am gifted with infallibility, therefore I have fallen into no errors.” The Anglican rejects infallibility, but claims an equal obedience.

The argument, however, may be urged more home as thus; It will be acknowledged, and by none more consistently than by the authors of the *Tracts*, that outward forms are great safeguards of doctrine, and that the abandonment of rites or observances of very remote antiquity will often endanger some point of doctrine in connexion with them. Who can doubt that the neglect of ecclesiastical censures has led to the enfeebling of Church authority among the Anglicans? Have we not heard Dr. Pusey complain, that the abandonment of the exorcisms in baptism has much contributed to make men in his Church forget the power of Satan, and the might of our Redeemer? Now, to apply these principles, let us take an instance which lately struck us on occasion of the Christmas solemnity. Let us suppose that one of the clergymen who conduct these *Tracts*, admiring, as he professes, the Roman Breviary, had induced several of his brethren and friends to recite its Matins together on Christmas-eve, as was usual in the ancient Church. They would find nothing objectionable in the office, but rather much possessing a sweet solemnity. For we will imagine them to omit the *Ave Maria* at the beginning, and the *Alma Redemptoris* at the end. These are their two principal stumbling-blocks. Arrived at the third Nocturn, one proceeds to read the Homily of St. Gregory upon the gospel, as follows:—“*Quia largiente Domino, Missarum solemnia ter hodie celebraturi sumus, loqui diu de Evangelio non*

possumus." (*Hom. 8 in Evang.*) "Since, through the divine favour, we shall this day thrice celebrate solemn Mass, we cannot speak at length on the gospel." These admirers of primitive antiquity would have been a little staggered at such a declaration of St. Gregory's. Now, if one of them had started an objection that such words were nonsense in the mouth of a Protestant clergyman, and that he could not feel justified in claiming any thing common with a Pope who spoke such Popish language, what reply would the director make? "It is true," he would have to reply, "that appearances are against us. We must acknowledge that the communion service at the time of St. Gregory, and even much earlier, was called the Mass. When we restored primitive Christianity at the Reformation, we wisely abolished the name. It is true that the Mass recited at that time, and even in the age of Gelasius or St. Leo, was, prayer for prayer, and ceremony for ceremony, the same as that of the Popish Missal. On the same blessed occasion, we considerably suppressed it, though probably coming from the Apostles, and substituted something better of our own. It is true that, on Christmas-day, this identical Popish Mass was then celebrated three times, precisely as it will be between to-night and to-morrow at the Catholic chapel, and by comparing the *Ordo Romanus* with the modern Missals, it is evident that the three masses were the same as now. For the homily we are reading is upon the gospel, still said by the Papists at their first mass, and cannot apply to the one gospel preserved in our beautiful service, from the third. This practice, though so ancient, it was the office of our godly Reformation to destroy. But what matter all these things? We have lost nothing with them. Our communion, which we shall perform to-morrow (if a sufficient number of communicants can be got together), is the true inheritor of all these services. The Papists have been most careful to preserve the Mass just as St. Gregory celebrated it,—they have been sticklers for every word and ceremony, for the very terms and titles then used. But our Articles teach us, that all such 'sacrifices of masses...were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits.' After such a declaration, can you doubt but that that holy Pontiff, if he again appeared on earth, would refuse to have any part in the Popish Mass, and admire and approve our beautiful communion service? Would he not say, 'It is much more probable that the Papists (as they are called in derision for their attachment to my See),—who have jealously preserved every tittle of the Liturgy I sent into Britain by the hands of Augustine,—who still keep up the practices we followed in my pontificate,—have lost the true doctrine we considered embodied in that Liturgy respecting the

blessed Sacrament, than that the Protestants should not have retained or regained it, when they rejected almost every particle of the words and forms instituted to secure it?"

This would really be the sort of answer to which a Protestant might be driven on such an occasion. But every Catholic, priest or layman, who read or heard those words in the Christmas office, took them in their most literal and natural sense, and saw no incongruity, no unfitness in the recital of them after 1200 years. Perhaps some pastors commenced their sermon in the very same words, and their flocks did not see reason to consider them a quotation from any older authority.

If the curious wish came over them to ascertain whether the *things*, as much as the *names*, agree, they would open the works of Tommasi or Assemani, and find what is there given as the Mass of St. Gelasius precisely the same as they heard in their own church. Could they require a stronger security that they inherited the faith of those ages, than in this cautious jealousy of their Church, preserving from destruction or alteration, the prayers, rites, and system of worship, in which this faith was deposited, recorded, and professed? Would they be reasonable, if they suspected that they alone had carefully kept the one, who had scornfully and profanely rejected the other?

But the question, how far the Reformation was a gain in religion, rises to a much higher level, when considered in reference to the grounds whereby it is justified. There are curious materials in the volumes before us, for this investigation; but they are of too great importance to be thrown together at the conclusion of this paper. We have pledged ourselves to discuss the claims of the Anglican Church to apostolical succession. After that, we shall find leisure for examining the respective positions which we and these Anglicans now hold in the controversial warfare.

Enough has been said to abate the pretended claims of the Reformation to our esteem or admiration as a repristination of pure Christianity, a return to the practices and doctrines of antiquity. We, of course, are unable to comprehend the love and reverence with which these well-intentioned, but ill-guided men look upon that awful revolution. They seem to speak of it as of some wisely-devised plan of improvement; for they are repeatedly praising the calm judgment or the wisdom of the Reformers, or the "Fathers of the Reformation." Contradictions, it is true, are to be found in what they write on this subject. But on the whole, they consider it as a work directed by the Providence of God, through the agency of holy men. To our minds, it presents a series of shocks and convulsions; regulated by no law but

the passions of men. Like the ocean broken over its ordinary limits, the revolutionary principle sent forth wave after wave, each to destroy the sand-heap which its predecessor had raised, till, by their successive exertions, a level was at last obtained, but a level, alas! measured by "the line of confusion, and the stones of emptiness." (*Isaiah xxxiv. 11, Prot. vers.*) Every political ruler, King, Protector, or Queen, laid his irreverent hand upon the ill-fated Church, and fashioned its plastic clergy after his own will; every divine who gained influence, changed and remodelled its services and articles according to the system he had learnt on the continent, or invented at home. It was the creature of accidents, but of accidents entirely destructive; not one came to fill up a breach in its walls, or to set up what another had plucked down. Devastation came upon devastation, and destruction swallowed up the traces of destruction. "*Residuum erucæ comedit locusta, et residuum locustæ comedit bruchus, et residuum bruchi comedit rúbigo.*" (*Joel i. 4.*) So long as there was a sound place left in the Church on which a blow could be struck, they laid them on, and spared not. It was not till every limb, from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, had been disfigured, and no more soundness was in her, that they desisted. And now, because her wounds are healed over, and the breath of life is still in her nostrils, we are called to consider and pronounce her fair and perfect as in the days of her youth! Because, through a special mercy, every trace of good religion was not entirely consumed,—because the desolation was not utter, as Sodom and Gomorrha's,—we are invited to hail as a blessing the storm that ravaged it, and the plague that scourged it!

Sincerely must every Catholic deplore the infatuation of such as think and act in this manner. But they have a claim upon other and better feelings than those of idle sympathy. Few more pernicious sacrifices have been made to the false divinities worshipped by the age, than that of denying the spirit of proselytism to be inherent in Catholicity. In the odious sense of the word, as an intermeddling intrusive spirit, we disown it; but as a steady, unceasing desire to bring others to the possession of the same truth as we hold, a prudent yet zealous endeavour to recommend that truth by word and action, it is an essential portion of the Christian spirit of charity. Our faith, though it may remove mountains, is naught without it. Ever since these words were uttered, "We have found him of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write... Come and see," (*John i. 45.*) it has been the very essence of the apostolic, and, consequently of the Christian spirit. For our own parts, we have no disguise. We wish for no veil over our conduct. It is our desire, and shall be,

to turn the attention of our Catholic brethren to the new forms of our controversy with Protestants, in the anxious hope that they will devote their energies to its study, and push the spiritual warfare into the heart of our adversary's country. That in some directions this is begun, we are able to assert. There are not wanting those who feel the insufficiency of our controversial endeavours in the past, to meet the exigencies of the present moment. And we are confident that all our excellent seminaries, at home and abroad, will use all diligence for repairing their defects. There is much that weighs heavily upon our breasts in reference to this subject. Time, and, still more, the Divine blessing, will, we trust, enable us to develope our meaning, and to effect our designs.

ART. III.—*The Lives and Exploits of English Highwaymen, &c. drawn from the earliest and most authentic sources.* 1834.

OUR first, though accidental, glance at the opening page of this work, awoke a long cherished antiquarian *penchant* for the subject. The recommendations rehearsed on its title-page, prospectively delighted us. In our mind's eye, we viewed, and reviewed, the laurels of the chivalric profession and the honour of England as inseparably entwined. The annals of highway robbery became an affair of national interest! We read,—we noted,—and, we write.

Utilitarians may prate as much as they please on the vanity of archæological and black-letter pursuits, but, for our own poor part, we confess we love to luxuriate among dusty, worm-eaten tomes,—to shake hands, as it were, with our forefathers, and trace some superannuated usage, or fugitive fashion, through each descent and change, from age to age. After all, despite the work-a-day wisdom that now, literally, “crieth out in the streets,” there are few intelligent minds that do not, on particular points, pay unconscious homage to hoar antiquity! “What’s in a name?” Yet, where is the man whose useful knowledge extends beyond its bare rudiments, who would not rather write himself Beauclerc, than Buggins,—Percy, than Potts? Show us the veriest cockney student that ever entered a mechanic’s institute, and if he can turn his admiring gaze from the pinnacles of Westminster Abbey, and then look on the mustard-pot and pepper-caster glories of our new “National Gallery” without a feeling of degradation—why, “may Heaven forgive him too!” Even in this era of innovation, we still find that the more ancient the

creation of a peerage, the date of a fraternity, or the origin of a custom, it usually follows, that the higher the honour, the greater the privileges, the more authoritative the precedent, respectively connected with each incident, and accordingly revered. To this general rule, however, the peculiar mode of personal appropriation, termed Robbery, certainly exhibits a lamentable exception; deprived, long since, of its native attributes, it has now become, in its original sense of an open, hand-to-hand "taking away by force," a mere obsolete tale of yore.

The birth of robbery is plainly registered in the sacred writings. The author of an *Essay on the Science of Swindling*, in *Blackwood* (1835), notices some infant examples of that spurious branch of the true calling, as existing among some of the earliest nations known after the flood; but the primitive profession itself claims its establishment even from the "good old days of Adam and Eve," and is therefore indisputably entitled to rank above every other liberal art and gentlemanly vocation in the world.

The first introducer and organizer of free companions, was no less a personage than the first-born of our first parents. Cain, after his settlement in the land of Nod (land of the *exile*, or *fugitive*), doomed to find the soil refuse "to yield him its strength," repudiated the servile, but till then only occupations of mankind, husbandry and herding, established the noble employment of arms, and thenceforth taught his followers to make the sword their bread-winner. The Scriptures also show, that subsequently to the deluge, Nimrod, one of Noah's great-grandsons, "began to be a mighty man in the earth." Improving on his antediluvian ancestor's practice of the strong hand, he vanquished his own uncle Asher, then seized his possessions, and finally founded, by right of conquest, the first monarchy on record.

Conquest, according to Todd, in his improved *Johnson*, is "in feudal law, *purchase*." "What we call *purchase*," says Blackstone, "the feudalists call *conquest*, both denoting any means of acquiring an estate out of the common course of inheritance."

These synonymes, though thus equally applicable to all transfers of property "out of the common course of inheritance," are yet differently employed to mark the value of a conveyance, and note the rank of the several parties concerned. In every supreme "taking away by force," from the first of Nimrod the Mighty, to the last of Nicholas the Autocrat, the act has ever been legalized under the denomination of *conquest*: whilst, on the other hand, we find *purchase* constantly used to designate the trivial acquisition obtained by any unprivileged brother of the blade. Strange as it may appear to common sense, this distinction between the seizure of a kingdom and the pillage of a purse, though clearly

nominal, is productive of the most opposite results to the respective operators. Custom confers on the victorious conqueror "rewards and praise;" law, maugre its own definition, decrees to the petty plunderer—a rope!

All we know of history tends to prove, that wherever "wild in woods the noble savage ran," self-preservation has been held Nature's prime law; and, obeying its dictates, the otherwise untutored barbarians invariably pursued

the simple plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can."

Such, Livy tells us, were precisely the habits of the aboriginal warriors of Britain, when our island was first visited by those illustrious Roman robbers, who came to inoculate the natives with civilization, at the point of the sword, and supply their own Apician banquets with—native oysters!

Among our Teutonic ancestors, also, martial robbery, instead of incurring disgrace, was esteemed as the hereditary birthright of the brave. "War and depredation," says Tacitus, "are the ways and means of the chieftain. To cultivate the earth, and wait the regular produce of the seasons, is not the maxim of a German. You will more easily persuade him to attack the enemy, and provoke honourable wounds on the field of battle. In a word, to earn by the sweat of your brow what you might gain by the price of your blood, is, in the opinion of a German, a sluggish principle, unworthy of a soldier." Centuries after the Roman historian wrote his description of the ancient Germans, their descendants bore to Britain the unchanged valour and manners of the race. Following those usages, though the Anglo-Saxon princes counted robbery a punishable offence, "if committed within the bounds of our kingdom," their laws awarded merely compensation to the injured, and a fine to the sovereign; whilst, beyond the limits of a state, spoliation was deemed both lawful and laudable, since, to ravage the territory of any troublesome neighbour, at once habituated the people to the use of arms, and gave their chief the means of rewarding their services.

War naturally formed the popular business of life, embracing, as it did, profit and pleasure. Whenever the hardy Welshmen "went out to plunder the English" (Saxons), they were accompanied by the royal minstrel, and their march enlivened with the harp and song. In peaceful principalities, however, when legitimate employment did not offer service abroad, the idle operatives were accustomed, occasionally, to unite and levy contributions at home. Such violations of kingly prerogative are particularly

noticed in the enactments of Ina, monarch of Wessex, towards the close of the seventh century. The pecuniary penalties affixed to the offence, rise in proportion to the increased number of confederated "Roberts men, or mighty thieves;" and the original classification, as given by Lambard, in his *Eirenarcha* (Ed. 1594), presents a singular proof of the purely warlike character assigned by law to rapine. "Thieves we call them vntil the number of seven men: from seven, a troupe, vntil 35: and an army aboue that number." That the epithet *Thieves*, should be applied to the first degree of comparison in the composition of an army, may appear strangely incongruous, but the very appellation stamps a characteristic seal on the martial mode of raising supplies referred to; for Daines Barrington, in his work on the ancient statutes, notes, as remarkable, "that one of the Saxon words for booty acquired in war, is, *a theft*," and quotes a passage from the Saxon Chronicle in illustration.

Under the supremacy of the Norman wholesale despoilers, retail robbery was deprived of the benefit of compensation, and declared a capital crime. The law, nevertheless, seldom touched any, save poor friendless rogues. By the *Dictum de Kenilworth* of Henry the Third, "Knights and esquires who were robbers, if they have no land, shall pay the half of their goods, and find sufficient security to keep henceforth the peace of the kingdom."

But, unluckily for the wholesome terrors of justice, in such cases it was necessary to convict each marauding baron, knight, or esquire, before he could be amerced for his fault, and in one notorious instance, not only were the judges unable to prevail on a Hampshire jury to pronounce a single individual guilty of a robbery, in which the accused actors were as well known as dreaded, but the king himself fruitlessly complained that, on his route through that county, his baggage had been rifled, his wines drank, and his person and authority laughed to scorn. To complete this illustration of national manners in the thirteenth century, the sequel proved, that several persons high in his majesty's household, were also associated with the provincial comptrollers of the royal wardrobe and buttery, who so gratuitously undertook those duties.

Throughout the wide-spread customs of war and chivalry, also, the ancient British maxim, recorded by Livy, that "all things belonged to the brave who had courage and strength to seize them," evidently retained much of its influence, though slightly masked in practice.

As the Saxon leader of a plundering band, above thirty-five, when taken, disbursed his *weregild*, or the full price at which his life was estimated; so, some ages later, the captor of any hostile chief

"rescue or no rescue," received from his prisoner a heavy ransom, in recompense for present safety and future freedom. The prevalence of this principle is pleasantly exemplified in the rhyming chronicle of "*Maistre Wace*," who wrote in the latter half of the 12th century. Celebrating the victory gained by Richard of Normandy over the allied French and German forces before Rouen, he rejoices in the captivity of a dozen luckless Counts, "for great their ransoms sure must be;" and most considerately remarks, that had they been killed, the conquerors would only have profited by their arms! Indeed, during a long series of years, martial Englishmen were accustomed to reckon on the emoluments of war as an important source of revenue. Hollinshed, in his reign of Richard the 2nd, observes, that "wherein times past, Englishmenne had greatly gained by the warres of France, who had by the same maynteyned their estate, they could not give their willing consents to have any peace at all with the Frenchmenne, in hopes by reason of the warres to profit themselves, as in times past they had done."

The self-same spirit of "purchase" pervaded even the most splendid recreations of knighthood. The forfeit horse and armour of the defeated in the tournament, "belonged to the brave who had courage and strength" to win them.

Symptoms of the olden influence are still discernible in the liberties taken by modern warfare. The confiscation of property, the issuing letters of marque, and the privileges of privateering, are but modified workings of the impulse which animated Earl Warenne, when he bared the blade borne by his ancestor in the conquest-field of Hastings, and demanded whether that title to his lands would be questioned!

Down to the present hour, the lower orders of our countrymen connect the attainment of pecuniary reward with a superiority of personal prowess: hence the common challenge, where no quarrel exists, to box for a stipulated sum, and the attendant wish, that the "best man" may gain the meed of bravery.

Robbery, at the period under review, claimed all the chivalric attributes; and in conjunction with daring courage, ample generosity to the poor, and a deep devotion to the fair, were, for ages, reputed indispensable requisites in the formation of every genuine chevalier of the road.

These traditional endowments may be traced as high, at least, as the famous sayings and doings of Robin Hood, whose name was so renowned throughout Scotland in the 14th century, that, even there, his achievements furnished the favourite themes of minstrelsy and theatrical pastimes. Fordun, it is true, alluding to their popularity, observes, they were preferred to all other

romances. Be it so. Grant the gallant bowman a non-entity, assuredly the manners delineated were not entirely fictitious, and though the personification might be indebted originally to fancy, rather than to fact, for its knightly qualities; still the constant perpetuation of the portrait, in the darling sports and metrical *garlands* of successive generations, would naturally render the character an object of general interest, and probably lead many to imitate what unvarying representations taught all to admire. The professional creed of the English order of outlaws, embodied in the form of the great archer himself, is fully given in an undated black-letter tract, belonging to the Garrick collection, in the British Museum. The "*Mery geste of Robyn Hood*," states, that

" A good maner then had Robyn
In lande where that he were
Euery daye or he wold dyne
Thre masses wold he here,
The one in the worshyp of the father
The other of the Holy ghoste
The thyrde was of our dere ladye
That he loued of all other moste.
Robyn loued our dere ladye,
For doubte of dedly synne
Wold he neuer do company harme
That any woman was in."

With all his reverence for religion, Robin presents himself as a Radical Reformer in ecclesiastical discipline. Not content with unburthening "these Byshoppes and these Archebýshoppes" of the filthy lucre which would render their entrance into heaven more difficult than a camel's passage through the eye of a needle, he specially enjoins his foresters,

" Ye shall them beate and bynde."

A charge in direct contradistinction to his injunctions relative to the humbler laity :

" Loke ye do no husbandeman harme
That tylleth wyth the plough,
No more ye shal no good yeman
That yalketh by greenwood shawe;
Ne no knyght, ne no squyer,
That wolde be a goode fellowe."

Lauding Robin's liberality, the poet closes his *geste* with the following elegiac stanza of prayer and praise, rather ungrammatically mingled :—

" Christ haue mercy on his soule
That died on the roode,

For he was a good outlawe,
 And dyd poore men much goode.
 Thus endeth the Lyfe of Robin Hode."

Truth, we know, is often stranger than fiction; and, setting aside any attempt to verify the legendary tales in question, history evidences that the hostility to Church dignitaries expressed in the *geste*, and the treatment bestowed on prelacy, in the well-known collection of ballads bearing the hero of Sherwood's name, were not unparalleled in the manners of the time.

In the year 1316, two cardinals, escorted by the Bishop of Durham, and his brother Lord Beaumont, with a numerous guard and retinue, were stopped near Darlington, by a formidable troop, stripped of their money and effects, and then permitted to proceed; but the Bishop and his brother were carried by the two brigand chiefs, Gilbert Middleton and Walter Selby, to separate castles, where they were kept in durance until their ransoms were duly paid.

A less comprehensive, but far more curious, commentary than the *geste*, relative to the reputation of our feudal freebooters, appears in Sir John Fortescue's *Treatise on the difference between an absolute and a limited Monarchy*. The most extraordinary circumstances belonging to this singular document, are the profession and rank of its author, who, under Henry VI, presided as Lord Chief Justice in the Court of King's Bench:—"It hath ben often seen in England," avers the learned judge, "that 3 or 4 thefes hath set upon 7 or 8 true men, and robyd them al. But it hath not ben seen in Fraunce, that 7 or 8 thefes have been hardy to robbe 3 or 4 true men. Wherefor it is right seld (seldom) that Frenchmenne be hangyd for robberye, for that they have no hertys to do so terrible an acte. There be therefor moe men hangyd in England in a yere for robberye and manslaughter, than there be hangyd in Fraunce for such cause of crime in seven yers. There is no man hangyd in Scotland in seven yers together for robberye; and yet they be often times hangyd for larceny and stelyng of goods in the absence of the owner thereof: but their harts serve them not to take a manny's goods, while he is present, and will defend it—which maner of taking is called robberye. But the Englishman be of another corage; for if he be poer, and see another man having riches, which may be takyn from him by myght, he wol not spare to do so."

When we find one of the highest legal luminaries of the time openly vaunting the prevalence of robbery, as an undeniable title to national preeminence in valour, we need no ghost to tell

us, what degree of actual turpitude popular opinion would attach to the delinquency. The sentiment must have been "familiar as a household word." Its existence in the days of Henry VIII, is thus noticed by Dr. Henry:—"Robbery was seldom attended with murder, and was probably still regarded as an occupation, of which the guilt might be extenuated by courage and success." Comparing this passage with that cited from the oracle of *Banco Regis*, it will be observed, that the jurisconsult associates robbery with *manslaughter*, not *murder*. Nor is the variance immaterial. Murder, in its ancient sense, signified assassination, or the slaying a man off his guard, and was, therefore, by the Anglo-Saxons adjudged inexpiable. Burglary likewise subjected the perpetrator to death, both crimes involving cowardly advantage. "Who steals in the night," say the Swedes, "breaks God Almighty's lock." Manslaughter, committed in open combat, was, like robbery, originally a redeemable offence. By the laws of Canute, if a man was killed in a church, compensation must be made "to Jesus Christ, the king, and the relation."

As regards robbery, we may fairly conclude that the gatherers of unlawful toll customarily avoided mortal violence, unless forced to it in self-defence. That such was the case when our master bard, and his poetical contemporaries, flourished, is indisputable. Shakspeare, in his *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, compares the most material points of Robin Hood's code in a couple of lines. Valentine agrees to join the Outlaws—

"Provided that you do no outrages
On silly women or poor passengers."

"No!" indignantly replies the freebooter; "we detest such vile base practices." In this instance, it may be said, the profession does not advance any distinct claim to humanity, as the usual "badge of all our tribe;" but the unequivocal testimony of Beaumont and Fletcher will decisively prove, that a forbearance from bloodshed was noted as an express and exclusive characteristic of the British robber. "We use you kindly," exclaims a masquerading bandit, in *The Little French Lawyer*—

"In that, like English thieves, we kill you not,
But are contented with the spoil."

Dead men tell no tales!—is the murderer's maxim; consequently, the opposite practice merited double praise, when the mercy shown availed the brotherhood nothing in the eye of the law. The abstractor of a coin, and the destroyer of life, were then alike punished with death,—and dreadful indeed were the hecatombs sacrificed in the name of justice. In the present state

of society, we look with amazement on the historic page, that numbers, at the lowest computation, 22,000 executions for robbery and theft, within the reign of Henry VIII alone! Hentzner, too, who visited England not long before the death of Queen Elizabeth, reports that, merely in the metropolis, the gibbetings were said to exceed 300 every year.

Among the auxiliary causes productive of such startling effects in the sixteenth century, two were casual and unprecedented.

First, the introduction into this country of those erratic enigmas in creation, described by the 22d Henry VIII, as "an outlandish people calling themselves Egyptians." Even then the gypsies were so notoriously expert in the sister arts of chiromancy and conveyancing ("convey, the wise it call") that the statute *invited* them, as our Gallic neighbours phrase it, to quit the kingdom, and, upon any trial for felony, annulled their claim to a jury, *de medietate lingue*.

The other, and incalculably more prolific source of want and vagrancy, was the forfeiture of the monastic revenues at the commencement of the Reformation. Ten thousand persons were supposed to be driven forth at the dissolution of the lesser monasteries only; and, in the sequel, when the whole of the Catholic communities were deprived of the large incomes, which supported, not only their congregated brethren, but, severally, a host of poor dependants, the multitude thus thrown loose upon the land must have been immense.

In addition to these fortuitous accumulations, robbery seldom lacked supplies from the kindred reservoirs of war.

The military mercenary, accustomed to find in foreign plunder his ordinary means of living, usually resorted to similar courses for domestic subsistence, when peace deprived him of pay and free quarters. The ancient court of Star Chamber, according to Sir Thomas Smith, as cited by Barrington, "was originally instituted to prevent the riots of disbanded soldiers, who were too much encouraged in rapine by their chieftains."

So late as the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, after the return of the fleet sent by her to the assistance of Don Antonio of Portugal, in his war against the Spaniards, about five hundred of the discarded soldiers and sailors assembled at Westminster, purposing to pillage Bartholomew Fair; but, panic-struck at the intelligence that the intrepid Mayor of London, Sir Richard Martin, was advancing against them at the head of two hundred armed citizens, they dispersed and fled in all directions. The *reformado*, as the disbanded or disabled soldier was termed, is frequently mentioned by our elder dramatists. Jonson's *Brain-*

worm, in *Every Man in his Humour*, begs in the disguise of "a maimed soldier." The character carried with it a sort of prescriptive right to solicit alms, and was therefore often assumed solely for that purpose, though, when opportunity served, the petition was probably presented much in the style practised by the road-side invalid, whose certificate of service, in the shape of an awkwardly placed carbine, so powerfully aroused the charitable sympathies of Gil Blas.

"Some colouring their wanderings by the name of soldiers returning from the wars," are specified among "sundry sorts of base people," placed under martial law for their various outrages by a proclamation of Queen Elizabeth's issued in 1595.

The true son of Mars, however, commonly scorned to sue, in cases where he had been wont to seize. Familiar with no manual art beyond his own handicraft, "Stand and deliver" was considered the penniless officer's only honourable resource.

In the comedy of *The Puritan* (1607), when Captain Idle appears in custody, the veteran Skirmish remarks: "He has started out—made a night on't—lacked silver.—I cannot but commend his resolution—he would not pawn his buff jerkin!" The author of *Martin Markall* (1610), in his account of the "Gent robbers, or thieves, who ride on horses well appointed, and goe in show like honest men," includes the soldiers that, "eyther by breaking up of the camp," or "as loving to live in idlenesse," &c. "betake themselves to robbing and stealing, untill they be taken and carried westward, there to make their rehearsall." A tract, published in 1643-4 (Vol. 148 of the *Royal Pamphlets in the Brit. Mus.*), represents "The Cashiered Soldier" thus soliloquizing on the subject:—

"To beg is base, as base as pick a purse;
To cheat, more base of all theft,—that is worse.
Nor beg nor cheat will I—I scorne the same;
But while I live, maintain a souldier's name.
I'll purse it, I,—the highway is my hope;
His heart's not great that fears a little rope."

The martialist's dogged decision in favour of manly robbery, so strikingly coincides with Sir John Fortescue's palpable contempt of the mean rogues whose "harts serve them not to take a manny's goods, while he is present and will defend it," that, evidently, the popular feeling was still in force. Though principally indebted to vagrancy and war for recruits, robbery, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, extraordinary as it may seem in the nineteenth century, counted among its members many gallants of aristocratic birth and breeding. Martin Markall describes some of his gent thieves, as "younger

brethren, who, being brought up in idleness and gaming, do fall to this kind of life to maintain the maine chance." Besides those whose follies and vices led them through evil ways to the highway, others were probably driven to it in despair of doing better. In those days, younger brothers seldom slept upon roses. Their provision was mostly limited to the advantages of a good education, and an employment in the service of some noble house. Mr. Gifford, in his introduction to *Massinger*, quotes a passage from the funeral sermon of the Earl of Kent (1614), in which the orator observes, that though his Lordship "was born of a most noble family, yet, being a younger brother, as the usual custom of our countrie is, he was compelled by necessitie to serve in a noble familie, but after was preferred to the service of the late Queene of happie memorie." When wholly left to the discretionary mercies of heirship, we may easily conceive that a dependant junior might be subjected to such "poor allottery" and unfraternal treatment, as would goad him to prefer even "a thievish living on the common road," to the dangerous vicinity of "a diverted blood and bloody brother."

Shakspeare's *Oliver and Orlando* were not entirely the imaginary "presentiment of two brothers," and most bitter references to the degrading and hateful subservience frequently required by the first-born, abound in the poetical productions of the period, "as plenty as blackberries." But the passionate expostulation of *Euphanes*, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Queen of Corinth*, alone concentrates as much of apparently heartfelt truth as volumes could display.

"Maybe you look'd I should petition to you,
As you went to your horse: flatter your servants
To play the brokers for my furtherance.
Soothe your worse humours, act the parasite.
On all occasions write my name with their's
That are but one degree remov'd from slaves.
Be drunk when you would have me,—then wench with you,
Or play the pander: enter into quarrels,
Although unjustly grounded, and defend them
Because they were yours. These are the tyrannies
Most younger brothers groan beneath, yet bear them,
From the insulting heir!"

. In any attempt to illustrate past national manners, how valuable are the services rendered by the drama. What a vivid light has its few ancient fragments thrown on the customs and institutions of Greece and Rome. For ourselves, how deeply are we indebted to Shakspeare and the long line of his illustrious

brethren. With them we mingle among the walkers and talkers of Paul's, are jostled by the "flatcap" 'prentices around the conduit in Chepe, or join the gaming "roisterers" at an ordinary in Fleet street. From the cross of Charing to the archery butts at Finsbury, from the courtly pageant to the sports of the bear garden, the whole panorama of social existence passes before us, each individual "in his habit as he lived," and showing "the very age and body of the time, its form and pressure."

In their representations of robbery, the majority of our old theatrical painters took the popular view of the subject, and often depicted the courageous and companionable qualities of the "fine, gay, bold-faced villain," in colours much more likely to inspire sympathy than to excite disgust. Sir John a Wrotham, a jovial shaveling, in "Sir John Oldecastle," (1600) introduces himself to the audience by frankly acknowledging that he is "in plain terms a thief, yet let me tell you too, an honest thief: one that will take it, where it may be spared, and spend it freely in good fellowship." Practising as he preaches, this lusty follower of Friar Tuck maintains a dainty *leman*, and emulates Falstaff in his love for sack. Whilst foraging on Blackheath, he encounters Henry the Fifth incognito, and executes a piece of retributive justice on the juvenile pranks of the Prince, by easing his Majesty of a purse of angels, in the good old style of greenwood borrowing. Though subsequently pardoned by the King, with an injunction to repent, he soon after plunders an Irishman, who having previously murdered and stripped his master, is in the end sentenced to be hanged, which the Patlander, with an amiable recollection of "home, sweet home," begs may be done "in a wyth after the Irish fashion." Sir John, being "a pitiful thief," and appearing as an approver against the assassin, receives forgiveness in full for all past peccadilloes, on a bare promise of future amendment. In this drama we have another proof of the wide disparity existing in public estimation between a blood-stained or stealthy depredator, and the mere hardy ranger, whose "corage" openly perilled his life, on double hazards, to obtain the modicum of "richesse" necessary to the wants, and expended in the maintenance of "good fellowship."

The jocund and liberal disposition ascribed to *honest* thieves, probably obtained for the fraternity their familiar designation of *good fellows*. The disguised King, in old Heywood's *Edward the 4th*, (1599) calls Hobs the tanner "good fellow." Hobs replies, "I am no good fellow, and pray God thou beest not one."—"Why?" queries the monarch; "dost thou not love a good fellow?" "No," responds the tanner, "good fellows be

thieves." The appellation, apparently, also bore some affinity to that fairy amalgamation of mischief and mirth, Robin Good-fellow. One of the knavish elf's aliases was *Pug*. "Pugging," in the glossary of Archdeacon Nares, is illustrated by the confession of Autolytus, in his song, that the linen exposed for bleaching "doth set my *pugging* tooth an edge." And *puggard* is among the cant terms applied to a thief in Middleton's *Roaring Girl*.

Another jovial appropriator of "unconsidered trifles," and likewise a mad member of the Church militant, plays a conspicuous part in Geo. Peele's *Edward the 1st*. Lluellin having assumed the title of Robin Hood, his attendant priest, Hugh ap David, dubs himself Friar Tuck; and, apprised that a rich farmer is on his way to receive a large sum of money, "spreads the lappet of his gown, and falls to dice." On the traveller's entrance, his attention is drawn to the Friar's solitary game, by hearing him exclaim, in all the seeming excitement of a modern *hellite*, "Did ever man play with such uncircumcised hands!" Concluding that the gamester must be moon-struck, when he declares that he has lost five gold nobles to Saint Francis, and is anxious to pay them to the saint's receiver, the farmer replies that he holds that office, and is so far on his road to breakfast with his patron "on a calves-head and bacon." The nobles are delivered, and he departs. On his return, he finds the Friar still busied with the *bones*. But luck has changed sides; and he is compelled to disburse on the saint's account a hundred marks, won by Hugh in the interim.

Peele's offspring yet owns a "local habitation and a name." Numerous, indeed, have been the transmigrations of the gambling robber's essence. At his last birth, in an histrionic shape, the ingenious author of *The Brigand* officiated as godfather, and gave the name of Massaroni to an Italian incarnation of the Cambro-Briton's exploit.

Under various forms, Hugh still tenants our encyclopædias of anecdote; and in the person of Thomas Rumbold adorns the latest edition of that peculiar series of the *Romance of History* which stands at the head of the present article, and is there facetiously y'clept *The Lives and Exploits of English Highway-men, &c.* In this modern version of an incident, "drawn from the earliest and most authentic sources," the Church, with praiseworthy propriety, reverses its original position, and Rumbold, the substitute for Friar Tuck, victimises an Archbishop of Canterbury to the tune of fourteen hundred pounds. 'Tis his most probable adventure is a sample of the *authentic* achievements, attributed throughout the work to a certain set of names,

and exhibiting, with very few exceptions, a collection of extravagancies about as veracious, but not quite so amusing, as the wondrous deeds performed by that pattern of prodigies, Baron Munchausen.

In sooth, historical memoirs of eminent "takers away by force," from generals up to emperors, lie ticketed on every book-stall; but *authentic* memorials of distinguished leaders in the minor branches of "purchase," are of rare occurrence in our biographical literature. Even "Martin Markall," their especial chronicler, loosely commences his *Runagates Race, or the originall of the Regiment of Rogues*, at the rebellion of Jack Cade, and simply commemorates Hugh Roberts, one of the insurgent's associates, as the founder of certain laws and regulations for the government of the fraternity. He also states, that the fourth successor to the chieftainship of Roberts, was celebrated by the style and title of "Puffing Dicke," and about 1485, he "first gave terms to robbers by the highway, that such as robbe on horsebacke were called highway *lawyers*, and those who robbed on foote he called *padders*."

This tract, like the cotemporaneous productions of Greene, Dekker, and others, on the same theme, principally expatiates on the various arts of *coney-catching*, or cozenage combined with theft, then in practice. *Purchase*, however, in its higher walks, or rather *rides*, received tribute from the Muses in more forms than the dramatic, for "a doleful ballad" usually attended the premature close of any great man's career in the calling. A specimen of these valedictory obsequies to "birth, parentage and education, life, character and behaviour," is preserved in a folio volume of antiquarian and typographical scraps in the British Museum. *Luke Hutton's Lamentation, which he wrote the day before his death*, is printed in black letter, without a date,—an odd omission in a last dying speech and confession; but the final stanza fixes the event before the decease of Queen Elizabeth.

In the original, the second line, and the concluding couplet of the first verse, are regularly repeated in each afterwards.

"I am a poor prisoner condemned to die.
 Ah! wo is me, wo is me, for my great folly:
 Fast fettered in irons in place where I lie.
 Be warned young wantons, hemp passeth green holly.
 My parents were of good degree,
 By whom I would not ruled be.
 Lord Jesus, receive me, with mercy relieve me;
 Receive, oh, sweet Jesus, my spirit unto thee."

- "My name is Hutton; yea Luke, of bad life.—Ah, &c.
Which on the highway did rob man and wife: be warned, &c.
Inticed by many a graceless mate,
Whose counsel I repent too late.—Lord, &c.
- "Not twenty years old (alas!) were I,
When I began this felony:
With me went still twelve yeomen tall,
Which I did my twelve apostles call.
- "There was no squire, nor baron bold,
That rode by the way with silver and gold,
But I, and my apostles gay,
Would lighten their load ere they went away.
- "This news procured my kinsfolks grief;
That hearing I was a famous thief,
They wept, they wailed, they rung their hands,
That thus I should hazard life and lands.
- "They made me a jaylor a little before,
To keep in prison offenders sore;
But such a jaylor was never known,
I went and let them out every one.
- "I wis this sorrow sore grieved me,
Such proper men should hanged be;
My officer then I did defie,
And ran away for company.
- "Three years I lived upon the spoile,
Giving many an Earl the foyle;
Yet did I never kill man nor wife,
Though lewdly long I led my life.
- "But all too bad my deeds have been,—Ah, &c.
Offending my country and my good Queēn.—Be warned, &c.
All men in Yorkshire talk of me,
A stronger thiefe there could not be.
Lord Jesus, forgive me, with mercy relieve me;
Receive, oh, sweet Saviour, my spirit unto thee."

An accompanying "complaint" asserts, that Luke was born on St. Luke's day; that, when he was nineteen years of age, "he rob'd in bravery nineteen men," and that there were "nine score indictments and seventeen" against him at the York assizes, when he was tried and doomed. However atrocious Hutton's previous offences might be, he certainly was guiltless of the final *black* act committed in his name—against poetry. Such forgeries were common among the dregs of the scribbling craft, even in the Elizabethan age; and it is interesting, as another literary trait of the time, to find the abuse noticed by the genius

of Beaumont and Fletcher. In their *Lover's Progress*, Malfort, conscious of his demerits, remarks:—

“ — I have penn'd mine owne ballad
Before my condemnation, in feare
Some rimer should prevent me.”

As the *Lament* decidedly was *not* the composition of Hutton, its contents would be utterly worthless, but that the allusion to his avoidance of blood, is so far confirmatory of the self-imposed law among the “highway lawyers,” and that there are curious grounds for believing the principal events mentioned were facts of public notoriety.

That Hutton's parents moved in good society can scarcely be doubted, for, most unquestionably, their son possessed far higher claims to the honours of poesy, than the Tyburn laureat who pocketed pence in his character. An undated quarto tract, really written by the “Gent thief,” and bearing the quaint title of the *The Blacke Dogge of Newgate*, is also among the stores of the Museum. It is dedicated to the Lord Chief Justice Popham, professedly that the judge may know, and, knowing, reform the evils exposed by its author. From his address to the reader, it appears that he had previously published, what he terms his *Repentance*, and was induced by its favourable reception to present this “second labour.” The first part of *The Black Dog* is metrical, and though composed in a figurative style, bordering on bombast, amply proves, that the writer must have received from nature an ear for harmonious verse, and from his family an education much above the vulgar. The work thus opens:—

“ When as blacke Tytan, with his duskie robe,
Had Tellus clouded with his curtayne's nyght,
Fayre Phebus peering underneath earthe's globe,
With winged steedes hence takes his course aright:
Tytan he leaves to beare imperial sway,
Commanding nyght, as Phebus did the day.”

Retired to rest, he begins to reflect on—

“ A thousand thinges, which had been in my time:
My birth, my youth, my woes; which all surmount
My life, my losse, my libertie, my crime.”

Sleep seizes him, and a vision succeeds. He imagines himself in the infernal regions, but is encouraged by Minerva to expose the practices of the “helhoundes” who surround him. The grievances alleged, are mostly exactions to which the prisoners were subjected, and the shameful treatment of those who could not satisfy such demands. In the prose portion of the pamphlet, Hutton describes the nefarious tricks in use among the under-

lings of the law, and professed thief-takers, all of whom he classes under the common head of "coney-catchers." The title of his book he explains, as referring both to the principal functionary accused, and to an existing tradition, that Newgate was haunted by an apparition in the shape of a black dog, though, he sagaciously adds, "there is no such matter."

The Chief Justice to whom Hutton addressed his accusations, was not a man likely to disregard the appeal. Eminently indefatigable and inexorable in the execution of his duties, his name has descended to us singularly connected with the race of "highway lawyers," for his Lordship was shrewdly suspected of having practised in his youth those very "arts inhibited and out of warrant," which he afterwards punished so mercilessly in others. Anthony Wood says, that James I was deterred from pardoning many criminals of that description by Popham's interference, significantly adding, that "he was well acquainted with their ways and courses in his younger days."

The investigation called for, probably led to Hutton's official employment in the prison, and the letting himself and friends "out every one." Poverty and poetry are too often united, to make it "a world's wonder" if robbery were recognised as their offspring; but to find poetry the issue of robbery, may be regarded as an anomalous event in the progress of production. Nevertheless, Hutton is not the only worthy entitled to a niche in the triune temple of Mars, Mercury, and Apollo. On the 11th of February 1626, one of Joseph Mead's news letters (*Harl. MSS.*) informs Sir Martin Stuteville, that "Mr. Clavell, a gentleman, a knight's eldest son, a great highway robber, and of posts, was, together with a soldier, his companion, arraigned and condemned, on Monday last, at the King's Bench bar. He pleaded for himself, that he never had struck or wounded any man,—never had taken any thing from their bodies, as rings, &c.,—never cut their girths or saddles, or done them, when he robbed, any corporeal violence. He was, with his companion, relieved. He sent the following verses to the king for mercy, and hath obtained it:—

" 'I that have robb'd so oft, am now bid stand;
 Death and the law assault me, and demand
 My life and means. I never used men so;
 But having ta'en their money, let them go.
 Yet must I die! And is there no relieve?
 The King of Kings had mercy on a thiefe!
 So may our gracious king too, if he please,
 Without his council, grant me a release.
 • God is his precedent, and men shall see
 His mercy goe beyond severity.'—"

Clavell, though rescued from death, suffered a long imprisonment. The preface to his poetical *Recantation of an ill-led Life; or a Discovery of the Highway Law*, is dated "From my lonely, sad, and unfrequented chamber, in the King's Bench, October, 1627."

A number of addresses, in verse and prose, intended to propitiate the king, the nobility, the judges, magistrates, clergy, &c., are prefixed to the poem; and the whole closes with a postscript imploring his majesty:—

"Oh! free me from this lingering lethargie;
Let me at libertie, or let me die!"

Throughout the work, Clavell is profuse in his professions of sincere repentance, and assurances, that if royal clemency will grant him his freedom, the remainder of his life shall show him not unworthy the blessing he solicits. His entreaties were finally successful; and, after obtaining his liberty, he endeavoured to interest "his ever dear and well-approved good uncle, Sir William Clavell, knight-banneret," by some feeling and forcible lines, ending with the following impressive protestation:—

"——— Oh! let not me
Be new arraigned by your severity.
Forget my foul offences, me and all,
Until some brave and noble actions shall
Bring you anew acquainted. If againe
I ever take a course that shall be vaine,
Or if of any ill I faulty be,
Oh, then, for ever, disinherit me.

"Your right sorrowful nephew,

"JOHN CLAVELL."

The ex-highwayman, we find, faithfully redeemed his pledges, and, we may infer, regained his original station in life; for the epistle from the stationer to the buyer, appended to the third edition of Clavell's work, in 1634, concludes thus:—"The late and general false report of his relapse, and untoward death, made me most willing again to publish this work of his, to let you know, he not only lives, but hath also made good all these his promises and strict resolutions; insomuch, that it has become very disputable amongst wise men, whether they should most admire his former ill ways, or his now most singular reformation, whereat no man outjoys his friend and yours—Richard Meighen."

Clavell's *Discovery of the Highway Law* appears to be the only genuine, and consequently the most interesting, professional record of the subject now extant, since it lays open all the

systematic machinery, rules and regulations, of our "squires of the night's body," during the first half of the seventeenth century.

Agreeably to knightly custom, every aspirant, on his admission as "a brother of the companie," took an initiatory oath "out ere he rode." The novice solemnly swore to be true to his comrades, and should fate throw him into the clutches of the Philistines, never to reveal the name of a brother, or give any information injurious to the calling, though the disclosure would save his life. When "prest hard" by a judicial examiner, he was bound to "create some men in his owne fantasie," give an imaginary account of their persons, and place them all "farre off." Honour among thieves! was then something more than an ironical figure of speech. Clavell, though a penitent and petitioning prisoner when he wrote, did not scruple to acknowledge that he had rigidly adhered to his vow, and when "there was no longer saying nay," merely owned to his acquaintance with a few men, who "Had bin recorded many times before," adding to those "some fayned names."

Another dim vestige of the vocation's traditionary claim to a military character, shows itself in Clavell's sneer at his quondam friends:—

—" You do awe,
The silly beasts, that Beere and Claret draw,
For they you *Captains* and *Lieutenants* call."

That many whom Clavell knew as "Knights of the Roades," were qualified by birth to claim kindred with gentle blood, he also proves. He writes to the justices of peace, "Great is your care and trouble, almost at every session and assize, in tryall of those who this way offend: Seriously to be lamented is the losse of many young gentlemen (well descended) who have been for that fact found guilty, and accordingly suffered untimely, ignominious, yet deserved deaths." We have a graver witness in Bishop Earle, who, noticing in his "*Microcosmography*" the various evils younger brothers were heirs to, says, "others take a more crooked path, through the king's highway; where at length the *vizard* is plucked off, and they strike fair for Tyburne." Clavell shows that not only masks, but disguises of every kind were used "for the nonce." They wore, "muzzles and mufflers," patches for the eyes, false beards, wigs, and sometimes even "that great wen which is not naturall." So complete were the transformations occasionally, that "Martin Markall" declares, "I have heard, and partly know, a highway lawyer rob a man

in the morning, and hath dined with the *martin*, or honest man so robbed, the same day at an inne, being not descried, nor yet once mistrusted or suspected for the robbery." Before we leave the most celebrated and lucky of *Gent robbers* "alone in his glory," a conjecture may be hazarded relative to his final fate. In one of Clavell's supplications to the king, he observes, that, if liberated,

"——— I do intend,
Whilst these your wars endure, even there to spend
My time in that brave service."

On the outbreak of the civil wars, gratitude would surely range him, if living, on his sovereign's side, and he perhaps ultimately perished in defence of the erring, but not worthless prince to whom he was previously indebted for a forfeit life. Taking the historical foundations for a romance, might not a superstructure be raised worthy the talents of our best living architects in that department? Eh, Messrs. Ritchie, James, Bulwer, or Smith? Or what say *you*, Harrison Ainsworth?—there's firmer footing for you than Turpin's ride to York—a word with you on that hero, "time and place agreeing."

We now arrive at what may be termed the golden age of robbery in England,—that epoch of anarchy so graphically described by Withers, in his "*What peace to the Wicked?*" (1646):—

"Some strive for this, and some for that,
Some neither know nor care for what,
So wars go on, and get they may
Free quarters, plunder, and their pay.
Some fight their liberties to save,
Some that they others may enslave.
Some for religion and for Christ.
Some that they may do what they list.
Some for the Commonwealth's avail,
Some for themselves with tooth and naile:
And they that have the basest end,
As fairly as the best pretend;
Not caring whether their desire,
Obtained be by sword or fire,
By truth or lies, with love or hate,
By treachery or fair debate.
This is our posture!———"

That tremendous struggle, which our great-grandfathers were wont to denominate the "great rebellion," naturally added both numbers and dignity to the free companions who already subsisted "at point of fox." As the royal cause became hope-

less, the routed and fugitive *malignants* were compelled to join the illegitimate trade, and still prove their attachment to the king by robbing the *roundheads*. It followed, of course, that the established practitioners, gladly identifying themselves with the party of their prince, thenceforth plundered "*cum privilegio*." Foremost on the rolls of highway renown, at that period, appears the name of James Hind. It is seldom that heroes of his order are honoured by literary commemoration, until death sets the signet of notoriety on their memories. But the author of "*The Prince of Priggs' Rerels*," published in 1651, after concluding the dramatic supposititious adventures of Hind, by representing him as the guide of Charles the 2nd in his escape from the late battle of Worcester, adds the following epilogue:—

"Our author's invention would not admit delay,
But strait produced new plots to enlarge this play:
And thinking to write what's fancy had commended,
One comes and tells him, Hind was apprehended:
Whereat, amazed, he bids his friends adieu,
And forth he's gone, to inquire if the news be true."

The news proved perfectly correct. One of the public hebdomedial papers of the time, *The Weekly Intelligencer*, announces, on the 9th of November, 1651, the seizure of Hind, and his committal to Newgate, "where many people run thither to see him." As the royal rout at Worcester occurred only in the September preceding Hind's arrest, the fact that he was popularly known to have fought under the Stuart banner, sufficiently shows the general, though equivocal celebrity attached to his person and name. The innumerable tongues of rumour, too, had proclaimed him "instrumentall in conveying away the Scots King and Wilmot;" but when examined before the State Council at Whitehall, he declared, that "he never saw the king since the fight at Worcester, neither did he know of his getting off the field." At the same time, boldly adding, in the true spirit of a devoted cavalier, constant though captive, that "he was now glad to hear that the king had made so happy an escape."

The earliest notice of Hind in the invaluable collection of pamphlets presented by George the 3rd to the British Museum, is in "*The Perfect Weekly Account*" of the 13th September, 1649. The news collector reports from Bedford, September 3rd, "Last night was brought in to this gaol, two prisoners taken up upon pursuit by the country, for robbing some soldiers of about £300 upon the way, in the day time: there were five in the fact, and are very handsome gentlemen: they will not confess their names, and therefore are supposed to be gentlemen of quality, and 'tis conceived they are of the knot of Captain Hind, that

grand thief of England, that hath his associates upon all roads. They strewed at least £100 upon the way to keep the pursuers doing, that they might not follow them." The same (not unquestionable) authority, on the 20th of the same month, states, "Yesterday about 20 horse of Hind's party (the grand highway thief), in the space of two hours robbed about 40 persons between Barnet and Wellin. They let none pass to carry news, while they staid about this work, by which means they all escaped before the country could be raised, but the Lord-General's horse are diligent in seeking after them."

Allowing every latitude to the original sin of newspaper exaggeration, what must have been the condition of "merrie England," when such events were publicly recorded week after week; and that they were not entirely devoid of truth, is confirmed by the mention of the cavalry in pursuit, which no doubt refers to a circular issued by General Fairfax, only three days before the date of the statement last quoted. It was addressed to the commanders of "every respective regiment of horse," urging them to be active in the apprehension of all robbers, and promising what was then a high reward for every one so captured. A contemporary but interdicted paper, the royalist "*Man in the Moon*," animadverting on the subject, sarcastically observes, that the "House of Robbers" had voted for the next six months, a reward of ten pounds for the taking of every burglar or highway robber, "the State's officers exempted." The proscription probably proved effective, for, on the 24th of the succeeding December, no less than twenty-eight malefactors, principally of the classes specified, were all gibbeted together at Tyburn, among whom was "one Captain Reynolds, who was of the king's party in Cornwall, at the disbanding of the Lord Hopton's army at Truro."—"His carriage was very bold, and as he was going to be turned off, he cried, *God bless King Charles, Vive le Roi.*" "The grand thief of England," however, could not possibly have participated in the extensive *purchases* debited against him by the news writer in 1649; at least, according to the memorial published in his name, and apparently authentic: "*The Declaration of Captain James Hind*," put forth to confute "impertinent stories, and new invented fictions," is written in the first person. He speaks penitentially of his past life, but consoles himself, both morally and loyally, that "never did I take the worth of a peny from a poor man; but at what time soever I met with any such person, it was my constant custom to ask, *Who he was for?* if he replied, *For the King*, I gave him twenty shillings: but if he answered, *For the Parliament*, I left him as I found him." As to any exploits on the highway, he says, "Since 1649, I am guiltless: For in

the same year, *May 2*, I departed England (as appears by my confession to the Council at White Hal on the 10th inst.) and went to the Hague; but after I had been there three days, I departed for Ireland in the vessel that carried the king's goods, and landed in Galloway." He relates that he remained in Ireland nine months, and was wounded by Malberds in the right arm and hand, whilst fighting as a corporal in the Marquis of Ormond's life-guards, when the Parliamentary forces surprised Youghal. After quitting Ireland, he visited Scilly and the Isle of Man, thence proceeded to Scotland, where he was introduced to Charles the 2nd, and kissed his hand at Stirling. The king commended him to the Duke of Buckingham, "to ride in his troop, because his life-guard was full." Flying from the defeat at Worcester, he concealed himself during daylight among bushes and hedges, and travelled by night. For five days he was hidden in Sir John Packington's woods. At length he ventured to London, and after lodging five weeks, under the assumed name of Brown, in the house of "Denzy the barber, near Saint Dunstan's Church," was apprehended on the 9th of November. Signed, James Hind, Nov. 15th, 1651.

If this document may be fully credited, Hind, when advised by a gentleman who visited him, to petition Parliament for his life, and recommend himself to mercy, by the discovery and impeachment of his associates, indignantly rejected "such treachery and perfidiousness," exclaiming, "If I die, I die alone!" Poor Hind's gaol treatment must have been sufficiently rigorous. A petition from him to the Council, praying for some relaxation of its severity, was so far successful, that "it was ordered that he should have a bed, which was the final result." The prison poor laws of those *troublous* times certainly required reform. In a London Bill of Mortality, from the 12th to the 19th of December 1644, appears the following astounding, but official entry:—"Starved, three cavaliers in the New Prison, at James, Clerkenwell...3." Perhaps the most extraordinary circumstance connected with the close of Hind's extraordinary life, is the fact, that two London sessions passed without a single indictment being preferred against him. "*The Perfect Account*" of January 21st, 1652, mentions that such being the case, the *great robber* "is the next circuit to go from sizes to sizes, in those counties where it is thought he hath committed his greatest pranks, where any one that he hath wronged may prefer their indictments against him." If this arbitrary proceeding took place, it appears to have failed in its object, as far as robbery was concerned; for another periodical styled "*Perfect Passages*," &c. on the following 12th of March, after relating that a woman had been sentenced

to death at the Reading assizes "for having *fifteen* husbands living at one time," adds, that Hind also was put on his trial "for murdering of a man some years since." Witnesses swore to the fact, and one to Hind as the perpetrator. He "confessed that he was in the company of those that killed the man, but denied that himself did the act, urging farther, that it was in time of war." The jury returned a verdict of manslaughter. "Then he desired the benefit of clergy, which was given him, but although he is in part a scholler, yet could he not read audibly, whereupon the judge proceeded to sentence." He was subsequently reprieved by the judge, and the public journals take no farther notice of the event. One of his apocryphal biographers ascribes his pardon to the act of oblivion passed by the governing powers. If so, it seems they were determined to redeem their oversight, and still subject him to capital punishment; for, in the succeeding August, he was tried at Worcester, on a charge of high treason, in invading the Commonwealth, found guilty, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. From the account published of his execution, he appears to have gloried in his loyalty to the last, and "prayed God to bless the king, and all that wished him well." Thus, as the author of "*No Jest like a true Jest*," concludes his counterfeit "*Compendious Record*" of Hind's career,

"Thus fate, the great derider, did deride, ♣
That lived by robbery, yet for treason died."

Let not any innocent reader imagine that the petty arts of book-making and bookselling, were greater mysteries in the days of the puritanical despisers of human learning, than they are in the present printing-press age of multitudinous knowledge. Fabricated histories of Hind were in common circulation, even before his literary appearance as the "*Prince of Priggs*." A pamphlet, giving the particulars of Hind's arrest, examination before the Council, and behaviour in Newgate, relates, that a gentleman who had obtained admittance to him, produced two books, "the one entitled, *Hind's Rambles*, the other *Hind's Exploits*," and inquired if he had ever seen them before? "He answered, yes: and said upon the word of a Christian, they were fictions." This truth-telling tract was printed for G. Horton in November 1651. In the following January the very same publisher sent forth, "*We have brought our Hogs to a fine market, or Strange News from Newgate*." In this farrago of ridiculous falsehoods, among the many marvels fathered upon Hind, is an encounter with a witch at Hatfield, by whom "he was enchanted for the space of three years," and received from her "a thing like a sun-

diall, the point of which should direct him which way to take when pursued." Unfortunately for Hind, but necessarily for the weird-woman's credit, the charm expired in 1649. This sample is pretty well for an exposé of previous fictions, but nothing to the modest intrepidity displayed in his assurance to his "beloved countrymen," that the adventures recounted are attested under Hind's own hand! Another life of "The English Guzman," also of 1652, contains an account of "How Hind was made a captain at Colchester," which, if at all consistent with the manners of the time, is valuable, as showing how little Hind's vocation, even then, stigmatized its known professors in general society. "When the rising was in Kent and Essex, Hind was among them: being beloved of many *wilde gentlemen*, who still called him *captain* at every word: Hind said, Gentlemen, you call me *captain*, but I will desire you to call me *so no more*, till I am *one*, or may *deserve it*. The gentlemen said, We will speak to *Sir William Compton*, who wants a captain in his regiment of foot: they all go to Sir William Compton, who knowing Hind, since he was wont to *borrow his horse*, to do many mad pranks, forgave him all that was on the old score, and began a new one with him, giving him a commission for to be a captain." The author of this version of Hind's "moving accidents by flood and field," may rank as an humble harbinger of our illustrious Scott, for, taking advantage of his hero's own certified declaration, he carries him successively to Holland, Ireland, the Isle of Man, and Scotland, furnishing him with gratuitous adventures at each place, and thus presenting a rude species of the historical novel. About a month after Hind's arrest, some anticipatory wag published, "*The last will and testament of James Hind, highway lawyer, now sick to death in his chamber in Newgate. Full of various conceits beyond expectation.*" The conceits of this little satirical tract of six pages, are certainly so "beyond expectation," in the author's superiority over most of his nameless, brainless, brothers of the quill, that a taste of his quality may be relished, for its odd mixture of satire and sense:—

"In the name of Mercurie, (God of Thieves, Prince of Priggs, Chiefest of Cheates, Patron of Pickpockets, Lord of Leasings, and Monarch of Mischief,) Amen. I, James Hynd, Highway Lawyer, being (in body) sick of that deadly disease, called *Sessions*, but well and strong of mind, do hereby make my last will and testament, in manner and forme following. *Imprimis*, I give and bequeath all my Fallacies, Fraudes, Fegaries, Sights, Stratagems, Circumventions, Assassinations, Dissimulations, and Ambages, to the present Gownemen, who fight at *Barriers*, at the *Upper Bench*, *Chancerie*, and wherever else Littleton and Pleyden is mentioned: not doubting but they

will improve this my Legacie to their utmost advantage, that so (if it could be possible) they may yet be more renowned for their Evasions, Inlibitions, Remoras, Collusions, &c. and generally for all their egregious Procrastinations, Gulleries, and Knaveries, practised upon their poore deluded clients. And so great is the love I bear them, that I earnestly wish I could also make them full and sole Executors to all my sinnes. *Item*, I give and bequeath my Honours and Titles to the Right Honourable the *Quondam* House of Peers, earnestly hoping, that they will more thriftily employ the Legacie I leave them, then they have hitherto done that of their ancestors: I confesse my forefathers never knew what belonged to a *George* dangling in a blew ribbon, yet they were capable of Coats of Arms too, viz. three Bulls heads in a greene field, the fatall axe tow'ring above either their heads, enough to signifie their magnanimitie and courage, and that they came not short of any, for down-right blows."

"What would it boot me, though I could discourse
Of a long golden line of ancestors?
What need I search or seek descent of blood,
From Father Japhet, since Deucalion's flood!
Or call some old church windows to record,
And prove my greatest grandsire Earle or Lord!
Or find some figures halfe obliterate,
In raine-beate marble near to the church gate,
Upon a crosse-leg'd tombe! What boots it me
To show the rustic buckle that did tie
The garter of my father's father's knee?
Or cite old Ocland's verse, how he did wield
His sword at Turwin or at Turnay field?—
Upon a six square piece of ivorie
Lyes all the glory of my progenie!"

The heraldic bulls' heads, with their accompanying axes, are emblematic of Hind's reported original trade, that of a butcher. Towards the conclusion of the incarcerated testator's will, his representative takes due care to claim for him the twin cardinal virtues of his calling, "having ever abhor'd to rob the spittal, viz. to take ought from the poore; ever avoided blood-guiltinesse, and observing a decorum in the midst of confusion." It cannot be denied that then, as now, a newspaper report frequently required confirmation, but if *The Faithful Scout* of the 20th of February 1652 was correct in his intelligence, Hind's aversion to blood-guiltiness was not a family attribute. The *Scout* announces, from Oxford, that—"The grand highwayman and committe-creditor, Captain Hind, (brother to the unparalleled James Hind, in Newgate) hath made an escape out of the castle gaol." It seems he had, by some means, been supplied with a pistol, and enabled to free himself at pleasure from

his fetters. About ten o'clock at night, "one of the keepers (according to his usual custom) came to play at the game call'd cribbage." Whilst at cards, Hind shot the unsuspecting turn-key to the heart, seized his keys, and fled. The murdered man's name was Bush, and the news-writing prototype of our modern "penny-a-liners," sportively concludes by saying, that when the prison officials came to seek their missing companion, they "found the *Bush*, but the *bird* was flown."

There is a memoir of James Hind, in the "authentic" Lives of 1834, rich in deeds of daring totally unnoticed by his early chroniclers. That, however, is easily accounted for, since the publication of such very peculiar pieces of secret history, at any period previous to the Restoration, would have consigned the printer to the pillory, and his work to the flames. According to the cavalier captain's later historians, he gathered most bountiful benevolences from some of the brightest beacons among the shining lights of the land. The famous clerical campaigner, Hugh Peters, contributed "thirty broad pieces of gold." Bradshaw, the president at the king's trial, yielded "a purse full of Jacobuses;" and the renowned Colonel Harrison, "more than £70." Nay, Hind, accompanied only by his friend Allen, attacked Oliver Cromwell in his coach, on the road from Huntingdon to London, and guarded by seven troopers. But, as usual, Noll's star was in the ascendant; Allen was apprehended, but his intrepid comrade escaped! By the clerks of St. Nicholas, but the captain "Bangs Banagher!" In April 1652, Samuel Chidley, a well-meaning fanatic, published "A Cry against a crying sinne: or a just complaint to the Magistrates against them who have broken the statute laws of God, by killing of men merely for theft," &c. The *Cry* contains addresses to the Lord Mayor and Common Council, petitions to the Councils of State and of the Army, and a letter, previously sent to the Judges at the sessions in December. Throughout his papers, Chidley argued from Scriptural authorities, that "it is murther by the law of God to kill a man merely for stealing, when the Lord saith he should make full restitution, and if he hath nothing, he shall be sold (not killed) for his theft." To the objections that might be urged against the system of restitution, as a criminal's insolvency, &c., he replied by proposing that they should "be set to worke in our owne country, by land or water," until the required satisfaction was made, and he that would not work must not eat; then "if he will perish, let him perish, his owne blood is upon his owne head, and the Commonwealth is discharged of it." The author personally owned and justified his letter to the Bench in open court, but of course without any

success. Chidley's singular tract bears characteristic marks of the feverish enthusiasm so common during that unhappy era of general disunion, when each visionary self-elected apostle of change interpreted the Scriptures to suit his own novel code of political, moral, or religious practice, and, with morbid courage, often devoted himself to dare, to do, and suffer, at the promptings of spiritual pride, concealed in the guise of conscience.

The book itself is printed entirely with red ink, except an added postscript on the last leaf, where the letters are black, and the type enclosed within a broad mourning border. There could scarcely be a reasonable hope of any amelioration in the sanguinary laws relative to robbery, at a period when the offence was carried to an extent only possible in a country where the civil power was partially paralyzed, and intestine warfare left to the defeated party the single alternative of "rob or starve." We should now smile in utter incredulity, whilst comfortably sipping our coffee over "*The Herald* of the morn," at a provincial article, stating, from Bristol, the apprehension of two Majors, late of the royal army, a gentleman, previously known as a master of arts in the University of Oxford, with seven other males, and one female, on abundant proofs of robbery and coining! The names of all the prisoners, and particulars of their captures, are given in full, by the licensed "Brief relation," and the catalogue of the prizes made by them, within a year and a half, on the Bath and Bristol roads, in money and plate, amounts to a sum almost beyond belief. "The carriers, many of them, *set* this money for them, that is, discovered the money, and took a share. White of Bristole is in Newgate upon that, and the false money he put off, and was taken on him. Several innkeepers, also, to whom they resort, who are bound over to the assizes."

The land must have literally swarmed with highwaymen, when, in the course of one week, fifteen were committed to Bedford gaol alone; and, in various parts of the country, robberies and burglaries were so numerous, "that many persons do leave their houses and come to London daily,—the robbers appearing in such strength, there is no opposition to be given. Sometimes fifty or sixty of them in armes together upon a robbery."

Even the protection afforded by London proved, in some cases, very unsatisfactory in its results. Imagine, "at this ignorant present," a party of disbanded troopers, personating authorized guardians of the peace, and patrolling the roads about Clerkenwell, "because the times were dangerous, and many knaves abroad;" and, under that pretence, easing the twilight wayfarers whom they encountered, of their cloaks and money, and, "faining a place where, in the morning, they should in-

quire for them ; but as yet the constable's house could never be found." So out of joint was the time, that even some of the parliamentary officers, when pushed by poverty, were found very lax in their observance of the eighth commandment. Among eleven criminals who suffered at Tyburn on the 27th February 1650, were two captains, Wright and Haynes.—“ Haynes, at the gallows, desired all people to put no trust nor confidence in any of them at Westminster, for their often promises, and failing of their words concerning his arrears, had brought him to that death.”

There is an historical incident connected with our subject, and belonging to the life and times of Charles I, that, though here out of chronological order, well deserves preservation, since it throws a favourable light on the domestic character of that ill-fated prince, and in some degree confirms the assertion of Clarendon, that he was “the best of masters,” and naturally humane. During his negotiations with the parliamentary commissioners at Newport, when appearances fairly promised to reseat him on the throne, the king humbled himself so far as to write to the Sheriffs of London in favour of two young men, who were then lying under sentence of death, for robbery, in Newgate. These youths were the sons of one Arthur Knight, whom Charles terms “our servant and haberdasher.” Yet, as if anxious not to provoke ill-will, by arrogating any power to pardon them in his own person, he leaves their final fate to future consideration, and writes:—“We have thought fit to pray you to use your best endeavours to procure for them a reprieve from execution ;” farther, requesting that bail might be taken for their appearance, until it was determined whether full mercy might be shown, as their father trusted they could be reclaimed. This royal, but, for royalty most lowly, supplication, was presented by the Sheriffs to the House of Commons. And what was the reply of his majesty's “faithful and devoted Commons” ? Why, those gracious viceroys over the king “ordered that the said prisoners be left to the justice of the law.” ’Twas a fatal omen. Little more than four months afterwards, the rejected intercessor bowed his own, as he himself termed it, “grey and dis-crowned head,” to the fell destroyer, from whom he vainly sought to save his servant's sons. Turning from the First to the Second Charles ; from him who, at least in the presence of death, showed himself “every inch a king,” to his far less estimable and exiled heir, we find the prince's mendicant regality placed in such ludicrous juxtaposition with the loyal friendship of a partizan outpurse, as almost to justify the punning proposition, that “majesty, deprived of its externals, is but a jest !” On the

8th of August 1655, *The Mercurius Fumigosus*, in consequence of "A false report having been lately raised by the Grub Street books," published the following magnanimous manifesto from a certain Richard Haunam, then lying in Newgate:—

"Be it known to the world: whereas there is an aspersion thrown on me, of robbing the King of Scots of his plate at Cullen (Cologne): I can make it appear, by a hundred witnesses, that I was at Rotterdam (which is above 200 miles asunder) when the king lost his plate, and when he had it againe:—the whole court that knows me, I am certaine, are very sensible, that I had rather give him plate than take any from him:—and if it pleaseth God to spare my life, I question not to have the king's letter to clear my innocency in the robbing of his majesty."

Mercury's introduction, by the bye, proves how early the literary reputation of Grub Street was established. The King of Scots and his court must have felt very grateful to their old acquaintance for his familiar appeal to their sympathies.

The popularity of the writer, Richard Haunam, as a highwayman and burglar, appears from the records of the press, to have been second only to the celebrity of Hind, of whose brave "knot" he was reported to be the last solitary fragment. At the date of his declaration, he was under sentence of death, but had been reprieved, to afford the French ambassador an opportunity of interrogating him. His excellency's diplomatic privileges not having secured his mansion from an extrajudicial domiciliary visit, very profitable to the "Free Knights," among whom rumour ranked Haunam. He subsequently broke prison, and remained some time at large; but, being retaken, was at length executed in Smithfield, on the 17th of June 1656, when, as stated by the author of *The Witty Rogue*, published in the same month, he stood stoutly to his text; "denyed that he robb'd the King of Scots; and said he would rather have parted with a thousand pounds than have been so asperst!" Then—"with a jumpe from the ladder, as the epilogue of his exploits, we leave him taking his last swing.

"Thus, courteous reader, you have had his *imprimis*,

His items, totals, and at last his

FINIS."

From Haunam's *finis* we may date the gradual decline of "taking away by force," on patriotic or chivalric principles, and the consequent decay of the profession in its intrinsic qualities and gallant bearing; though, after the Restoration, when the old *Ins* became *Outs*, and were forced to take their turn on the road, we find that they rivalled, in their mortal exits, the courage

of their cavalier predecessors, and, like immortal Cæsar, died "with decency." At Bath, in September 1664, seven men, who had all formerly borne arms against the king, "suffered with so great a resolution and contempt of death, that there was nothing wanting but rebellion to have made them pass for martyrs."—"One of them advised the people to make good use of his example, *and to be ruled by their wives*, for if he had hearkned to his, he had never come to that end. But as to that poynt the company was divided."

Approaching the close of our highway journey, before we enter on our last stage, and pass the point where we lose the romantic *Picaro* in the ordinary thief, we have an act of justice to perform to the memory of a much wronged knight of the road, from whose tomb the monumental wreath of fame has been abstracted, and employed to adorn a most unworthy brow. The talented author of *Rookwood* will, no doubt, be surprised when he learns, that, though guiltless of robbing the dead, he is an unconscious accessory to the fact; for, by freshly gracing with all due honours the unparalleled equestrian achievement, commonly, but erroneously, termed *Turpin's Ride to York*, he has not only made his popular work a receptacle of stolen goods, but, by the polish he has bestowed on the *purchase*, rendered it more saleable than ever. Without farther preface, to the proof. Let the author of *A Tour in Circuits through England*, published in 1724, speak for himself.

"From Gravesend, we see nothing remarkable on the road but Gad's-Hill, a noted place for robbing of seamen, after they have received their pay at Chatham. Here it was that famous robbery was committed in the year 1676, or thereabouts. It was about four o'clock in the morning, when a gentleman was robbed by one Nicks, on a bay mare, just on the declining part of the hill, on the western side; for he swore to the spot and to the man. Mr. Nicks, who robb'd him, came away to Gravesend, immediately ferry'd over, and, as he said, was stop'd by the difficulty of the boat and of the passage near an hour, which was a great discouragement to him, but was a kind of bait to his horse. From thence he rode across the county of Essex, thro' Tilbury, Horn-den, and Billericay, to Chelmsford. Here he stopp'd about half an hour to refresh his horse, and gave him some balls. From thence to Braintree, Bocking, Wethersfield; then over the Downs to Cambridge,—and from thence, keeping still the cross roads, he went by Fenny Staunton to Godmanchester and Huntingdon, where he baited himself and his mare about an hour, and, as he said himself, slept about half an hour: then holding on the north road, and keeping a full large gallop most of the way, he came to York the same afternoon; put off his boots and riding clothes, and went dressed, as if he had been an inhabitant of the place, and not a traveller, to the Bowling Green,

where, among other gentlemen, was the Lord Mayor of the city:—he, singling out his Lordship, studied to do something particular that the Mayor might remember him by; and accordingly lays some odd *belt* with him concerning the bowls then running, which should cause the Mayor to remember it the more particularly; and then takes occasion to ask his Lordship what o'clock it was: who, pulling out his watch, told him the hour, which was a quarter before or a quarter after eight at night. Upon a prosecution which happened afterwards for this robbery, the whole merit of the case turned upon this single point. The person robb'd swore, as above, to the man, to the place, and to the time, in which the fact was committed. Nicks, the prisoner, denied the fact; call'd several persons to his reputation; alleged that he was as far off as Yorkshire at that time; and that, particularly, the day whereon the prosecutor swore he was robb'd, he was at bowles on the publick green in the city of York: and to support this, he produced the Lord Mayor of York to testify that he was so; and that he the Mayor acted so and so with him there as above. This was so positive and so well attested, that the jury acquitted him, on a bare supposition, that it was impossible the man could be at two places so remote on one and the same day. There are more particulars related of this story, such as I do not take upon me to affirm; namely, that King Charles the 2nd prevailed on him, on assurance of pardon, to confess the truth to him privately; and that he own'd to his Majesty that he committed the robbery, and how he rode the journey after it; and that upon this the King gave him the name or title of *Swift Nicks*, instead of Nicks:—but these things, I say, I do not relate as certain."

Whether Charles conferred the title of *Swift* on Mr. Nicks, we cannot take upon us to decide; but most assuredly, his majesty's ministers so designated him in a proclamation of December 1668, offering a reward of £20 on each worthy's conviction whose name appeared therein. A similar compliment was paid to him in the *London Gazette* of the 18th November 1669, among other highwaymen and burglars, "notoriously known to be such, and of one party and knot." Fifteen are named;—"Lewis, alias Lodowick, alias Cloud de Val, alias Brown," heading the list, and followed by "Swift Nix, alias Clerk." Turpin was executed at York on the 7th of April 1739. The account of his trial and death, published there at the time, gives his alleged confession, mentioning various robberies, &c., but without any allusion whatever to the adventure in question. By the inscription placed on his coffin, Turpin was then but eight and twenty years old. Having, we trust, incontestably restored to the rightful owner, and his bay mare, that garland of bays, which our pages will henceforth preserve as the unalienable property of *Swift Nix*, we shall no longer linger over the reminiscences of departed glory, but bring our "travel's history" to an

end. As early as the very commencement of Queen Anne's reign, we find from *The London Spy*, that the race of highwaymen was rapidly degenerating; for Ward accuses the *Captain*, whom he describes, of "having drawn in twenty of his associates to be hanged, but had always wit and money enough to save his own neck from the halter." Still retaining the hereditary family marks, the captain represents himself as a disbanded officer, and is allowed to be "as resolute a fellow as ever cocked pistol on the road,"—"fears no man in the world but the hangman, and dreads no death but choking." He appears, also, to be admitted, without any scruple, into society, where his boon companions, though mostly dissolute, and all aware of his true trade, are not otherwise connected with the "highway lawyer's" mode of raising the wind. So late as the comedies of Farquhar, two of the fraternity's traditional traits are alluded to:—"Do you come to rob me?" cries Mrs. Sullen. "Rob you!" replies Captain Gibbet; "Alack-a-day, madam, I'm only a *younger* brother." In the other instance, where the bravos are debating the fate of Mirabel, *The Inconstant*, their leader votes for despatching him, because, "I wonder at the assurance of English rogues, that will hazard the meeting a man at the bar whom they have encountered on the road! I haven't the confidence to look a man in the face after I have done him an injury; therefore, we'll murder him."

It is a fact, as honourable to the country as extraordinary in itself, that the English highwaymen maintained their reputation for humanity and good government, up to the last hour that they could claim the slightest standing as a class. A foreigner, whose remarks, in 1766, are published by Mr. Stuart in his *Collections*, thus notices the singularity:—"The greatest eulogy of this people, is the generosity of their miscreants, and the tenderness, in general, of their highwaymen." Another traveller, a German, about twenty years later, in some notices of Italy, republished here in 1798, speaking of a famous bandit, named Cavallante, says,—“Even Cartouche was not a greater man in his way than he, but likewise no English highwayman could, on occasion, show more generosity, or even magnanimity.”

But the most recent, and most curious, opinion on the subject, (with a difference) is cited by Mr. Leitch Ritchie, in a note to his *Schinderhannes*, from an official document, drawn up by two French magistrates in 1810.

“No one is ignorant, that in England—an island in which the highest civilization conjoins with the darkest barbarism—the profession of highwayman is exercised almost as publicly and securely as any other. If it is not always attended by bloodshed, the reason is, that travellers,

for want of legal protection, enter cheerfully into a composition with the ruffians."

For the credit of our olden national renown, we cannot but echo Mr. Ritchie's "Alas ! we know nothing of such matters in England."—and are fain to console ourselves with the worthy Baillie of Kippletringan's truism, that such is the mutability of human affairs. The site of Troy is uncertain, the birth-place of Homer unknown, and a lonely willow waves over the dust of Napoleon :—Napoleon, the most wondrous *taker away by force* whom the sun has shone on since the days of Alexander. And we perfectly agree with Beaumont and Fletcher, that

" ——— Alexander,

Though styled a conqueror, was a proud thiefe,
Though he robb'd with an army."

ART. IV.—*Glance at the Institution for the Propagation of the Faith.* London. 1837.

WE have long been of opinion that nations, as well as individuals, cannot too soon place themselves in that state which St. Paul cites our Saviour as having declared the happier one, "It is a more blessed thing to give than to receive." (*Acts xx. 35.*) It is a proud consideration for any Catholic people to feel it in their power to help their brethren in greater distress than themselves, and find that best of all traffics at their disposal, where the acceptable prayers of a suffering Church, or the fervent gratitude of new Christians, is given in exchange for contributions of worldly substance. The little work before us is, we trust, the precursor of that state for us ; it will show British Catholics how it is in their power to gain possession of those blessings which the highest order of charity can alone draw down. It is a translation of a French Tract put forth by the Association at Lyons for aiding Foreign Missions.

This Association, which has already been extended over all France, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, and many countries in the East, is truly catholic in its objects. It makes no distinction of the countries to which missions or missionaries belong. No one applies to it in vain ;* and during the last year, a very large proportion of its funds were bestowed on bishops and missions in English dependencies. Under these circumstances, it seems fully justified in putting it to our sense of justice and of national honour, whether we should not make some exertions in our own islands, towards supporting so excellent an institution.

* See *infra*, notice of Dr. Ullathorne's pamphlet.

We might urge in favour of the appeal, many considerations connected with those that we have just suggested. We might ask whether it becomes us, a growing and prospering body, to leave the support of our brethren, united to us by closer ties, to other nations? Or we might appeal to those better feelings that bind a parent establishment to its filiations, and show how incomplete our work would be, if, after having supplied distant countries with bishops and priests, we did not back and support them in their meritorious labours, by affording them subsequent assistance?

Such motives as these, however, would be not only foreign, but opposed to our desires. If the good Catholics of the continent have kindly taken care of our colonies, while circumstances prevented us from doing so, it would be a poor imitation of such a good example, and a very sullen piece of gratitude, to confine our charity to those who have such special connexion with us. It would be a selfishness that would painfully contrast with the Catholic spirit that has animated others. Even above the benefit resulting from the contribution of our money to Churches in danger of perishing from want of it, we place the great development of the Catholic spirit which it must produce among us. It is time for us to shake off the dust of past ages, and to cease considering ourselves as a persecuted or an ill-treated class. 'Thank God, we are beyond the malice of man. It is time to consider not only the Irish, but even the English and Scotch Catholic Churches, as integral and important portions of the universal Church, known and received as such by the most distant communities that enter into its pale. We wish the martyrs and confessors of Tonkin to have our names upon their lips, as well as that of their French brethren. We wish to learn that our brethren just emerged from barbarism and idolatry in the island-reefs of the Pacific, pray for us as well as for the nation which has been God's instrument in their conversion. It is time to claim our rights to every spiritual advantage that members of the great universal Church can possess, and of these we know few greater than the entire communion of charitable offices over all the world. We should consequently object to any narrow plan of association, which limited our attention to British possessions or dependencies. However careful we might be to give them their full share in the charitable exertions of their parent country, we would earnestly recommend and entreat, that whatever is undertaken be upon the most catholic basis, and upon this account, in perfect harmony and good understanding with the Lyons' Association.

It is not our intention to enter into any details concerning this excellent institution, and its manifold advantages, partly because

such minute matters might as yet be premature, partly because we trust the little Essay before us will be circulated far and wide by the zeal of the clergy as well as of the laity. We know that the first appeal will be met by an outcry about our wants at home. God knows that they are great; and we would coin our heart's blood to remedy them. But let us modestly offer a few remarks in answer to this plea.

First, then, we would dutifully remind our brethren, that the first principle of gospel prudence in matters of gain, is, "Date et dabitur vobis. Give and it shall be given unto you." If we are in poverty, our brethren in Christ Jesus are starving. If we yet want churches and cathedrals, they want a straw roof over their altars. If we want more clergy, they would be often content with a catechist. If we want places of education, they would be grateful for means to acquire the first elements of religious knowledge. We begin to complain if we have a few miles to go for the comforts of religion. Lakes, forests, chains of mountains, and entire provinces, separate their pastors from large portions of their flocks. With such frightful disproportion between our wants and those of large communities professing our holy religion, have we not already a right to the privilege of being generous; nay, has not Divine Providence opened to us a way of supplying our remaining wants, by giving, out of our little, something to those that have so much less?

Secondly, We will take the liberty of asking, do we flatter ourselves that a time will come when we shall say, "now we want nothing more at home, let us begin to help others abroad?" Does not that selfish charity which begins at home, always end at home? And shall we ever think or allow that enough has been done where our interest invites us to assist? Wants, after all, are relative. Thirty years ago we should have fixed the conditions of our contentment at what we have now, and perhaps lower. We should have said, "Let us have a spacious and flourishing seminary in each district; let us have schools attached to all our chapels; let there be a church in every town where there are Catholics, and larger ones in our principal cities, and then we may feel it our duty to assist others." Now that all this and much more has been done, we can quote a thousand new wants, which appear as important as those did then. And depend upon it, whatever term we may now fix upon as that of our just desires, —for most just we own them to be,—when it has been attained, the principle will be as active as ever, and propose a farther delay, till new wants have been satisfied. And in the meantime immense good will have been neglected, and perhaps frightful evils not prevented, which a timely assistance would have averted.

Thirdly, We do not believe that the opening of this new contribution would unfavourably affect a single charitable or religious institution now amongst us. The halfpenny a-week which any one will contribute, will not, we are sure, be withdrawn from any other good work. There are thousands who do not give this additional trifle to their yearly charities, because they do not think that such a mite could be of use to any one. No one either thinks of asking them for it. But when so magnificent a work is proposed to them to be performed entirely by the multitude of such insignificant sums, when some one is found to remind them and ask them for it, who will grudge it, that has sufficient means of support? and who, if he give it, will subtract an equivalent from his other subscriptions? New forms of charity are always fresh incentives to its practice; and many will be found to contribute something beyond their usual proportion for an object which interests their religious feelings in a vivid manner, when otherwise they would be content with what they have ordinarily performed. Our conviction is, that besides the divine blessing, which will be drawn upon ourselves by this work of catholic charity, the new impulse which that divine virtue will receive from it, will act with advantage upon our own languishing contributions.

• Such are a few of the remarks which might be made in answer to the fear that our own countries will suffer by sharing our worldly means with our distressed brethren in distant quarters of the globe. We most respectfully but most energetically recommend them to the consideration of our pastors and brethren, in whose good feelings and virtuous bosoms they will produce more fruit than our weak advocacy could give them. When we were in distress, religion was preserved among us through the charity of foreigners. If France, Spain, and Italy, had not provided asylums for our clergy and furnished them the means of educating their successors, God knows how much Catholicity there would have remained in these realms. We may now requite on other parts of his Church the benefits we received. If with us his ark again reposes beneath roofs of cedar, let us never forget that the same precious deposit, wherein he himself rests, is yet in many countries not even sheltered by skins from the dews of heaven.

To interest our readers in this holy work, it was our desire to place before them the latest intelligence from different missions, some most distressing yet consoling, as where persecution yet rages,—some most delightful to the Catholic heart. We should have been able, for these purposes, to draw largely on inedited sources at our command. But upon mature consideration, we prefer giving fuller details of a transaction more interesting to us

at home. We mean to lay before the public some documents connected with the violent, intolerant, and tyrannical proceedings of the Methodist usurpation at Tahiti, or Otaheiti, in opposition to the establishment of a Catholic mission there. We must, however, premise some account of the mission in the Gambier Islands, not far distant from it, as from this the other sprung.

In the spring of 1834, three French clergymen arrived at Valparaiso, destined to serve the missions in Polynesia, under the superintendence of a bishop, vicar-apostolic, who was to follow. After a most cordial reception, and every assistance which a venerable and saintly religious Father, Andrew Caro, could afford them, it was resolved that two should proceed to the Gambier Islands, situated between the main and Tahiti, while the third, M. Liausu, should remain at Valparaiso, to keep up a communication between them and home. The two missionaries, MM. Laval and Caret, accompanied by brother Columbanus Murphy, embarked on board the *Peruana*, Captain Morue, on the 16th of July. On the 7th of August, they reached their destination. This group of islands consists of four, of small size, and containing about 2000 inhabitants. They are called Mangareva, Akar-maru, Akena, and Taravai. The natives are completely uncivilized, and behaved with great inhospitality to Captain Cook. The missionaries landed at Mangareva, and were coldly repulsed by the King Maputeo. After a second attempt, they retreated, and found a miserable hut in Akena, the smallest of the islands, where they took up their abode. They applied themselves diligently to the study of the language, and to winning the good graces of the poor natives, by rendering them every species of service. The chief of the island particularly attached himself to them, and went before all the rest in docility and anxiety to be instructed. Gradually the missionaries acquired sufficient knowledge of the dialect of the country to explain the simpler doctrines of Christianity. The unity of God, and his goodness, made a strong impression on heathens accustomed only to a multiplicity of malicious divinities. The worship of the Catholic Church made its natural impression, and the people soon learnt the simple hymns composed by the missionaries for them. These it was the delight of all, principally of the children, to sing. It was these that principally became attached to the priests, and to the Catholic doctrines. The resurrection of the dead, and the immortality of the soul, were no sooner proposed, than they became the engrossing topic of conversation throughout the islands.

The missionaries divided their time between Akena and Akar-maru, living a week in each alternately. They occasionally visited the other two islands, but the strong opposition of the

king greatly impeded the progress of Christianity in them. The people of Akarmaru were the first to make a solemn act of renunciation of their idolatrous feelings. The hair is sacred to their false gods, and it was considered a grievous sacrilege and sin to cut it. Towards the end of December, the children and youths requested the missionaries to cut off their hair, and throw it into the fire. This ceremony was performed in public, and the family of the chief all went through it. The children cried out during it, "To the fire with Arnaino," the name of their principal divinity. Each of these two islands soon built a spacious chapel, after their own fashion, that is, composed of poles, covered with leaves. The doctrine of the Trinity was explained with the aid of the shamrock, after the example of St. Patrick, to whose patronage the mission was specially recommended.

About the month of March 1835, the ardour of the catechumens for baptism could no longer be restrained. Even in Mangareva, the faith had made considerable progress under the protection of Matua, the high-priest, and uncle to the king. Even the king had put himself, though hardly with a good grace, under instruction. Early in the month, the whole people assembled in the great temple, and with the general approbation, the wooden idols were cut down with a hatchet. The building was then consecrated as a church: Idolatry was now at an end; and though the missionaries much desired to reserve the first-fruits of their labours for the Bishop of Nilapolis, who was daily expected, they felt they should not be justified in withholding baptism from a flock so ready and eager to receive it. They took down the names of those best prepared, and while instructing them, a vessel appeared in the distance. It approached,—the bishop, with three other clergymen, landed. A solemn procession was made, a pontifical mass sung, and, after a triumphal passage from island to island, the sacrament of regeneration was administered. This was in May 1835.

Before passing to the affairs of Tahiti, we will finish the history of this new Church. One of the missionaries, M. Caret, is now in Europe. He has laid at the feet of his Holiness one of the idols of the country, with a letter from King Gregory I, late Maputeo. His Holiness sends back by him a magnificent present, a silver representation of the blessed Virgin, with the child Jesus, who is blessing the islands. A new costume, consisting of cloaks, designed by the celebrated artist Cammuccini, has been sent to all the chiefs. The population* is entirely Catholic, with the exception of some yet under instruction. M. Caret returns with a reinforcement of labourers.

Between the arrival of the bishop, and the departure of M.

Caret for Europe, an attempt was made to open a mission in Tahiti, where the Queen Pomare and all the chiefs are under the absolute controul of Mr. Pritchard, the Methodist missionary. MM. Caret and Laval embarked on board the *Eliza*, Captain Hamilton, and arrived at the island on the 20th of November, 1836. Notice of their intentions had been previously received, and a sharp look-out was kept to prevent their landing. Owing to circumstances, this was effected on a little island, from which Tahiti was gained. A message soon met them, commanding them to re-embark; but they insisted upon being conducted to the Queen. On their way they met nothing but complaints of the tyrannical conduct of the missionaries. On the 23d they reached the residence of Mr. Moernhout, American consul, a Belgian by birth, who, as subjects of a friendly state, took them under his protection. Mr. Pritchard soon came to remonstrate with the consul, who replied, that the strangers demanded an audience of the Queen. This could not be refused them; so that, on the 25th (Friday), they were admitted to her presence. Pritchard was at her side, to act as her interpreter, those of the missionaries and the consul having been kept out of the way, or forbidden to speak. The Methodist minister endeavoured to engage the priests in a controversial discussion before the people, where his acquaintance with the language would have given him every advantage. But this they prudently declined. They made the Queen a present of a shawl, and four annas, which he would not allow her to receive. Even after she had accepted them in spite of him, he snatched them from her hands, and sent them back to the consul's. The missionaries returned the present, but the Queen replied that the Sabbath having begun, she could not receive money! We may observe, that the Saturday is kept there instead of Sunday, from no correction having been made of the loss of a day in the circumnavigation of the missionaries. Several chiefs took an opportunity to assure those Catholic missionaries, that neither the Queen nor any of them were hostile to them, but that Piritati (Pritchard), the "wicked stranger," as they called him, was implacable against them. On the Sunday a great assembly was held, in which our missionaries were told that the law forbade the landing of any strangers upon the island. The American consul felt it his duty to reply, that such a law did not exist, otherwise he, as agent of the United States, should have been made acquainted with it. Turning to Mr. Pritchard, he addressed him in English, and protested in the name of his government against such a law, which had never been communicated to it, nor to them. After the assembly, the orator who, as judge, had ordered them to quit the island, came and begged

their pardon, saying he had only spoken what Pritchard had commanded him; and several chiefs encouraged them to stand firm, and not give way to his threats.

On the 29th, a letter was presented to the missionaries from the Queen. We give it in the French translation attached to the original Tahitian before us, as that translation was made upon the island itself. It forms No. I of the documents which we give together, lower down. To this notice, rightly considered by them an act of coercion, they thought it prudent not to reply in writing. They waited upon her Majesty, and in strong energetic language, expressed their sentiments concerning Pritchard's conduct. Two magistrates brought them a present of food, but that gentleman caught them in the fact, and delivered them over to trial for a heinous offence. In the meantime, the Catholic Europeans, settled in the island, drew up a protest, expressive also of their claims to the spiritual aid of pastors of their own religion. The inhabitants, many of whom had learnt that the name of "Pope" applied to the missionaries, had been given to understand, that if they allowed Catholic priests to settle on the island, the inhabitants would soon have to take refuge in the mountains, from their rapacity and cruelty.

We will now let our documents speak for themselves. Copies of all have been placed in our hands, collected on the island itself. As these were made by persons not very perfectly acquainted with the English language, some inaccuracies of phrase and orthography had been admitted. By correcting these, with every attention to the sense, we shall not have impaired their authenticity. The letters No. II-V, passed between the parties concerned on the island. No. VI is the American consul's report to the French consul at Valparaiso.

• "Tahiti, Nov. 29, 1836.

1.—"LAVAL Salut à vous deux à votre entrée dans mon royaume.
et Voici ma parole à vous deux. Ne restez pas dans ma terre.

CARET. Allez-vous-en à votre terre de Mangareva. Il y a des
missionnaires dans ma terre; nous aussi nous avons été
instruits dans la parole, nous aussi nous connaissons la parole: La grâce
a germé aussi dans mon royaume; ne soyez point méchants; n'ayez point
de pensées étrangères; vous ai-je fait du mal? Non, vous connaissez mon
attachement et ma bienveillance pour vous deux; Je connais, aussi moi,
votre attachement et votre bienveillance pour moi. Ne pensez pas que
cette parole vienne d'un autre, non, cette parole est de moi et de tous
les chefs; nous ne voulons pas que vous restiez dans cette terre.

"Salut à vous deux à votre départ, .

"POMARE."

II.—LETTER of Mr. PRITCHARD to Mr. MOERNHOUT, American Consul.

" J. A. Moernhout, Esq. (Official.)

" Papeeti.

Paopai, Nov. 26th, 1836.

" SIR,—I am requested by her Majesty to send to you an English copy of the port regulations, and to beg your attention to the 4th regulation. You will there see that it does not depend upon four ounces whether foreigners shall be allowed to remain, but upon the pleasure of the queen and governor. If the master and commander of a vessel get permission of the queen and governor, a passenger may then remain, but not without that permission, though they should give hundreds of dollars. You will see that the 3rd regulation does not refer to passengers, but to seamen turned on shore by the captain, *i. e.* no master or commander is to discharge any seaman, or any other person belonging to his vessel, such as first, second, or third mate, or any person in his employ, under a penalty of £30. You well know, sir, that these three Frenchmen have not come here as sailors, and been driven on shore by their captain. You know that they have come as passengers, therefore it is the 4th regulation that will apply to them, and that only.

" You are well aware that the queen does not speak herself at any of the meetings for business, hence it was that I had to deliver her sentiments, and make known to you and to the other gentlemen her pleasure. As you would not condescend to hear me this morning, I now inform you by letter, that the queen and governors will not allow these gentlemen to remain, neither the priests nor the individual who is pleased to call himself a *carpenter*. An English carpenter applied for permission to remain only three days, but it was not granted. If the queen and governors have power to prevent an Englishman from settling on the island, they most certainly have power to prevent Frenchmen, especially when they believe that, for such persons to remain on the island, would be injurious rather than beneficial. You yourself have acknowledged, that, as there are other missionaries here, it will be productive of evil should they remain. If you deny this, I can bring forward a person who heard it from your lips. Even if the law would allow these or any other persons to come at their pleasure, yet thus to come and to enter into other men's labours, especially when those labours have been carried on for forty years, is unchristianlike and ungentlemanly in the extreme, and all who will support such proceedings must be as destitute of all gentlemanly feelings as the persons they endeavour to support. Allow me to ask you one question, Do you, or do you not, consider this an independent nation? If independant, then they have a right to make laws for the government of their own island. If they have a right to make a law to prevent theft or any other vice, of course they have a right to make a law to prevent such persons from settling on their island as they conceive will only create disorder and confusion among them. In fact, if they have a right to make one law, they have a right to make as many as they consider necessary, so long as they do not interfere with the laws of nations. I have lately received from the commodore on the Spanish coast, documents respecting these very gentlemen coming to settle on Tahiti,

in which he assures me, that it is quite at Pomare's pleasure whether she will receive them or not. These gentlemen have this day tacitly acknowledged, that the queen can either receive or reject them at her pleasure. If this were not the case, why go to the queen to ask her permission to allow them to remain? If she has not the right to prevent their remaining, why go to ask permission? A variety of reasons might be assigned to show the impropriety of the present proceedings: the shuffling and unmanly conduct of yourself and your friends this day, has been quite sufficient to shew what we may expect if such persons get a firm footing on the island.

"I remain, sir, your's respectfully,

"G. PRITCHARD."

III.—LETTER of the AMERICAN CONSUL to the QUEEN.

"Pomare,

"*Queen of Tahiti, Morea, &c. &c.* Tahiti, December 1st, 1836.

"I received yesterday a letter of the missionary Pritchard, marked *official*, and announced as written in your majesty's name. That piece, full of rough and insolent language, is not considered by me as an official document, nor as coming from your majesty.

"Enclosed in the same letter, the said missionary also remitted me a copy of the port regulations, with regard to which I have to observe, that as yet I was unacquainted with the said regulations, and that, as American consul, I cannot subscribe to the application of some of the articles, till the time be elapsed which is necessary to send them to the United States' government, and to the American consuls at the different ports of South America, the Sandwich Islands, &c. that masters of American vessels may know them, and not expose themselves to losses and difficulties. This is a custom everywhere, based upon justice, and admitted by all nations. I also beg your majesty to inform me, in a document signed by your majesty, since I shall have to send it to the United States' government, if the fourth article of the said regulations is a legislative act, a law made and sanctioned by your majesty, and other competent persons, or if it is a simple measure of caution, of foreign sacerdotal arbitrariness. This regulation, if it can be considered as such, will, I fear, be the cause of many difficulties to this government, and cause great losses to masters of vessels of all nations. And as consul of the United States, I beg your majesty's attention to the said article, of which, as I had the honour to say before, I cannot admit the application till after the time which is necessary to inform the government of the United States.

"With regard to the strangers, the French priests, who lodge at my house, I have no opinion to give in their case, farther than that they are recommended to me, and are my guests, and that, belonging to a friendly nation, I owe them protection. If, then, any measures are taken against the said strangers, let it be by competent authorities, not by illegal foreign arbitrariness, or persons guided by their sectarian feelings. To this neither they nor I shall voluntarily submit. Let the orders given with regard to them, come from your majesty, and be signed by you. Therefrom I shall be able to judge if the law of nations has been observed, and

if these strangers have been treated in the manner that is expected and required from and by all nations.

"Farther, as I have said above, I have no opinion in the case; still if, as a resident, a person without religious prejudices, and a friend to your majesty, I had to give advice, I would say to your majesty, let the Tahitian sovereign and the Tahitian inhabitants still be what they have ever been when left to themselves, a hospitable, kind, and beloved people. Let Tahiti still be the island of Wallis, Cook, and Bougainville, open to all vessels, friendly to all nations; and since she has always proved generous and tolerant when idolatrous and in a state of barbarity, don't suffer her to be changed by foreign arbitrary, and foreign anti-tolerant principles, and to become, now that she is Christian, and approaching to civilization, inhospitable, cruel, and without tolerance.

"I will finish this letter by repeating to your majesty the words which the author of the *Voyage of the Potomac* addressed to the missionaries of the Sandwich Islands: 'Should missionaries of any other denomination come to the island, go forth to meet them—extend the hand ere they have touched the shore—bid them welcome; differ they may in many things, but what of that, the harvest is great, and the labourers are few. Let them live in peace.'"

IV.—LETTER of Mr. PRITCHARD to Mr. MOERNHOUT.

"*Paopai, Dec. 3rd, 1836.*

"SIR,—The letter which you addressed to her majesty Queen Pomare, bearing date Nov. 27, has been forwarded to me to translate. As the letter contains so much respecting myself, and as there is in it such an evident attempt to degrade me and my missionary brethren, it is my duty to make you a reply.

"Were it not that your weakness may lead you to think your paper unanswerable, I would treat it with that silent contempt which it justly merits. I will not comment on the ungentlemanly way in which you make mention of my name, but will try to make you understand what is meant by the word *official*. You will know that I hold a civil office under this government, and all business transacted by this nation and foreigners is transacted by me. It is enough for me to say, that I was ordered by the queen to make you acquainted with her pleasure respecting the Frenchmen lately arrived, and to direct your attention especially to the 4th article of the port regulations. Hence my communication to you was *official*.

"You object to me as an official character in the Tahitian government. I would ask you why you address your official communications to me from time to time, when you want assistance from the Tahitian government? Why send for me to your consulate when oaths are to be administered, depositions to be taken, and examinations to be made?"

"In the first paragraph of your letter you say, 'that piece' (by which, I suppose, you mean my letter to you,) 'full of rough and insolent language, is not considered by me as an official document, nor as coming from your majesty.' It is but of little importance what opinion you may form of it. Your ideas respecting it will not alter its real character.

With respect to its being full of rough and insolent language, I will challenge any gentleman possessing common sense, and knowledge of the English language, to prove that that piece is full of either rough or insolent language. If I want a specimen of composition partaking of such qualities, I need go no farther in search of it than to your own letter, now before me, which you had the audacity to address to her majesty.

"You say, 'enclosed in the same letter, the said missionary also remitted me a copy of the port regulations, with regard to which I have to observe, that as yet I was unacquainted with the said regulations, and that, as American consul, I cannot for some of the articles admit or subscribe to their application, till after the time be elapsed which is necessary to send the said regulations to the United States and the American consuls of the different ports of South America, the Sandwich Islands, &c.' The only conclusion to which I can come from the above paragraph is, that the port regulations contain some articles to which you cannot subscribe, till a sufficient time has elapsed for you to send those regulations to the United States, to the American consuls of the ports of South America, Sandwich Islands, &c.

"As it is only a few months since you were received by this government as American consul, you cannot have forgotten what passed at that meeting. You solemnly pledged yourself, in the presence of the queen, chiefs and people, that you would respect their laws. You did not intimate that, if they wished to enact a new law, or adopt a port regulation, that the law or regulation must first be submitted to you, for you to send to the United States, the coast of South America, the Sandwich Islands, &c. to know if such a law or regulation would be approved or not. Can any thing be more preposterous than to suppose, that before an independent nation can enact a law, that law must be sent all over the world, to see whether the president of one place, and the consul of another, think proper to agree to such a law? Are the port-regulations in Boston, New Bedford, or other ports in America, laid before the English consuls of such places, to be forwarded to the British ports, for their approval or rejection? Are they sent to the consuls and the coast of South America, the Sandwich Islands, &c.?"

"You beg her majesty to inform you by letter or document signed by herself, 'whether the 4th article of the said regulations is a legislative act, a law made and sanctioned by her majesty and other competent persons, or if it is a simple measure of foreign sacerdotal arbitrariness.' You then express your fears that such regulations will cause many difficulties, &c. The queen has told you plainly in a letter with her own signature, that the 4th regulation has been adopted by herself and the governors. On Monday evening you took upon yourself to assert in the face of a great number of people, at the public meeting, that the law in question was not a law of the government, nor of the people, but of the missionaries. This you will find it difficult to prove. For a man to assert that a law which has been regularly canvassed by the people (whose business it is to enact new laws or amend old ones) and adopted, afterward signed by her majesty and printed by the special order of govern-

ment, is about as plausible as to assert that the moon is not the work of the Divine hand, simply because she borrows her light from the sun, or that a law enacted by a legislative body can be no law at all, because the subject of the law was first suggested by a member of that body. Such a person must possess but a small portion of common sense or a very large degree of assurance. With regard to the difficulties that may arise from such a law, the government will run the risk of that. They are not to be alarmed by a few vague threats that a ship of war will do this, that, and the other. The captain of a ship of war would be too well acquainted with his duty to attempt to force upon a free people that which is repugnant to their feelings, destructive of their peace, and contrary to their laws.

"After telling her majesty that you have no opinion to give respecting the French priests, you in a very menacing tone dictate to her majesty what measures must be taken in the business, and by whom the measures must be taken. You request that orders may be given by her majesty with her own signature. This the queen has endeavoured to do, but the gentlemen now in question, if I may be allowed to call them so, are just as obstinate now as they were before they received her majesty's letter, saying that they will wait till a ship of war comes.

"You farther request that all measures taken against the strangers, as you term them, may be taken by competent authorities, and not by illegal foreign arbitrariness, nor by persons guided by their sectarian zeal. Were persons of every description of character allowed to come and settle in a little island like this just at their pleasure, you would soon see something like foreign illegal arbitrariness and sectarian zeal; you would not find things go on so smoothly as they have done. You would soon be worked out root and branch. So inimical to you are the feelings of the few foreigners residing on shore, and of many of the captains calling at this port, that they would willingly, if they had it in their power, turn you off the island to-morrow.

"With respect to your expression, 'neither they nor I shall voluntarily submit;' I would observe that the Tahitian government will not adopt any illegal measures, but will enforce their own laws, whether they or you submit voluntarily or not.

"After stating that you have no opinion to give, you represent yourself as a person without religious prejudices and a friend to her majesty. Had you said the very opposite to that you would have come much nearer the truth. Were you without religious prejudices and a friend to her majesty, you would not so violently oppose the pleasure of the queen, and endeavour to force upon her and the people, persons who, according to your own confession, are likely to do more harm than good. If we may judge by your conduct, we cannot help coming to the conclusion that your prejudices in favour of popery run very high. If this were not the case, why take so much trouble and use so much art and cunning to establish popery in a little island like this, where you know the whole of the people are now and have long been under instruction? Having asserted that you are a person without religious prejudices and a friend to her majesty, you take upon you to give her a

little sage advice. 'I would say to your majesty let the Tahitian sovereign and the Tahitian inhabitants still be what they ever have been when left to themselves, a hospitable, a kind, a beloved people. Let Tahiti still be the island of Wallis, Cook, and Bougainville, open to all vessels, friendly to all nations; and since you proved generous and tolerant when idolatrous and in a state of barbarity, don't suffer it to be changed by foreign anti-tolerant principles, and to become, when Christian and approaching to civilization, inhospitable, cruel, and without tolerance.' If I mistake not, what we are to understand by the above language is this, that formerly, when the Tahitians were left to themselves, when they were idolatrous and in a state of barbarity, they were a hospitable, kind, and beloved people, but in consequence of Protestant missionaries labouring among them, there is a danger of their becoming inhospitable, cruel, and without tolerance. You advise her majesty to let the island be open to all vessels and friendly to all nations. Such advice might have been spared. You well know that this island is open to all vessels, and that the Tahitians are on the most friendly terms with all nations. There is nothing contrary to peace and unity for the queen and governors to reserve to themselves a discretionary power, and if you will take the trouble to examine the 4th article, you will there see that the door is not shut against all foreigners.

"In some instances the queen's governors have granted permission, as in the case of your own cousin; and in other instances this permission has not been granted, as in the case of the Roman priests, because the queen and governors are persuaded that such persons are not needed, and for them to remain in a place like this, will prove injurious rather than beneficial to the island. Hence it appears just and right to reserve in the hands of the government a discretionary power. This you will find is not peculiar to Tahiti alone, but a privilege enjoyed by civilized nations generally.

"You finish your letter by repeating to her majesty the words of the author of the '*Voyage of the Potomac*,' addressed to the missionaries at the Sandwich Islands. This gentleman appears to have formed his sentiments on the language of Pope (not the Pope), who says, 'whatever is, is right.' While we admire his candour, we cannot help pitying his weakness, and it is a question whether the author had the most distant idea of taking Roman Catholic missionaries into the number of denominations to which he referred. For Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries to labour together in peace and harmony in a small field like this or the Sandwich Islands, is just as likely as it is for light to have fellowship with darkness, or Christ and Belial to dwell together in concord.

"I remain, Sir, yours faithfully,

"G. PRITCHARD."

V.—LETTER of MR. MOERNHOÛT to MR. PRITCHARD.

"*Papaiti, Dec. 8, 1836.*

"SIR,—I received on Saturday night your letter, a kind of private answer to the one I wrote to Queen Pomare, which is a thing rather

new and unusual. The said letter being also too long for a regular answer, at least from me, who know but imperfectly your language, I will refute but a few phrases.

“ ‘As there is in it such an evident attempt to degrade me and my missionary brethren.’ Belonging to a body, I spoke of you in a collective manner. Still, to be candid, it was of you I intended to speak, but I deny that I attempted to degrade you. Nevertheless, when a person of your profession does not hesitate to insult, he has no more right than any other person to expect much courtesy.

“ ‘You will know that I hold a civil office under this government.’ You yourself have told me so, and that, as you well say, only a civil office.

“ ‘I was ordered by the queen to make you acquainted with her pleasure respecting the Frenchmen.’

“ Were you ordered to tell me that if I support priests of a denomination to which I belong, I was destitute of all gentlemanly feeling? Did she order you to push impudence so far as to tell me, in a letter you call *official*, that because I engaged her to take a present from two strangers, that my conduct was shuffling and unmanly? And this low and insulting language addressed to the Consul of the United States, was it yours or that of her majesty?

“ ‘Hence my communication to you was official.’

“ I did not admit it as such, and the United States government will judge if, as their consul, I was right or wrong respecting it.

“ ‘Why do you address your official communications to me from time to time?’

“ I never did. What I addressed to you was as to one of the judges of this district—in no other capacity. I did the same to most of the other judges, at least in a verbal manner, when I wanted their presence or assistance; but I do not give you or them the right to insult the United States’ consul in the queen’s name.

“ ‘Full of wrong and impudent language.’ I repeat the same, and have since added, ‘low and impudent language.’

“ ‘Your ideas’ respecting it will not alter its real character.’ No, nor your new insults justify it.

“ ‘Which you had the audacity to address to her majesty, the Queen of Tahiti.’

“ For all that I address to her majesty I am accountable to the United States government only; but you, sir, as a missionary, you may also be accountable for what you address to me, the United States consul, in the name of her majesty.

“ ‘Pledged yourself, &c., that you would respect their laws.’ Yes, their laws, not yours.

“ ‘That law must be sent all over the world.’

“ Such a law has to be remitted to the ambassadors and consuls to be sent to their respective governments, not to see whether they think proper to agree to it, but to acquaint them with it, and if there is any thing of great interest to foreign commerce, such as the prohibition of
 ds, new duties, or exclusion of persons at the pleasure of some indi-

vidual, as in your anti-social port regulations of Tahiti, then, sir, the custom is, that it is put in vigour only after a time fixed, sufficient to avoid losses to the country where they are made, as well as to the commerce of other countries.

“ ‘Because the subject of the law was first suggested by a member of that body.’ The question is, if he who suggested said he is a member of that body, if he can be a legal one, or if he will be considered so by foreign governments; if it be proved that he belongs already to another body which has particular views, principles, and interests of its own, and whose statute, if I am well informed, strictly forbids any of its members to meddle in the politics of other countries, is it probable that in that case other nations will consent to be prejudiced by his laws? I doubt it.

“ ‘The government will run the risk.’ Yes, because the queen, advised by you, does not know, and you do not care.

“ ‘The gentlemen now in question, if I may call them so.’ They do not care what you call them. They are Frenchmen.

“ ‘So inimical to you are the feelings of the foreigners residing on shore.’ There are many who I hope will never be my friends; still I have done harm to none and good to many. I neither expect nor require any gratitude—nor do I fear them.

“ ‘And enforce their own law.’ I hope they will, but let it be their own, not yours.

“ ‘As a person without religious prejudices.’ I have none, and it is in that respect I differ the most from you.

“ ‘And friend to her majesty.’ Yes, and a sincere friend who will give her no selfish advice.

“ ‘You would not oppose the pleasure of the queen.’ Not that of the queen, but yours.

“ ‘Use so much art and cunning to establish popery.’ My art and cunning is to be hospitable to two strangers recommended to me, to have firmness enough to brave your resentment and the ill-will of many others, by protecting them against the most hateful intolerance. My art is to lodge those who, without me, would have been without lodging—to feed those who by your arbitrary and cruel orders had to be stopped from landing—whom you intended to send back to sea without mercy and without allowing them necessities. My art is to have what you have not—the toleration of a philosopher and the feelings of a Christian, and to be merciful and humane without regard to profession or religious opinions.

“ ‘To give her a little sage advice.’

“ ‘I don’t know if the advice be sage, but I believe it is prudent, and it was given in a manner very different from that of many others, with sincerity and without any views to self-interest.

“ ‘But in consequence of Protestant missionaries labouring among them, there is danger of their becoming inhospitable, cruel, and without tolerance.’ Not in consequence of Protestant missionaries labouring among them, but because some of the Protestant missionaries forget the object of their mission, are merchants, and meddle indiscriminately in every

thing, religious, civil, or political, aim at the authority of the island, would domineer, would tyrannize over every thing, over their own colleagues, over natives and over foreigners, over the laws themselves, by audaciously constituting themselves legislators of a country where they were sent to preach the Gospel, and who, as I said in a letter to the queen, would, by introducing their intolerant principles, make the people cruel, inhospitable, and without tolerance.

" 'And that the inhabitants are on the most friendly terms with all nations.' Yes, with the exception of the French, Spanish, and others presented as Catholics, and of any others of such a rank as to be able to contribute to the welfare of the island, by promoting commerce and augmenting the intercourse of foreigners.

" 'You will then see that the door is not shut against all foreigners.' No, against those only who differ in opinion from yourself, whose interests may oppose yours, or still against some others, such as the English carpenter, who, as in the present case, are necessary to make a show of impartiality or to serve to cloak religious prejudices.

" 'Your own cousin.' My cousin is no resident, and will leave by the first opportunity.

" 'Hence it appears just and right to reserve in the hands of the government a discretionary power not against the law of nations.' Yes, but not in the hands of a missionary.

" 'It is a question whether the author had the most distant idea of taking the Roman Catholic missionaries into the number of denominations to which he referred.' It was of Roman Catholics he did speak.

" 'For Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries to labour together in peace and harmony in a small field like this, is just as likely as it is for Christ and Belial to dwell together in concord.' 'This profession of faith is worthy to be known.

" Here, sir, we will finish our correspondence upon this subject. After this I will neither receive nor write any more letters with regard to the French priests, since I have nothing to do with the object of their voyage, no farther than that they were addressed and recommended to me; otherwise, as I have already said, I have no opinion to give in the case. I neither wish them to stay nor depart, but as long as they are here, I will not, in order to conciliate other persons' opinions, other persons' interests, go and act contrary to my own principles, contrary to my own feelings of hospitality and of humanity. In my house they are and are welcome, and will be so, as long as they are allowed to stop. I owe them that much, out of consideration for the person who recommended them to me. I owe it to the nation to which they belong; and exiled, persecuted as they are by you, I consider it my duty and becoming the dignity of my office, being the only foreign consul in this island, to protect them as I should protect any other person belonging to a friendly nation, against violence, &c., and help them in every respect whatsoever, except in the special object of their mission, or in any other particular views of religious opinions, with which I have nothing to do."

VI.—LETTER of MR. MOERNHOUT to the FRENCH CONSUL
in Valparaiso.

Tahiti, Dec. 1, 1836.

" MONSIEUR,—Comme consul d'un gouvernement et d'un peuple ami de la France, dans un pays où les Français n'ont personne pour protéger ni leurs personnes ni leur droits, je crois pouvoir me permettre de vous donner quelques détails sur ce qui s'est passé ici à l'égard de quelques-uns de vos concitoyens. Les missionnaires Anglais qui depuis qu'ils ont réussi d'établir ici leur religion, gouvernent en quelque sorte l'île, ont toute fait par crainte que la religion Catholique ne s'introduisît. Aussi pour l'empêcher se sont-ils en tout temps montrés peu favorables aux individus qui professeraient cette religion, et se sont dernièrement déclarés ennemis surtout des Français et des Espagnols, à qui ils cherchent même d'interdire le séjour de ces îles, et d'empêcher qu'ils aient le moindre commerce ni relation avec les habitants. Le premier effet de cette intolérance tomba sur deux Français qui arrivèrent en cette île il y a environ un an, attachés à un aventurier renégat Français, se disant souverain de la Nouvelle Zélande. Cet individu porta des plaintes contre ces Français devant ces missionnaires, et entre autres les accusaient d'être des Catholiques, et tout ridicule que doit naturellement paraître pareille charge, ce fut pourtant la seule admise, et qui fut cause qu'on décida qu'il aurait été dangereux de laisser communiquer ces gens avec les habitants, et il fut défendu à ces malheureux qui venaient de faire un long voyage, et dont un était malade et souffrant, de mettre le pied à terre. Le second fut un négociant Espagnol exilé d'une des républiques de l'Amérique du Sud. Il était riche et vint pour établir une plantation de sucre en cette île. A peine son arrivée était-elle connue, que les missionnaires s'agitaient auprès des autorités de l'île, ou plutôt agissant de leur chef, s'opposaient à son débarquement. Cependant le bâtiment sur lequel il était, allait en Amérique, et ce ne fut que sur les représentations du capitaine et après que le dit négociant avait remis comme garantie entre les mains d'un missionnaire environ 24,000 piastres, qu'il avait avec lui, et qu'il consentait à perdre s'il ne se rembarquait sur le premier navire qui partirait pour le Chili, qu'on lui permit de venir à terre. Mais là il ne lui fut accordé que 100 piastres de son propre argent, dans la crainte qu'il ne séduisît les autorités et qu'il n'obtint la permission de rester dans l'île.

" D'autres Français, d'autres étrangers, ont éprouvé l'effet de l'inimitié et de l'intolérance des missionnaires Anglais, qui pour mieux cacher cette intolérance, ou plutôt de crainte d'être supplantés par d'autres missionnaires, ou par l'introduction d'un autre culte, viennent de faire une loi où il est dit; qu'aucun passager ne pourra débarquer ici sans le consentement des missionnaires.

" Il y a deux jours qu'arrivèrent ici de l'île de Gambier, dans une petite goélette de 12 à 15 tonneaux seulement, trois Français, dont deux sont des prêtres et l'autre un charpentier. La nouvelle de leur départ de Gambier pour ici, fut connue avant leur arrivée, et aussitôt un des missionnaires Anglais, nommé Pritchard, obtint, ou je dirai plutôt, donna,

l'ordre de s'opposer à leur débarquement. Des gardes furent placés avec ordre que si la dite goëlette se présentait, de l'empêcher de venir à l'ancre, de la faire sortir du port, de défendre à tous ceux qui seraient à bord de débarquer à terre, et d'empêcher même toute communication entre les habitants ou résidents, avec la dite goëlette. Un hazard fit toutefois manquer toutes ces précautions. Le vent contraire avait obligé la goëlette d'entrer dans un port au sud-est de l'île, et de là ces trois passagers vinrent à pied jusqu'ici, qui étant des Français, je les reçus dans ma maison malgré l'opposition du missionnaire et les ordres réitérés qu'ils devaient se rembarquer tout de suite.

"Voilà sept jours qu'ils sont avec moi dans une de mes demeures, et qu'ils vivent avec moi. Je fus avec eux chez la reine—mais là se trouvait aussi un des missionnaires Anglais. Ces messieurs, les prêtres Français, lui firent un petit présent qu'elle accepta sans opposition aucune, mais quand ils voulurent lui remettre chacun trois piastres, que la loi exige de tout étranger qui veut rester ici, le missionnaire Anglais s'y opposa, prit un ton insolent et grossier à l'égard des étrangers et impérieux avec la reine, puis qu'il osa lui défendre d'accepter cet argent; cependant ces messieurs, au refus de la reine, lui offrirent la même somme comme un présent, et alors elle accepta malgré le missionnaire, et quoiqu'il se soit bien donné des peines depuis et qu'il soit revenu souvent sur le même sujet, cet argent est resté entre les mains de la reine.

"Mais malgré ce présent, les ordres n'en sont pas moins que ces messieurs doivent quitter, même le charpentier, et on veut qu'ils se rembarquent dans la même petite goëlette qui les a amenés, ce qui les exposera non seulement à bien des souffrances, mais pourra mettre leur vie en danger. Pour le reste, j'ignore jusqu'où le missionnaire Pritchard osera pousser les choses, mais le certain est que s'ils n'avaient pas été dans ma maison et sous ma protection, on leur aurait fait violence et forcé à bord depuis longtemps, probablement le même jour de leur arrivée ici; car le missionnaire Pritchard est sans pitié, il continue à tout remuer pour les expulser, mais les Indiens et la reine même craignent de se compromettre. Toutefois j'ignore jusqu'où il poussera les choses, puisqu'il n'a pas craint de faire juger les Indiens qui firent des présents de fruits du pays aux Français. D'ailleurs, l'ordre de quitter existe toujours, et quoique j'ai obtenu que deux malles fussent portées à terre, on leur refuse aujourd'hui les choses qui sont encore à bord, et même le linge.

"Voilà, monsieur le consul, la situation de trois Français à Tahiti. Je ne crois pas, étant dans ma maison, qu'on osera user de violence avec eux, cependant la haine fanatique du principal missionnaire Anglais est capable de tout, et est d'autant plus à craindre qu'il ne redoute rien plus que de laisser gagner du temps aux Français. Quant à moi, indifférent dans la querelle religieuse, je protégerai ces messieurs aussi longtemps que je le puis, mais je suis seul contre les missionnaires et les nombreux Anglais de basse classe qui résident ici: il serait donc bien mieux qu'un bâtiment de guerre Français put venir pour apprendre à ce peuple ce qu'ils ignorent, par la fausse représentation de leur guides spirituels, que la France a le pouvoir de protéger, dans n'importe quel pays, et qu'elle peut exiger que le droit des gens ne soit pas violé à leur égard."

These documents will establish Mr. Pritchard's claims to the meek spirit of the apostles. The conclusion of the transaction is soon told.

On the 11th of December, a body of that man's agents came to the missionaries' residence, which belonged to the consul, and demanded that the door should be opened. This was refused. After some hesitation, they unroofed it, and breaking open the doors, took the two priests and their companion by main force, and carried them down to the beach. They put them into a boat, and placed them on board the *Eliza*. The captain sailed with them, threatening to put them on shore on some desert island. After many hardships, they regained their friends in the Gambier Islands.

After remaining here thirteen days, they again embarked in the *Colombo*, Captain Williams, for a second attempt. This was 13th January 1837. The two missionaries engaged in this expedition were MM. Maigret and Caret. We will not enter into any particulars, farther than to state, that though the purpose of these gentlemen was only to wait for a passage to Valparaiso, they were not allowed to land. Again they were repeatedly visited not only by the good consul, but by several chiefs, who threw all the blame upon Pritchard. They were informed that, in the interval, an English vessel of war had been at Tahiti, and that complaint had been made to the commanding officer of the illiberal treatment of the missionaries. We need not observe, that this man was reprovèd as he deserved. We present our readers with the documents referring to this expedition.

LETTERS RESPECTING THE SECOND VOYAGE TO TAHITI.

VII.—LETTER OF QUEEN POMARE TO MONSIEUR BISHOP OF NILOPOLIS. (Translation.)

" Tahiti, Xbre 12, 1836.

" Ami et grand missionnaire qui demeure à Mangareva. Salut à toi dans le vrai Dieu.

" Je renvoie ces deux hommes à Mangareva : il ne me plait pas du tout qu'ils restent ici à Tahiti. Voici la parole que je t'adresse, n'envoie point ici à Tahiti les hommes qui sont au-dessous de toi. Si tu envoies tes hommes dans cette terre je te les renverrai. Il y a ici dans divers lieux de mon royaume des missionnaires qui enseignent la vraie parole. Nous n'en embrasserons point d'autre.

" Je te salue,

" POMARE."

VIII.—LETTER of MR. PRITCHARD to the CAPTAIN of the COLOMBO.

“ Paofai, January 27, 1837.

“ SIR,—The judges having heard that you have Roman Catholic priests on board, have requested me to send to you a copy of the port regulations, and beg your attention to the 4th article: having entered their port, they expect you to respect their laws.

“ Yours respectfully,

“ G. PRITCHARD, J. P.”

IX.—LETTER of the QUEEN to the CAPTAIN of the COLOMBO.

(Translation.)

“ Papava, January 27, 1837.

“ CAPTAIN,—Peace be with you from the Lord. You ask me ‘is it not agreeable to you that I should land these two passengers?’ This is what I have to say to you. I will not in any way agree to their being landed. Let not any of their property on any account be brought on shore. That is all I have to say.

“ Peace be with you,

“ POMARE.”

X.—LETTER of MR. PRITCHARD to the CAPTAIN of the COLOMBO.

“ Paofai, January 30, 1837.

“ SIR,—I am requested by the queen and governors and chiefs to send to you an extract from the ‘maritime laws of the United States,’ which is as follows:—‘Port laws and regulations should be carefully observed. In almost every port there are certain laws for the government of the shipping, which cannot be transgressed with impunity. A master should, therefore, inform himself of these on his first arrival, and be scrupulous in conforming himself to them during his stay: all the damage which ensues in consequence of a breach of them will eventually fall on him.’

“ Should it be your pleasure to call upon me. I can show you Lord Edward Russell’s decision respecting these Roman Catholic missionaries coming to Tahiti; also the opinion of Commodore Mason, now in Valparaiso.

“ A French ship of war has lately been to the Sandwich Islands. Captain Charlton, the consul, laid before the French captain a complaint against the government of these islands, for sending away Roman Catholic priests. The captain called on the king and enquired into the business. When he found that they had long had Protestant missionaries residing among them, and that it was the opinion of the king that if Roman Catholic missionaries were allowed to remain and teach their doctrines, much evil would ensue, he told the king that he had done perfectly right in sending them away: that it was quite at his own pleasure who should be allowed to remain on his land.

“ I remain, your’s respectfully,

“ G. PRITCHARD.”

XI.—LETTER of the QUEEN and her CHIEFS to the CAPTAIN of the COLOMBO.—(Translation.)

" Papava, January 30, 1837.

" CAPTAIN,—Peace be with you. The letter which you wrote has come to hand. It has been read, and we understand its contents. This is what we have to say to you : we will not in any way agree to your landing the two passengers. Do not be obstinate to put them on shore. It is suitable that you should regard our laws, because you have now anchored in our dominions. You enquire ' what am I to do with them ? Must I take them to America or India ? ' We have nothing to say respecting that ; it is entirely with yourself. You knew when you were at Gambier, that the two men had been sent away from hence by us, on board Hamilton's little schooner ; hence you knew that it would not be agreeable to us for you to bring them again to Tahiti ; but your obstinacy and desire for money led you to agree to their wishes and bring them to Tahiti.

" Should you go to India there are many ships there that can take them to Valparaiso, the place to which they wish to go. We do not know of any ship that is likely to call at Tahiti bound to that place.

" You say that when your vessel is ready for sea you will put the two passengers and their property on shore. This is what we have to say to you : do not by any means attempt to do so ; if you do, you will see what steps we shall take. You also say, should we force these men on board again we must pay you thirty dollars per day. This is what we have to say to you : we will not by any means pay you anything ; no, not in any way whatever. That is all we have to say.

" Peace be with you.

" POMARE.

" PAOFAI PAPAI PAROU.

" TATI.

" HITOTI.

" HAPŌNO.

" POROI.

" WATA.

" ONEIDU.

" MURE."

XII.—LETTER of MONSIEUR MAIGRET.

" Toutes vos raisons, MM. les Méthodistes, en nous chassant de Tahiti, peuvent se réduire à ces trois chefs. Vous nous fermez l'entrée de cette île,

" 1. Parceque le peuple ne veut pas de nous.

" 2. Parceque nous y allumerions la guerre.

" 3. Parceque ce n'est pas bonnête de venir ainsi sur les brisées des autres.

" Examinons vos raisons et voyons si elles sont bien fondées.

" Vous nous dites que le peuple de Tahiti ne veut pas de nous. Nous

savons tout le contraire ; nous l'avons vu ce peuple, nous lui avons parlé, nous savons ce qu'il pense.

“ ‘ Mais ils vous mentaient pour vous faire plaisir ? ’

“ ‘ S'ils mentaient à des gens de qui ils n'avaient rien à craindre, pourraient-ils nous faire accroire qu'ils parlent sincèrement à des personnes, qui les condamnent tous les jours à des amendes et à des travaux forcés, qui les dépouillent de leurs biens, et qui ne dominent sur eux que par terreur ? ’

“ ‘ D'où vient-il donc que ce peuple vous a chassés ? ’

“ ‘ Parceque c'est un peuple enfant, à qui la crainte fait faire tout ce qu'on veut, et je mets en fait que la reine et les chefs signeraient aussi facilement leur arrêt de mort qu'ils ont signé notre expulsion. ’

“ ‘ Mais supposons que le peuple ne veuille point de vous ? ’

“ ‘ Serait-ce une raison pour nous de ne jamais retourner à Tahiti ? Les apôtres et leurs successeurs attendaient-ils que les peuples les voulassent pour aller leur annoncer l'Evangile et les retirer de l'erreur ? ’

“ ‘ Mais vous allumeriez la guerre. ’

“ ‘ Et comment, je vous prie, allumerions-nous la guerre ? Serait-ce en prêchant la soumission à la reine, l'amour mutuel, le pardon des injures, et la charité envers tous ? Vous n'ignorez pas que ce sont là des vérités Catholiques. ’

“ ‘ Mais vous condamneriez nos doctrines ? ’

“ ‘ Si vos doctrines sont vraies qu'avez-vous à craindre ? Ne serez-vous pas là pour les défendre ? Croyez-vous bonnement que nous prêcherons les nôtres, les armes à la main ? Craignez-vous que nous ne forçons le peuple à quitter votre église pour venir nous entendre ? Laissez le libre comme nous le laisserons nous-même, et tout ira bien, et il n'y aura point de guerre. ’

“ ‘ Mais il s'engagera nécessairement des discussions entre vos néophytes et les nôtres. ’

“ ‘ Et quel mal y aura-t-il à cela ? Ne discute-t-on pas tous les jours en France, en Angleterre, en Amérique, sans que pour cela on se fasse la guerre ? Et si dans les grands empires la paix peut être maintenue malgré les discussions, à plus forte raison, quoi qu'on en dise, dans une petite île comme Tahiti. ’

“ ‘ Mais les naturels ne sauront pas garder de mesures. ’

“ ‘ Les habitants de Tahiti sont naturellement pacifiques, et ils garderont des mesures, si on leur apprend à en garder et surtout si on leur donne l'exemple. ’

“ ‘ Les vôtres n'en garderont pas. ’

“ ‘ Les nôtres en garderont tant qu'ils seront des nôtres, vous savez bien qu'aux îles Sandwich ce ne sont pas les vôtres qui sont dans les fers. ’

“ ‘ Mais pourquoi venir ainsi sur nos brisées. ’

“ ‘ Eh, MM. vous n'y pensez pas. Et que répondrait Luther, que répondraient les Protestants, que répondriez-vous vous-mêmes, s'il plaisait à nous autres Catholiques de retorque l'argument ? ’

“ ‘ Avouez, MM., que ces raisons ne sont pas valables, et si vous voulez justifier aux yeux des Catholiques, aux yeux des Protestants, aux yeux de tous les peuples civilisés, votre intolérance à notre égard, cherchez d'autres raisons. ’

“ L. D. MAIGRET,

“ Pref. Apostolique de l'Océane Oriental.”

XIII.—LETTER of MR. MOERNHOUT, American Consul at Tahiti,
to the French COMMODORE off Chili.

" Otaheiti, 2 Février, 1837.

" A Monsieur le Commandant de la Station Française au Chili.

" MONSIEUR LE COMMANDANT,—J'ai eu l'honneur d'écrire deux fois à Monsieur le consul général de France au Chili, pour lui remettre les détails de l'expulsion de deux prêtres Français de cette île.* Mais dans l'incertitude s'il y a en ce moment un consul général de France au Chili, je prends la liberté de vous adresser la présente, afin de vous faire connaître les nouvelles injustices et les insultes que les mêmes Français viennent d'éprouver.

" Il vous est peut-être déjà connue que deux prêtres ou missionnaires Français arrivèrent ici de l'île de Gambier dans le mois de Novembre dernier, et que malgré mes efforts pour les soustraire aux persécutions et aux violences, on les enleva de force d'une des mes demeures, pour les jeter à bord d'une petite goëlette. Cette goëlette, grande de 15 ou 16 tonneaux seulement, eut heureusement un vent favorable, et arriva à Gambier le premier Janvier.

" Depuis lors un brick Américain, le Colombo, Cap. M.^r Williams, porteur de la présente, visita l'île de Gambier, et comme le bâtiment devait venir à Otaheiti, n'ayant que d'aller à Manila, le lieu de sa destination, l'Evêque de l'île de Gambier, qui voulait envoyer deux de ses prêtres à Valparaiso, pensait que malgré les persécutions qu'ils avaient éprouvées avant, on n'aurait pas refusé de laisser passer par Otaheiti, ces deux Français porteurs de passeports, et qui ne demandaient à y rester que jusqu'à ce qu'il se présentera une occasion pour poursuivre leur voyage au Chili. Il ne connaissait point encore, à ce qu'il paraît, l'esprit persécuteur et la haine que portent aux Catholiques les missionnaires Anglais établis ici. A peine sut-on l'arrivée des deux prêtres Français, qu'il vint un ordre par écrit par lequel on leur défendait de mettre le pied à terre, et malgré que j'offrais de garantir, en ma qualité de consul des Etats Unis, que les prêtres Français auraient quitté Otaheiti dès qu'il y aurait eu une occasion pour le Chili, la reine influencée par les missionnaires Anglais refusait opiniâtement de les laisser débarquer; effectivement quand l'embarcation du brick Américain vint avec les deux passagers pour les débarquer devant ma demeure, des Indiens armés de gros bâtons et de sabres coururent au-devant en se mettant dans l'eau jusqu'à la ceinture, et ordonnèrent à ceux qui étaient dans l'embarcation, en les menaçant de leurs armes, de retourner à bord immédiatement.

" J'ignore, Monsieur le Commandant, comment la France prendra toutes ces injustes persécutions, mais il est certain que si on ne punit point ce gouvernement pour de pareils outrages, aucun Français ne pourra rester dans ces îles, ni les bâtiments Français ne visiteront ces îles sans courir des dangers. J'ajouterai même avec franchise, car il y a des vérités qu'il est nécessaire de faire connaître, ni les Français, ni les Espagnols, qui sont à Otaheiti ne pourraient y rester, si je n'y étais pas. Ils ont éprouvé mille vexations, et il est certain que les missionnaires Anglais les auraient déjà fait chasser s'ils ne connaissaient mes sentiments

et s'ils ne savaient que je réclamerais contre eux en faveur de ceux qui n'ont d'autre torts que d'être Catholiques.

" Le capitaine du bâtiment Américain n'ayant pu débarquer ses passagers ici, s'est décidé à changer de route et amènera lui-même les prêtres Français à Valparaiso. Vous pourrez donc, Monsieur le Commandant, apprendre de ces messieurs mêmes les détails des persécutions qu'ils ont éprouvé ici.

" J'ai l'honneur d'être,

" Monsieur le Commandant,

" Votre très-humble,

" et très-obéissant serviteur,

" J. MOERNHOUT,

" Consul des Etats-Unis à Otaheiti."

XIV.

" Valparaiso, le 6 Mai, 1837.

" Ne pouvant rien faire ici dans l'intérêt de nos missionnaires Français qui ont été mal recus et traités avec tant de sauvagerie à Otaheiti, à l'instigation d'un méthodiste intolérant, je leur donne, pour qu'ils puissent la faire voir là où elle sera utile, la lettre que j'ai reçu à ce sujet du consul Américain à Otaheiti.

" M. DUHOUT-LILLY,

" Capt. de Ste. Commt.

" par interim la Station de la Mer du Sud."

We should add, that, when the missionaries went to the shore on this second occasion, they were met by a body of Pritchard's satellites, armed with clubs and cutlasses—weapons, we believe, not mentioned in the Gospel, except as being employed by the servants of Annas and Caiaphas. Captain Williams humanely said, he could not again allow them to expose themselves to such wolves, and took them to Valparaiso.

Such is the conduct of Englishmen, for such we understand this Pritchard is, when missionary lucre, joined to missionary fanaticism, has carried them beyond the reach of British public opinion. This is the man who represents the British character for liberality, toleration, gentlemanly feeling, and religious spirit. How we must be respected by the Tahitians! It seems he has amassed considerable wealth, for, as the natives say, every thing is sold them, and sold them dear. Every book, every prayer, every sacrament is venal. And while upon this subject, we must not omit a fact, which will go towards estimating the accuracy with which the poor creatures, drawn into the net of such men, are taught the Gospel. In Tahiti, the dominion of Pritchard, the eucharist is administered with the Mayore, or bread-tree fruit! In the version made into its language, and printed by the missionaries, in the history of the institution at the Last Supper,

it is said, "He took *Mayore*, and blessed," &c. In Chain Island, the same sacrament is administered with the fruit of the cocoa, and the intoxicating liquor extracted from it! In the Island of Rapa, where there is neither the bread-tree nor the cocoa, the Lord's Supper is administered with the *taro*, a root much resembling the turnip! We have these facts upon undoubted authority. Let the subscribers to missionary societies look to it.

Once more we beg to turn our readers' attention to *our own* missions, and entreat their co-operation in any efforts that shall be made in their favour.

ART. V.—*Pedro of Castile*. A Poem. By H. J. Shepherd, Esq. London. 1838.

IT is difficult in these days to induce people to read a poem; and yet, more people, perhaps, now write tolerably good poetry than at any other period of our literature. Moore justly remarked one day to Scott, that scarcely a magazine was now published which did not contain some verses which, in their younger days, would have made a reputation; and the candid poet of the north, in assenting to the proposition, humorously observed what lucky dogs they themselves were, to have "pursued their triumph and partaken the gale" of popular applause, in days when the muse was younger and more followed after. Without admitting altogether the modest inference of the author of the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, that all who write well would write *as* well and as winningly as Moore or Scott, we may fairly take such authority as a proof that it is not the demerit of present poetry that occasions the neglect of it, and that the causes of that neglect are to be traced to the public rather than to the poets. Some of it, indeed, may be attributable to the imitative character, which the influence exercised by the geniuses of the beginning of the century upon the admirers who followed in their wake, has had a tendency to generate. Men turn, with a sense of insipidity and flatness, from what seems to their eyes to be copied and transferred, even if the copy be not in itself destitute of sense and spirit. This is true in all the fine arts, and as much in writing as any of them; while the most opposite, most careless, and even vicious styles, have a certain charm, if perceived to bear the original impress of a mind thinking, working, speaking, for itself. The legendary descriptiveness and

flowing labourless facility of Scott, and the deep groanings of the dissatisfied and remorseful spirit in Byron, lost their attraction and interest, when they became, respectively, the characteristics of a school, instead of the outpouring of an individual soul; and it was natural and right that mere imitators, whether simple or satanic, should take their obscure, undusted, places, on the shelf of oblivion, whence no admiration of Dryden or of Pope could formerly rescue "the mob of gentlemen who wrote with ease," in fancied, perhaps even successful, imitation of them, in the days of Charles or Anne. But although this may account for the fate of much of the poetry left unread, and although we know that after well-graced actors leave the stage, it is the habit of an audience to have their eyes idly bent on him that enters next, thinking his prattle to be tedious, it will not account for all. There is a great deal of verse existing, full of original thought, feeling, melody and grace, about which nobody ever troubles himself, and which few would keep their attention to. In short, poetry is not "the fashion." We doubt if this state of taste tells well, either for or upon the public; whether it originates in any very laudable or elevated condition of mind, or is at all likely to produce it. The general pursuit of exact and physical science, of mechanical utility and the means of corporeal advantages in the higher cast of readers, though so valuable as improving the bodily condition of human beings, and in invigorating their understandings, rarely does much, even with them, towards elevating and refining the sentiments, or ameliorating the heart; while the alternatives to which the lower class of readers, no longer guided to or pleased by poetry, are likely to be induced, are still more calculated to lower the moral tone, to indurate the softer charities and affections, and to corrupt and brutify the taste. The voice of philosophy and morality itself sinks deeper into the heart, and more widely diffuses the blessing which it contains, when conveyed through the exquisite numbers of Pope, and the divinely ravishing harmony of Milton's lines; and it is a very different thing for the minds of the idler votaries of the circulating library, whether they wile away the unoccupied hour over a careless clumsy fiction—frivolously and falsely endeavouring to pourtray the surface of external manners in artificial life—sarcastically maligning a society to which the soured author pines to be deemed to belong,—presenting vicious portraits of individual exceptions, and making their conclusions from them general and abstract—gratifying all the lowest tendencies of the most empty natures, and at best, attempting to fix and treat as permanent, flimsy and evanescent characteristics not worth preserving or dwelling upon,—or whether they amuse

their leisure with the lovely landscapes, the picturesque and romantic patriotism, the sweet though unobtruded moralities and affections of the *Last Minstrel* and the *Lady of the Lake*. These appear to us to be truths of an extensive influence, and not unimportant; and we could, without difficulty, go on to illustrate them by much more detail, example, and argument; but as we are very well aware that it is almost as impossible to reason as to bully a "public" into a taste, we will not embark in any farther disquisitions or lamentations to prove or to correct the misfortune, but merely proceed to avow that our own present intention is to recommend to our readers the graceful and pleasing production whose title stands at the head of our article, as at least as well calculated to give them a pleased and unregretted hour of contemplation, as any "Loves," "Victims," "Dinners," or "Divorces," by vulgar, puzzle-headed pseudo-fashionables, are likely to impart to them.

This poem, in which historical characters are introduced and thrown into romantic adventure, is written in the octave stanza, which may be termed the heroic measure of the Italians, since their principal epic poems are written in it, and it has been shown, in the hands of the authors of them, to be susceptible of both great pathos and sublimity. But it was likewise adopted by another class of their writers, who found it a fit vehicle for the union, with the heroic and pathetic, of the lively and the humorous; and to this combination it seems to have lent itself with a somewhat alarming and fatal facility. The change from a contemplation of Tasso and Ariosto to Berni and Casti, must be perceived to be a degradation. M. de la Monnoye justly attributes it as a fault to Pulci, one of the earliest successful writers in this mood, that, ignorant of rules, he had confounded the comic and serious styles—and his most natural vein appears to be for the first—for although he has a certain familiar satirical gaiety in common with Ariosto, he never arrives at his romantic tone of enthusiasm and elevation. The writings of Berni received a tinge from his character, which was of a cast both licentious and indolent, and the talents which were its offspring were chiefly, if not entirely, calculated for the extravagant and burlesque. Casti, who has been justly called the profligate of genius, still farther abused, in later times, the facile temper of this dangerous style, and still farther debased and vitiated it by a yet more licentious admixture of obscenity, bitterness, and the witty sneer of a demoralizing philosophy. Even the best specimens of this school appear to depend for their merit upon the surprise of unexpected turns,

"From grave to gay, from lively to severe;"

and, like some of the late Mr. Kean's sudden starts and droppings of the voice, upon the ingenuity of abrupt transition. We are not ourselves quite certain that this careless confounding of opposite moods of the mind—this raising of the feelings to wound them with a joke—the producing a sentiment of elevation, to have the cynical pleasure of buffeting it with a bathos, is precisely the mode of writing which we prefer, and we lament that in most of the cases in which it has been latterly attempted to transfer the Italian measure to English literature, the authors of the attempt appear to have had rather in their heads the inferior than the more elevated Italian writers in it, and to have caught their inspiration not so much from the *Gerusalemme*, or even the prodigal richness of the *Orlando Furioso*, as from the *Morgante Maggiore* and the *Animali Parlanti*. They appear to have been captivated rather by the premium which it held out to carelessness and want of method, than by those sublime results of which, in nobler hands, it had been found to be capable. Perhaps it is owing to this, that with some exceptions it does not appear to have been extensively popular. One of the earliest English specimens of it is Edward Fairfax's version of *Tasso*; and we cannot agree with Mr. Hume in his regret that he should have adopted the Italian stanza on account of its prolixity and uniformity, since we consider it as susceptible of more variety than the English heroic couplet; while, whatever other charm the Spenserian stanza may possess, (and it has, in our opinion, an exquisite one,) it cannot certainly compete with the Italian in trippingness or brevity, but has a character of flowing majesty about it, and of sustained thought at variance with those lighter characteristics. Neither do we participate in the justice of the neglect with which Fairfax's translation has been treated, or in a belief of the necessity of Hoole's to supersede it; but rather incline to think that we prefer a certain raciness of phrase and natural vigour of expression (not unaccompanied either by much occasional melody and elegance), which are to be found in Fairfax,—a certain idiomatic Anglicism which gives something of original sketchiness to his yet faithful copy,—to the more elaborate and monotonous versification of the modern translator. Mr. Stewart Rose has, more recently, infused into his *Translation of Ariosto*, much of the spirit and Rubens'-colouring of the rich original, and we rejoice that he also has selected the Italian metre for his rhythmical model, because we are of opinion that in no other English measure would he have been able to produce so much corresponding character, or to convey so near a notion of Ariosto's mood of thought and writing to the English reader. Mr. Frere was among the first of our own day who

tried to persuade the taste of the immediate moderns to flow in the easy eddying channel of the careless *Ottava Rima*. His poem, which seemed to have for its object to put to flight exaggeration and mannerism, and to substitute a purer and more facile English, and one nearer approaching to vernacular expression as well as simplicity in the sentiments, had a certain charm for scholars and for men of an erudite taste and verbal fastidiousness; for while it is the character of nascent and partial refinement to seek a departure from simplicity, (men, in the beginnings of civilization and letters, being afraid for a time of being natural, for fear of being supposed to be common-place,) it is the tendency of a maturity and excess of it, to resort to the pure original fountains of language and of nature which their earlier and more affected efforts have deserted. But the object of Mr. Frere's work was too vague and too little apparent; it had in itself too little of excitement or interest to make it agreeable to general readers; the manner was new to their imaginations; the subject of it, even if perceived, visionary and unreal to a fault. *Beppo*, which may be called that poem's child, since Byron received his inspiration from the hint conveyed in it, had a much more popular fate. It overtook the "flighty purpose" of the other, and "made a deed go with it;" the events were intelligible—the actors capable of being sympathized with—the subject, involving the light loves of careless society, and stepping as near that narrow border where conventional propriety has set its limit, as delicacy could permit—of general interest to the world at large—and perhaps embracing the larger class in the sphere of its attraction—so that it was more calculated to amuse and titillate, than to elevate or refine the reader's imagination. It was surrounded by the brilliant atmosphere of wit and invention and felicitous expression, by which the gifted author was so often enabled to extenuate, if not to veil, so many critical and moral faults; and it at once enlisted the world on the side of its mood and manner. Then came the chief effort of all in this line,—*Don Juan*, a work of unexampled facility and versatility of expression—full of passion, melody, and imagery, as of satire and epigram—an unweeded garden, in which the loveliest flowers were rudely hustled by thorns, brambles, and yet ranker vegetation—a mine of poetical gems and of false and tinsel taste—of the most exquisite delicacy of sentiment and feeling, and of the utmost depravation and debauchery of the mind—of the finest perceptions of intellectual grandeur and beauty, in combination with the most studied confusion of moral elements—of the nice apprehension of virtues with the habit and result of vice—and comprehending most of the beauties and all of the

demerits of the best and the worst of its predecessors. Too beautiful not occasionally to captivate the taste which it constantly insulted and repelled—too corrupt and false not to shock and alienate the understanding which for moments it enslaved—too dangerous to be abandoned to the indiscriminate perusal of sex and youth, and yet too charming to be willingly withheld from them. Its success naturally produced many similar, though inferior, productions; not so much from any design or desire of imitating itself, as from the disclosure which it made of so easy a vehicle for the embodiment of various moods of mind and thought, as they might follow each other in rapid succession in a muse's brain, at so small an expense of labour, polish, coherency, or arrangement, or even of an attention to those decent proprieties of moral and intellectual decorum, whether in word or thought, which had been for the most part deemed essential to the chaste dignity of any muse not professedly licentious and impure.

Among these successors of *Juan*, a short poem called the *Brunswick*,* by Mr. Thomson, was the best; at least we remember to have been struck, in reading it, by some stanzas of great melody of rhythm and perception of natural beauty, together with the *indiciæ* of that original and individual reality of feeling, the result of temperament rather than education, the child of the heart rather than the head, which always communicates itself to style, even when there may be little novel in the idea, and in minds attuned to the euphony of well-selected words, will "voluntarily move harmonious numbers;" though, if we recollect right, these were often in pretty close juxtaposition with much of the cynical *dénigrant* sarcasm by which his prototypes had been disfigured. But whatever rays of genius might illuminate at intervals the colloquial familiarities of these various disciples of the off-hand school, we must say that all of them, not even excepting Byron himself, have renounced and lost that character of epic chivalry which imparted the principal charm to the earlier handlers of the octave rhyme, and shed a light and a brilliancy through the web of the mixed tissue which they wove. Like all copyists, these have been too prone to exaggerate the faulty feature, and have omitted one of the most redeeming graces of expression which acted as their counterpoise. It is no small praise to Mr. Shepherd to say that the general tone of his poem is conceived in a spirit opposite to this, and one which has a greater tendency to revert to the old simple enchanting tone of heroic and amorous romance, of constancy in

* *The Brunswick*; a poem, London, 1829.

"ladye love and war," of female purity and of "knightly worth" and honour; which had the merit at least of presenting exalted rather than degraded and degrading models, and of raising, soothing, purifying, and contenting the fancy, instead of leaving it depressed, deteriorated, wounded, and dissatisfied. No weight is thrown by him into the scale of crime or corruption, as preferable or equal to purity and virtue—no low and insidious attempt encouraged to prove either the one or the other equivalent accidents between which the choice is indifferent—no lurking purpose exhibited of undermining the wisely-prejudiced bigotry of the bias which the youthful Hercules may feel towards the more stern alternative. He does not desire to depreciate valour, nor to show sentiment to be a farce and enthusiasm a weakness—his love is free from depravity, and his playfulness from impiety; his tender passages are the tenderness of the pure, and his comic ones, (not we think his best,) have at least nothing of that scornful scoff of derision by which the "wardrobe of our moral imaginations is to be rudely torn off," our "naked shivering nature" rendered colder and more destitute, and our finer and more etherialized aspirations dissipated by a sneer. There are plenty of symptoms of his taste having been formed upon higher models, and his heart upon more sound and compassionate principles; and if he occasionally gives rather more than we could have wished into what we might call (borrowing a phrase from architecture with a different meaning) the "transition style," he does so seldomer than others, and with a less chilling effect.

The selection of his hero may perhaps in so far be deemed not the most fortunate, that so many successive historians, copying each other, have handed him down as "Peter the Cruel," that some may find it difficult to overcome the first impression of that name. How difficult it would be to excite a favourable interest for the loves of Richard the Third and Lady Anne; nay, how obstinately belief is refused to the most apparent disprovals of many of his criminalities, in consequence of the resolved hatred towards him which history and Shakspeare have engendered. But it is probable that the character of the Castilian sovereign was exaggerated with a view to gratify the successor who displaced him, in the same way that Richard's indisputably was to please and corroborate the crafty conqueror of Bosworth Field; so much, alas! is posterity dependant for its knowledge and its creed, upon the interests or caprices of cotemporary chroniclers, and the character of the times and the circumstances under which they write! There appear to be other reasons besides that of the brave and chivalrous complexion which he assumes in Mr.

Shepherd's version of him, for supposing that this prince, who has been furnished by tradition with so awkward and little prepossessing a "handle to his name," was, under many points of view, what may be called an exceedingly good fellow. And if the hero's name fails at first sight to conciliate our favour, that of the heroine must, upon the same principles, have a directly opposite effect, since history and romance have both alike delighted to deck the character and memory of Maria de Padilla. The times and land in which the scene is laid are full of romantic incident and interest. The Spanish character, full of energy, activity and generosity, not without some tinge of fiercest ferocity, has always given the nation a tendency to split into separate and hostile communities; and except when ruled by monarchs possessed of great extrinsic means of treasure or population, or under the influence of auxiliary connexions abroad, it has generally presented that divided aspect under which the elements of power are not arranged, balanced, and regulated, but broken as it were into opposing points, well fitted to furnish chivalrous character, and give birth to unusual situations and incidents. And this was of course peculiarly the case when the Peninsula was divided with the Moors. That remarkable people—who for 800 years occupied some of the fairest parts of Spain—who having dispossessed a nation of its lands, founded famous monarchies and established learned universities—who preserved and perhaps extended, whilst Europe was yet dark, the scientific lights of antiquity—who, catching the European spirit of feudal chivalry, so opposed to the general temper of orientals, touched it with a superior grace and refinement, and warmed the dawn of European literature with the glow of their Arabian sunshine—who afterwards dwindled slowly away before the renewed or nascent power of those they had subdued; and, contracting at last into national insignificance, (the result of intestine faction, still more than of foreign pressure)—returned enfeebled, wasted, and demoralized, to the shores they originally left full of a robust expansion and spirit. That people, whether in their own constitution, or mingling with the arms and chivalry of Spain, have ever been a favourite theme of imaginative romance, and have furnished forth many a "motivo" to the lay of love or heroism. We do not wonder that Mr. Shepherd's cast of fancy should have been attracted by these pictures and contemplations; and one of the most attractive parts of his somewhat desultory song, will be found to be that which touches on the fairy land,—the blest Hesperides of the glowing and voluptuous Granada.

The inward stimulus which prompts the desire of embodying sentiment in melodious expression—that indefinable mixture of

results of the apprehension and the memory, which produces the fine abstraction of "the muse," is touched in the second stanza with true poetical feeling and with a modest grace :

"The glorious visions of the early muse,
 Fix'd by a sweet enchantment of apt words,
 Survive through ages, and around diffuse
 The fountain freshness of her glowing hoards;
 What, if an idle lip would catch the dew,
 Her wave, wide-wandering from the source, affords,
 Bards may forgive a fancy they partake,
 And spare the dreamer for the muse's sake."—*Cant. i. st. 2.*

The poem then opens with the arrival of a page from Don Pedro, absent and in arms against Henry of Transtamarre, with a letter for his queen,—who certainly appears before us in more fairy colours than queens are usually invested with, or than even poesy has been in the habit of ascribing to them since the days of "that fair vestal throned by the west," who inspired so many pens and imaginations, at least, to exceed romance in painting her theoretical beauty. But we will not mar by garbled anticipation the reader's pleasure in the portraiture of this certainly very charming woman, (a happy, and we fear, a rare, if not hopeless, union of sentimental enthusiasm and passionate sympathies with dignity and repose) and resist the temptation of citing any of the descriptions of her person and feelings, which produce the image of her upon our mind. She enters the garden in a moonlight night, in that state of anxious anticipation and internal disquietude, when scenes of external tranquillity seem most precious and magnetic, though perhaps most painful; and the scene suggests the following stanzas, at once elegant and thoughtful :—

"How sweet 'neath summer skies, in fragrant bowers,
 To sit, when Phœbus slopes her golden ray,
 Surrounded by the hues of breathing flowers,
 That shed their sweetest breath at close of day,
 To conjure fairy dreams, and think them ours,
 And squander on the thought our time away!
 What artist builds a palace half so fair
 As those gay glittering castles bes'd on air?
 "There sunshine falls, though all around may lower
 With gloom and disappointment! there we wind
 Hope's flattering web, and cherish for an hour
 The dang'rous treasure of a taste refin'd!
 How much that graces virtue, softens power,
 Springs from the visions of unworldly mind,
 As all abroad on Fancy's wings it flies,
 And spurns the earth, and mingles with the skies!

"Such idle flights are kin to virtuous thought;
 What villain ever muses? he may scheme,
 But never yet his soul was fancy-caught
 By the bright shapes that float in some day-dream,
 Of things the poet or the priest has taught,
 Which are, to those they smile on, what they seem:
 Men, in their modes of traffic, lust and strife,
 Are all ~~the~~ seeks or knows of human life."—*Cant. i. st. 24-5-6.*

But the letter was the harbinger of Pedro himself—and while the moon was yet, as the author says—with a just feeling of the magic of euphonious names judiciously applied—

"Tipping with pearl Giraldo's studious height,
 And silvering Guadalquivir to the main,"

he arrives—they meet, as none but those who love, can meet. The whole atmosphere of the air, the climate, and the verse, are softly and tenderly in unison with the "raptur'd scene," and the canto concludes with the satisfied sensation of their mutual happiness together. We hardly ever met with anything to our feelings more beautifully conceived, or more opposed to the brutalizing school, than the reflections on the nature of their meeting; which we believe to be founded in strict metaphysical (perhaps we ought rather to say physical) truth, and which present an idea far more deeply impassioned, as well as more pure, (since the infusion of the moral force unspeakably heightens the intenseness of passion if in just proportion with it) than any merely sensual apprehension or exhibition of love could furnish:

"O charmed moment of unequall'd bliss,
 When the glad meeting parting lovers find,
 And the soul melts, entranc'd upon a kiss,—
 The soul, but not the sense; when all is mind
 For one pure moment, and the blood remits
 Flows not to fever pleasure'so refin'd,
 But lags awhile, nor suffers wild desire
 To mix his flame with such ethereal fire!"—*Cant. i. st. 40.*

But Pedro is come only to depart again; and the second canto displays him raising money for his campaign, from a Jew; and though there is much here that is forcible, graphic, and well-expressed, we like it, on the whole, less than the first one, and deem tenderness and beauty to be the author's forte, as he himself gracefully insinuates in two stanzas in the third canto, which contains Pedro's departure, conflict, and defeat.

"Dread scourge of nations, War, with cruel eyes,
 'Thou great corrector of enormous times,
 Before thee Terror walks, behind thee lies
 Death, multiform and ghastly; unchecked crimes

Of every aspect, all around thee rise !

What—what hast thou to do with these light rhymes ?

Why did I venture in thy purple field,

To tremble, turn, and fly, without my shield ?

“ My muse, unequal to thy grave affair,

Was only born to hang a light festoon

Round some French window, where the summer air

Breathes in through vine-leaves, gently temp'ring noon,

Or else to flutter in the magic glare

Of that deceitful colourist, the moon,

Who gives a soften'd charm, a shadowy grace,

To whatsoe'er she turns her lovely face.”—*Cant. iii. st. 23-4.*

The fourth canto, which opens with a melodious tribute to the chivalrous muse of Tasso, pleasing to our judgment and recollections, as well as to our ear, shows the devoted queen in search of the wounded Pedro on the battle-field—successful in her search, and bearing him off to a Spanish cottage as an asylum ; the details and Spanish-hood of which give Mr. Shepherd occasion to break into a fine sketchy apostrophe to Byron :—

“ How at that word my fancy turns to thee,

Thou brightest poet of the latter day,

Whose spirit, steep'd in all the mind can see

Of beauty and of passion, gloomy, gay,

• Severe, disdainful ; liv'd in poesy,

And pour'd out life in one continuous lay !

A rich Pactolus, whose discoloured wave

Bore gems and gold in torrent to the grave.”—*Cant. iv. st. 221.*

When Pedro has recovered, they leave their cottage for Granada, to procure the help of its Moorish sovereign towards the re-establishment of their wrecked affairs :—which gives Mr. Shepherd the advantage of enlisting on his side the oriental splendour and beauty of the South, and giving us some very lovely stanzas illustrative of them : and a jealous suspicion of an innocent (though it appears somewhat coquettish) queen, on the part of Muhamed, opens to him the exciting region of the Trial by Battle, and the Lists and the Sentiment of Chivalry,—of all which he has availed himself as might be expected. There are two semi-barbarous sylvans, a male and female, introduced here, of a kind of Orson origin, who, though we are disposed to consider them a little wild and extravagant, are yet certainly of a cast of originality calculated to arouse and keep up the attention, and they give occasion to some very beautiful and agreeable woodland ideas. We think the following notice of the brother's appearance, very spirited, and of a fine rural wholesomeness in its tone :—

“ His wild blue eye deep-seated did disclose
 The roving fancies of untutor'd thought ;
 His olive cheek was freshen'd by the rose,
 And free and fearless each emotion wrought
 On his clear brow, where chiefly did repose
 The calm of self dependence, gift unbought
 Of Nature's lavish beauty, when she join'd
 The healthful body to the vigorous mind.”—*Canto iv. st. 65.*

There is also a very pretty woodland episode of a sort of enchanted sylvan castle, kept by “Ladies of the Glen” of a bettermost kind, where Pedro gets his fortune told,—but we must really avoid a premature disclosure of all the mysteries of this wandering tale of knighthood and adventure, or we shall be republishing the book.

The battle takes place—the queen is cleared, but the Moorish king (in a bad humour, we suppose, at the failure of his cause, though by losing it he kept a wife who seems really to have been worth the keeping), will give Pedro no assistance in his military projects, and the portion of his history, which we are as yet in possession of (for we especially flatter ourselves that Mr. Shepherd has not yet done with him), concludes with his sailing with Maria de Padilla for France, to procure the help of Edward the Black Prince, who, as is well known, successfully espoused the cause of Peter, in a manner, and with a suddenness, which we confess we always thought, while with no other lights than old Froissart could shed upon us, somewhat capricious and unaccountable; but which now appears to us the most natural thing in the world, after the insight afforded us by Mr. Shepherd's muse into the Castilian's powers of persuasion, and yet more into the nature of the diplomatic agency by which he was accompanied.

We think we have cited examples enough from *Pedro of Castile*, to convince our readers that there are, scattered over its not very numerous pages, poetical beauties of no ordinary kind; and these, did our limits permit, we could easily have multiplied to a greater extent; we must content ourselves with transcribing the following novel and beautiful stanzas in the 6th canto, on walking by moonlight through the streets of London; the stanza on a woman on horseback; and that on dancing:—

“ Talking of poetry, I've often thought
 It odd, that bards so generally fly,
 For metaphors, and matters of that sort,
 To groves, and meadows, rivers, hills, and sky,
 Expanded o'er those lovely wonders wrought
 In God's own hand; nor found the reason why
 They seldom think of walking up to town
 To borrow from the works that man hath done.

- " Sure there's a poetry amid the strife,
 Extravagance, and poverty, and pain,
 And vice, and splendour of the city life ;
 Loves, losses, thoughtless ease, and thirst of gain,
 Beneath high roofs, with nightly revels rife,
 And morning's after-thought : should bards disdain
 To body forth these not unworthy things,
 When fined and coloured through Parnassian springs ?
- " He that shall wander when the moon is high,
 And see the city in the mellowed air,
 And mark the masses traced upon the sky,
 In bolder outline than a painter dare
 Define, and softer than his tints will lie,
 May deem a poetry inhabits there,
 Feel the soft sense, half tranquil, half elate,
 Which all external forms of grace create."—*Canto vi. st. 23, 4, 5.*

- * * * * *
- " 'Tis good to see a steed of noble race
 By woman ruled with skill and mastery ;
 The smitten air gives freshness to her face,
 And animation glistens in her eye ;
 Her very breathing quickens into grace,
 And by a fault enchants : few things outvie
 A lovely woman on a fiery horse,
 The mingled charm of gentleness and force."—*Canto iv. st. 42.*

- * * * * *
- " His dancing savour'd of the British growth,
 Without the elastic gay Moresco spring,
 Buoyant in air, but rather like a sloth,
 Half disinclin'd to undertake the thing,
 'Till after supper ; then he was not loth
 In free fandango the light foot to fling,
 And what with Zelia's, Delia's, Celia's training,
 Became quite entertain'd and entertaining."—*Canto vi. st. 35.*

But although it would not be difficult to select many passages of merit by themselves, the principal charm of this poem is much more derived from the general cast of poetical thought and sense of melody—from the evidence of a mind habitually moving in an atmosphere of literary grace and accomplishment—of the profluencies of a musical and cultivated imagination, expanding itself over the general objects of life and nature—than from very striking insulated fragments. It is written in very pure and unaffected English, and is never stilted or obscure : though the thought is frequently profound, the language in which it is conveyed is always simple and intelligible. Though there is no strained attempt at being original, and at saying something which had perhaps only not been said before, because it was not worth saying at all,—yet there is a perpetual complexion of freshness about it,

which shows that neither the thought nor the expression is stale;—and we doubt whether there is one stanza, from beginning to end, which is bad, bald, or commonplace. Though it reminds us sufficiently of *Juan* to make us sensible of the fraternal (perhaps filial) similitude, yet it has nothing of the hardness or servility of a copy; and in a certain romantic tone which pervades it, might almost be said to have risen above it. We own we consider it to be rather disfigured than assisted by the occasional pleasantries with which it is interspersed; and they appear to us to be rather sacrifices of fancied necessity to the supposed genius of the style, than overboilings of a merry-making vein in the author himself, though sometimes not ill-executed. His comparison of the old Court of Justice, in which the decision was arrived at by the judicial combat, with the Courts of Record at Westminster, strikes us as one of his best bits in this very doubtful line:—

“ In modern times, when judges entertain
 A doubt in law, they let the cause proceed,
 Because they know an error's cured again
 By means which only make the client bleed :
 In ancient lists the counsel breathed a vein :
 To-wit, the champion ; therefore greater heed :
 As errors were to life and limb extensive,
 New trials were consider'd too expensive.”—*Canto iv. st. 47.*

There is scarcely unity of story and plot enough to maintain an interest, apart from the writing; and a little disappointment is experienced at the absence of continuous action, and catastrophical result. These are little blemishes, which it would not be just to omit a mention of in any impartial analysis of the work; but we can venture to assert that these will *not* be the points which, unless with some very stupid and pedantic persons, will be the first to strike, or the last to dwell upon the mind or memory of any lover of the muse, whom we may have encouraged to read this pleasing poem.

Mr. Shepherd is too little known to the public as the author of a *Tragedy*,* which contains in our opinion a higher vein of poetry, and more decided marks of genius, than the poem we have reviewed. *The Countess of Essex* is founded upon the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, whose high and unbending character is finely opposed to that of the fierce inexorable woman with whom he commences a struggle, which the reader is at once aware must terminate fatally for one or both. The great defect of the play was perhaps inseparable from the nature of the subject—we mean the moral darkness of the characters, which to

* *The Countess of Essex.* Murray.

a great extent is uniform and unrelieved by tender emotions. The author has shewn great judgment (though we believe at the sacrifice of historical accuracy) in exonerating the husband from any active share in the murder of his friend. Their parting scene is thrillingly fine, and we regret our inability to make any extracts. The dialogue throughout is poetical, vigorous, and well sustained; and the conclusion very finely introduces us to the guilty pair, living in utter solitude and apart under the same roof. Years have elapsed—their crime is undiscovered, or at least unproved—their union has been accomplished, and they are prosperous—yet their victim is avenged, and their guilt punished to the full vindication of moral justice, by the mutual hatred and the withering remorse which we as well as they feel to be undying. There is a fine moral idea in this conclusion, and it is beautifully executed; but we think it probable that this break in the unity of the scene may have contributed to prevent the representation of this tragedy, which in other respects appears to us admirably calculated for the stage. This tragedy will, in our judgment, bear an advantageous comparison with any of its modern rivals, and we strongly recommend its perusal to our readers.

ART. VI.—*The Miseries and Beauties of Ireland.* By Jonathan Binns, Assistant Agricultural Commissioner on the late Irish Poor Enquiry. London. 1837. *

BETWEEN the sister islands, England and Ireland, there intervenes, as our first lesson in geography has informed us, a channel of but a few hours' sail. Between these same islands there has subsisted a connexion—not exactly one of love and affection, and mutual kindness and anxiety for each other's welfare—but in short a connexion,—in a greater and less degree, ever since the thirteenth century, down to the present time. The people of the two islands have been considered, by foreigners at least, to form but one and the same nation, and indeed in external relations, with some important exceptions, they would so appear to be. The exceptions we allude to are to be found in the cases where the commercial freedom of the lesser country was sacrificed to the imagined interests of the greater; but these flagrant instances of besotted jealousy come not within our immediate object. We proceed with our facts. Not only has a connexion existed during the long and dreary seven centuries that have rolled over Ireland since she was invaded, but an

active, and at times (times of plunder) an intimate communication has prevailed between the two countries. These statements of ours may be received with impatience by many, as common oft-told facts of history; but we recite them for the purpose of considering a very natural deduction, that a person unacquainted with the historical details of the seven ages might be led to make. Such a one might say—"it surely follows, clear as a consequence in logic, that a reciprocal good feeling must have grown up between the two—and, above all, that they know and understand each other thoroughly and reciprocally."

It is not our design—nor is it indeed our wish—at present, to enter upon the heart-sickening recital of proofs that this reciprocity of good feeling does not exist; under all the circumstances, its birth and growth would have been miraculous. It is sufficient to assert, what indeed is well known, that it does not exist even yet to any important degree. As to the reciprocity of acquaintance and understanding, we must fall back upon Joe Miller, and confess that such a reciprocity *does* exist—*on one side only*, however—upon the Irish side. *We* know *England*; she has made us know her. Our sufferings, our griefs, our anxieties, have sharpened our perceptions and attention, and accordingly we can say, and truly, that we *do* know England. It is, however, equally true that the inhabitants of that island have had formerly a most limited knowledge of us, and that even in the present day they are for the greater part grossly ignorant on all that appertains to "Ireland and the Irish." There is a natural selfishness of nations, as there is of individuals. They are prone to occupy themselves with themselves alone; and the wants, wishes, and feelings of others, are to them a matter of little import. What is near, surrounding, and immediate, engrosses all their attention, and is magnified till it shuts from view what is remote and dependant. At the moment at which we write, there is presented to the world a glaring instance of this neglect and inattention, and their woeful consequences. Canada has broken out into revolt—life and property have been destroyed, and the peace and happiness of this colony ruined for many a long year, because we suffered the distance to prevent our hearing the earnest and respectful remonstrances addressed to us, and shut our ears until the Canadians raised their tone, and demanded the rights unjustly withheld. Then—then our pride—our sacred national pride, was not to be lowered, and so we would not (to borrow Lord Stanley's inadvertent confession) "concede to clamour what we had refused to justice!" The *revolt* of the Canadians was unjustifiable, for they had not exhausted all peaceable and constitutional means of procuring

redress of their grievances—but how deeply unjustifiable the conduct that gave them ground for their discontent and indignation !

In the case of England and Ireland, as, in a very great measure, in that also of Canada, this neglect was carefully fostered by those entrusted with the Irish government. They found their account, in diverting, by active misrepresentation, by passive obstruction, by the thousand means their position gave them, the attention of England ; and where they encountered any disposition to enquire, too active to be foiled by the ordinary arts, a share of their plunder was readily bartered for sufferance and protection afforded to outrageous licence and tyranny. The result was and is, the generally prevalent ignorance we speak of. In this ignorance—under these misrepresentations—biassed by the base prejudices engendered by such ignorance, and fomented and envenomed by such calumnies, the legislation for Ireland was carried on, and deeds were done to that unhappy country, that have darkened and stained the fair escutcheon of England's fame, not irretrievably indeed—for she *can* make amends—but still most deeply and most foully. There was no shame taken for this ignorance—men good and upright, and honest and high-minded in other respects, have lived and died without opening their minds to the terrible truth, that they were guilty of criminal acquiescence in every horror enacted towards the dependant country, and that humanity, justice, reason, religion, even self-interest (for ultimately misconduct ever recoils upon its authors) imperatively demanded that they should gird their loins, and rouse themselves to do manly battle with the prejudices of their youth, and to shake off and dissipate the criminal apathy in which they were plunged. The spread of general enlightenment and interchange of ideas has, at length excited, in some degree, this wholesome and honourable shame. Even in England—self-worshipping England—it is making progress, slow indeed—but still certain and indisputable. A thousand difficulties are in the way : among the foremost, the fierce, immitigable, and serpent-like hatred borne by the Tory party to Ireland and every thing Irish—a hatred manifesting itself by every kind of calumny, and every thing that can tend to perpetuate bigotry in its foulest shape. Yet the people of England are struggling on towards light, and ultimately they must and will attain it. Interest, increasing with strange rapidity, is becoming attached to all publications relating to Ireland. These, however, are unfortunately, in the vast majority of cases, but blind guides, where they are not worse. Many of them, such as the travels of Inglis, are penned in a spirit deliberately and inveterately hostile to the

country and people whom he subjected to his jaundiced inspection. The illiberal and ungentlemanly character of his writings, and the grovelling prejudices that pervade them, prevent their being of any good service to the cause of enquiry; and yet this very spirit of enquiry has made them be seized upon and read, and a favour has been accorded to them, because of their tendency to confirm a bigotry that had begun to be unsettled. Some few of the accounts of Ireland are written in a better spirit, and with a desire to tell the truth, and above all to find out what was *good* in the subject, instead of being animated by a depraved and malignant seeking after all that can lower and render contemptible. The work before us—that of Mr. Binns, one of the Society of Friends—is written in the good spirit we describe, and emanates very evidently from an honest, honourable, and conscientious man. Appointed as “an Assistant Agricultural Commissioner under the late Irish Poor Enquiry,” (the same which has been so unceremoniously made to give place to the wonderful Mr. Nicholls), he has traversed a very considerable portion of Ireland, making enquiries and careful remarks everywhere,—as well those connected with his immediate duties, as others of a general nature, which have furnished matter for his two goodly volumes. There are mistakes, and wrong impressions, and faulty opinions occasionally, but the tone and spirit are good; and if his work have not the good fortune to be extensively read, it at any rate merits perusal at the hands of those who desire to get some true ideas of the country upon which it treats.

About the middle of the year 1835, Mr. Binns, on being informed of his appointment, left England for Dublin, there to receive his instructions and his route. Having got these, he proceeded to visit the counties of Louth, Down, and Monaghan, after which business of importance recalled him for a month to England. In October he proceeded to resume his duties, and landing at Donaghadee, he visited the counties of Antrim, Londonderry, Tyrone, Fermanagh, Cavan, Leitrim, Sligo, Mayo, Galway, Roscommon, Westmeath, King's county; and at Philipstown he took the canal boat, and proceeded to Shannon harbour, where he entered upon the waters of the Shannon. Proceeding down that “mighty stream,” as he well designates it, he visited Limerick, not without paying attention to the shores by which he was hurried, and feeling strong admiration for the noble river that bore him along. Continuing his route by water, for thirty or forty miles farther, he landed at Tarbert, in the county of Kerry, and devoted a good deal of attention to that county. From thence his return route lay through the counties Cork, Tipperary, Queen's county, and Kildare, to Dublin, which

he reached early in November 1836; having consumed nearly a year and a half in the researches entrusted to him. At Dublin he "obtained a release from the Board, and had an opportunity of becoming more particularly acquainted with the details of that interesting city." However, not yet satisfied with his knowledge of Ireland, he now determined to proceed on a private tour; and during two months he visited the South again, proceeding through Wicklow, Wexford, and Waterford, and taking Clare upon his homeward route, thus visiting the few counties he had not seen during his former trips. During his official journey to which of course he gave up very considerably more time than to that he made in a private capacity, he, along with other Assistant Commissioners, held examinations, at various places, into the state of agriculture, general condition of the people, prices, rents, &c.; and the substance of his and their enquiries (which, we may remark in passing, were certainly conducted with great care, skill, and experience; and with an honest and eager anxiety to get at facts and submit them to the public plainly stated) has appeared at length in the Reports of the Enquiry into the condition of the Irish Poor. In the pages before us, our author gives copious extracts from his own notes, and concludes with a chapter of "General Remarks" upon Ireland, her former and present condition, her evils and their remedies. To this chapter, being as it is a recapitulation of the opinions and statements of the other chapters, we will first address ourselves, and notice incidentally and subsequently some of the preceding portions of his work.

That we have not spoken too highly of Mr. Binns, let at least our *Irish* readers judge, when we direct their attention to the spirit of the following remarks:—

"This state of things (speaking of the anomalous condition of Ireland, with her natural advantages, and actual state of misery) so truly deplorable, is exclusively referable to the systematic course of partiality, oppression, and cruelty, with which her people have been treated through successive centuries; and if it were my object to represent the injuries that have been done, rather than to dwell upon the prospect of good things to come, I might, by referring to authentic sources of information, draw a series of terrific pictures of persecution, intolerance, and desolation, to which it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to find parallels in the history of any nation not absolutely barbarous. It becomes *us*, who are in some degree responsible for the misdeeds of our predecessors, and are certainly bound to repair the evils they have effected, it becomes *us* I repeat, to bear constantly in mind, that ever since her connexion with Great Britain, Ireland has been a grievously oppressed country; that for the ignoble purpose of extinguishing her religion and seizing on the properties of its votaries, she has

been deprived of those political privileges which were her right, and which, sooner or later, she *will* possess; that so far from the Irish being naturally a turbulent people, they are made so by circumstances *under the control of England*; and that dissatisfied as they are, and have been, the wrongs they have endured, the insults they have suffered, would have justified a course of conduct incomparably more violent than any which Ireland in her wildest moments, in her fiercest paroxysms of excitement, has displayed. The terms of the union, let us remember, promised an equality of civil rights, and until those terms are rigidly complied with, Ireland never will, and she never ought to be, a contented country. Convinced, however, that a brighter day is dawning—nay has already dawned—I would drop a veil over the frightful transactions of by-gone times, and look cheerfully and confidently towards the future.”—Vol. ii. pp. 414-15-16.

He then proceeds to defend the Irish people from charges commonly brought against them:—

“As it is not unusual to hear the Irish charged with the several vices of *idleness*, *cruelty*, and *recklessness*, it may be well, perhaps, to keep these allegations in view, in the course of the following observations. As to *idleness*,—when it is considered that they receive comparatively no reward for their labour; that the market is continually overstocked; that the more they exert themselves, the more they increase the surplus labour, already too great; and that the disappointments they so repeatedly encounter, have a tendency to destroy their energy, and to produce indifference, or despair, the wonder is, not that they are *idle*, but that they are not infinitely worse. It is, in fact, utterly impossible, in the present state of things, for the Irish to be anything but idle. When they have a prospect of being *compensated* for their labour, it is applied with skilful and enthusiastic industry. Let the character of Irish labourers be sought in the large seaport towns; let an appeal be made to the extensive English farmers, who are glad to avail themselves, in harvest time, of their valuable services. From either of these quarters an answer, far from discreditable to the objects of the enquiry, will be returned. In confirmation of this, I would take the liberty of introducing a passage from the letter of one of the most spirited and experienced of agriculturists, William Stickney, of Ridgmont, in Holderness. I could not refer to higher authority. This gentleman, for many years, has annually employed, during the harvest season, a number of Irish labourers, and this is his judgment of them: ‘For honesty, sobriety, industry, gratitude,’ says Mr. Stickney, ‘and many other good qualities, they far surpass the same class of English labourers. When they begin to arrive in this country, it is sometimes two or three weeks before harvest; and if they do not immediately find work, many of them are without the means of subsistence. Under these circumstances, they frequently apply to me to lend them a few shillings, which I do in small sums, amounting in the whole to several pounds, and this without any injunction that they should work it out with me. They give a verbal promise that they will return the loan

before they leave the neighbourhood; and I do not remember an instance in which they have ever deceived me,—they have invariably returned the money lent, with a deep sense of gratitude. Admiring the Irish labourers, as I have reason to do, I am always glad to see them when they make their appearance. In the summer season, I frequently have from thirty to fifty, or more, lodging upon my premises; several of them working for other persons in the neighbourhood, and many of them entire strangers to me; *yet I would trust my life and property much sooner with them than with the same class of English labourers, and I consider my premises more secure from depredation under their protection, than I should with any other strangers.*’—vol. ii. pp. 416-19.

Certainly there can be no assertion so utterly unfounded as that which says the Irish are an idle people. The whole life of the poor Irishman is a most energetic and desperate struggle for employment, as a means of honest and creditable support; and as soon ought fault to be found with him for his gaunt and famished looks, as for his occasional appearance of listless inaction. Both are the result of an iron necessity, coped with and fought against in vain. Miss Martineau has written much and soundly upon the science of political economy, and her instructive and interesting works contain but few mistakes; but where these occur, they are weighty ones indeed. A most glaring instance is to be found in her portraiture of an Irish peasant, whom, in one of her interesting tales illustrative of the principles of political economy, she makes to find his greatest delight and chief method of passing life, in lying basking all day in the sun, or by the fire on his wretched cabin hearth, vying in brutish indolence with his pig. We know not if Miss Martineau has been in Ireland, but this gives strong presumptive evidence to the contrary; as we are sure if she had, she never would have penned this description—this, of course unintentional, but not the less gross and utter libel. It is not to be imagined that a person of her philosophic, and benevolent, and enlarged mind, would deliberately stoop to share in and foster the common prejudices against the much and deeply calumniated people of Ireland. At the same time, however, it must be admitted, with deep regret, that she ought not to have written so confidently, where she was so utterly ignorant.

Of Irish outrages, Mr. Binns says:—

“ If the outrages committed by the Irish people are incapable of vindication, facts and circumstances may at least be produced in extenuation. On impartial consideration, it will be apparent, that the very worst are certainly not more cruel and vindictive than any other people under similar treatment; and that the outrages of which they were guilty, were, in fact, for the most part, the natural growth of the policy

adopted towards them. We often heard, for instance, of murders being perpetrated upon such as took land from which others have been ejected; and it is possible that Englishmen, knowing that similar effects do not follow similar causes in *this* country (England), may be disposed to consider a case clearly made out against the Irish. Between the respective systems of taking land in England and Ireland, there is this material difference, however,—so material as to render any analogy that may be drawn, a very imperfect and fallacious mode of reasoning. An English farmer, when ejected, having little or no difficulty in getting another farm, has little or nothing to dread. In Ireland, when a man is ejected, it is next to impossible for him to find a farm at liberty..... In this manner, great numbers have been turned adrift—not because of arrear of rent—not because they had transgressed the rules of their lease—but simply because they happened to profess a religious or political creed at variance with that of a capricious landlord. It cannot surely be denied that, systematically and wickedly oppressed as the Irish labourers are, to rise in self-defence is at least a *natural* course of proceeding, however fearful in its consequences. Other powerful causes operate to increase their hardships. In many cases, having purchased a right of possession from the previous occupiers, they consider themselves to have a permanent interest in the farms for which they have paid; accordingly, ejectments are resented by strenuous combinations. Outrages thus caused are frequently misrepresented, for the very worst of purposes, as arising out of political or religious animosities; and hence it is, that, in the minds of those unacquainted with the peculiar condition and circumstances of the country, prejudices, more easily rooted than removed, are established against the religion and the politics thus stigmatized and calumniated.”—vol. ii. pp. 419-22.

Would that we could place before the eyes of every candid Englishman the foregoing sentences! There is truth, deep truth, in every line, and before the power of that truth the foul mists of prejudice and bigotry would fleet as the sea-fog before the freshening breeze.

After these and similar reflections, worthy to be written in letters of gold, for their truth and honesty of purpose, our author turns to the consideration of the means by which Ireland may be raised from her present low condition. Putting aside all questions of a political nature, as foreign to his pages, he declares that it is his impression, that, to an earnest attention to agriculture, Ireland is to owe her regeneration. He goes on to approve of the small-farm system, which has been, by many writers and speakers, so much and hastily cried down. This system, he says, and we deem with truth, is the *consequence*, and not the *cause*, of evil, and is, for a time at least, most necessary for Ireland. A specious theory has induced some landlords, and violent political rancour has spurred on several others, to break up their estates into large holdings, utterly regardless of the misery, starvation,

and death they inflict upon their small tenants, and ignorant of the gross impolicy, for their own pecuniary interests, of such a course. Throughout the examinations of the Commissioners, they found that the most intelligent, and those best qualified to give a sound opinion, gave a strong and unanimous verdict in favour of small farms. "More produce," they stated, "was raised per acre, and more rent paid, on such, than upon those of large extent." These opinions have a merit sufficiently rare in the doctrines of speculators in the present day—they are strictly in accordance with the suggestions of humanity and of charity, both of which have been so fearfully outraged by the ejectments, destitutions and death, that mark the course of the ruthless system of consolidation. The political economy which suggests that system, we demur to—so far, at least, as it is attempted to be applied to Ireland in her present condition. With its abstract soundness or unsoundness, we have nothing immediately to do; and, therefore, shall not stir the question. For the present, we agree with Mr. Binns:—

"Circumstanced as Ireland is, there must be small farmers before there are large ones; and the small farm system, apart from its immediate utility, is productive of very important benefits, in a moral point of view. It is a system of *social gradation and progression*; the higher and more advantageous positions being open to a judicious exercise of energy and industry. By multiplying the number of those who have an interest in the land, as *holders*, it is the means of diffusing a spirit of independence and self-respect, and has an inevitable tendency to elevate the rank of the agriculturists, in a proportion at least equal to the increase of their physical comforts; for they are lifted above the condition of mere servants, and established in the character of masters..... It is much more profitable, even for the farmer himself, to produce a good crop on a small quantity of land, than a middling crop on a large extent."—vol. ii. pp. 430-431.

In different parts of the work, the system followed by Mr. Blacker, agent to Lord Gosford, is warmly lauded and recommended. It is again alluded to, in the recapitulatory chapter, as the one on which small farms can best be managed.

"The Gosford estate, near Market Hill (county of Armagh), contains 20,000 acres, and 1500 tenants, not more than 60 or 70 of which have as much as twenty acres. Mr. Blacker first levels all the old crooked fences, and makes straight ones, as a division between each occupier, allotting a square piece of land, about four statute acres, to each person; and as the tenants were in the last stage of destitution, he found it necessary to provide them with lime and seeds, as a loan, without interest, opening an account with each of them on their first entering upon the farm. A person called an *agriculturist* looks after this, weighs out the seeds, and instructs the people in cultivation. Up-

wards of sixty of these agriculturists have been introduced from Scotland, through Mr. Blacker's means, and distributed among gentlemen who have applied to him from various parts of Ireland. Their wages are from £30 to £40 per annum, including all allowances."—vol. i. pp. 153-4.

Then follow some cases to show the difficulties the enterprising and meritorious gentleman alluded to had to contend with, and a page or two after follows the rotation of crops recommended by him. Mr. Binns states, that he and his brother assistant Commissioners met with numerous and satisfactory proofs of the advantages resulting from Mr. Blacker's endeavours to improve the condition of the people. For some of these proofs, as well as for other details, we would refer our readers to pages 159-60, &c. &c. in the first volume. This success, however, has not been enough for Mr. Blacker. His enterprize has led him farther, and induced him to apply for the agency of the Dungannon estate in the county of Tyrone, consisting of 3000 acres, and "notorious for the misery and disorderly conduct of its inhabitants." This uninviting agency he obtained, and proceeded to test his principles upon the new field opened to him. In page 171 of the same volume will be found an account of his experiments and their result, already most beneficial, and promising to be still more so, not only to the physical, but to the moral and social condition of the tenantry upon it. In the county Monaghan, Mr. Rose, a gentleman cited as "one who bears the highest character as a landlord, and who is decidedly one of Ireland's benefactors," has adopted much the same manner of dealing with his tenantry, with this difference, that while Mr. Blacker gives to the poor man a loan of lime or clover-seed, the former gives a *loan of a cow*, or a pig. Some years ago, he appointed a committee of his tenants to manage a fund of £400. for the improvement of his estate. They supply cows at 16s. per annum, as a loan to those who are unable to purchase. When the cow dies, the fund sustains the loss, unless its death can be traced to some act or neglect of the tenant in whose hands it is.

With Mr. Binns we are inclined to go far, in the matter of small farms. But we cannot fully agree with him as to the *all importance* of agriculture to our country, and its paramount demands upon the attention of Irishmen. That it is in a very low state, indeed, in Ireland at the present, and that nothing is more desirable than that it should be carried on with greater care and skill, we are quite ready to admit, but cannot concede that it should engross more of our attention—that it is of greater consequence to our future well-being—than is the spread of manufactures. Above all, his doctrine is utterly to be repudiated;

that the duty should be raised upon the foreign import of articles easily to be raised at home. It is singular the perverse tenacity with which, at this period of the world's enlightenment, some men of education, awakened intellect, and informed minds, do still cling to many obsolete and exploded doctrines, regardless of all experience and of the dictates of common sense. "He who runs may read," in the economic history of nations, a thousand instances and ways in which protections react against those who established them. In words, the fact is admitted to be so—in practice the injurious and unworthy system is all too often imitated and revived. Mr. Binns tells us, that with protections we would produce at home, tallow, butter, hemp, and tobacco, articles for which we now pay foreigners, to the amount of six millions or upwards, and should be, with regard to them, as we are with regard to corn, since the protection given by the Corn Laws; viz. that we should produce a sufficiency for home consumption, and, besides, that we should have more land brought into cultivation in consequence. We are not going to enter at large into the Corn question, but on these two points, on which he lays so much stress, we would ask of him what are the indisputable facts relative to the corn restrictions. *The poor have no such sufficiency of corn*—their bread is at a price ruinously high for them, and there are no louder complaints of distress from any class of the inhabitants of England, than from the various classes of *agriculturists*. Again, it is certain that one effect of those restrictions has been to bring into cultivation more land than would have been devoted to corn, did they not exist. It is, however, also certain that this is a *forced* cultivation; a devoting to corn, and corn alone, every spare inch of land, no matter how ill-suited to that crop, or how much better suited to another. Meantime the foreigner takes his revenge, (and one that we are often and severely made to feel) by placing restrictions upon *our* exports. The latter consist chiefly of manufactured articles, which require a much greater amount of labour than the raising of corn; and thus one great source of employment is grievously impeded and obstructed in its beneficial flow. We did not expect to find the cruel bread-tax cited favourably by one who is evidently an anxious friend to the working classes.

Mr. Binns' grand panacea for the miseries of the lower orders, is, the employing them in the cultivation of *waste lands*. Houses of refuge he would provide for the aged and infirm—but to the strong and able-bodied he would say? "Here are four acres of waste land, of which you may have a lease for twenty-one years; you may go there, and, with such assistance as will be provided, you and your family may find abundant employment, and live in

comfort.”—vol. ii. p. 148. This plan he recommends first to be tried, supplying the labourer with a little timber, to be used in the construction of his cabin, some manure, and a few potatoes—the system to be managed by a Board, and the people rated for it with as little difficulty as for the maintenance of poor laws. Of the workhouse system, he says, it is one that will require an enormous expenditure of money to be carried into effect—that it will be attended with great risk, and, at the best, is of very doubtful benefit. His remarks are so thoroughly borne out by facts, that we will quote his own words.

“If a man once enter a workhouse, and be reduced to being fed as a pauper, his moral energies, and sense of shame and independence, are dissipated and broken. Besides this, no comparison can be instituted between the system in England, and that contemplated to be adopted in Ireland. In England, a workhouse may *easily* be made less agreeable (independently of the loss of liberty) than a labourer's home; in Ireland, on the contrary, what sort of habitation can you put him in that will not be *infinitely superior to his damp, dark cabin, which admits the rain and wind through various parts of the roof?* How is he to be fed, in a workhouse, in a manner *inferior to his ordinary mode of subsistence?* You can hardly deny him a sufficiency of potatoes and salt?”—vol. ii. p. 440-1.

This cannot be denied to him; yet, if he gets this miserable sufficiency, you place him *in a better* position than he is at present as an independent labourer. The Irish peasantry have shown a more than Roman or Spartan virtue in voting as their consciences dictated at parliamentary elections, in the face of their tyrant landlords; and such virtue they will, on similar occasions, show again: but it is supposing rather too exalted a feeling, even in them, to imagine that they will continue to bear with a privation of nearly all the necessities of life for themselves and their wretched families, when “*a sufficiency*” even of potatoes and salt, is offered to them by the Poor Laws.

Our author, in working out his plan of relief, would begin with such waste land as can be brought into cultivation without extraordinary delay, and would reserve the deep and wet bogs to the last. Irish bogs, he, however, allows (and in this he is borne out by the unanimous reports of parliamentary committees, and of private individuals, who have directed their attention to the subject) to be *peculiarly* reclaimable. The objections to attempts at reclamation, he disposes of very quickly—stating what is the fact, that the great expenses and losses that have sometimes occurred in such attempts, have been where they were made by “gentlemen agriculturists—and when and where did gentlemen not lose, by cultivating, or occupying, land themselves,

whether the land were good or bad?" (p. 444, vol. ii.) The success of the *poor man* is not generally considered—yet the poor man *does* succeed, whenever he gets a fair opportunity of making the trial.

"The only rational objection that *has* been, or, in my opinion, *can* be, urged, against reclamation, refers to the increased labour it obliges: but even where labour is highest in value, the disadvantages bear no comparison to the positive benefits. * * * My opinion is strongly in favour of the possibility of a government and companies (without the loss of a farthing) profitably employing all the unemployed labourers upon small farms, or the waste lands. * * * Every other plan of creating a proper energy and independence, seems likely to be attended with difficulties and expenses of a fearfully formidable extent. When men know they are working merely for the *sake of work*, they never do so with the same spirit as when employed for some real and beneficial purpose. This feeling (which constitutes one of the distinguished differences between man and the brute creation) ought, instead of being rudely and cruelly suppressed, to be religiously fostered and preserved; but within the degrading atmosphere of a workhouse, it will pine and decay, and become extinct."—vol. ii. pp. 445-47.

The possibility of profitable cultivation of Irish wastes being admitted, the next question is—what are the best means to this desirable end? At once Mr. Binns, among many others, starts forward with an answer; Employ the pauper population upon them. If there be waste lands, so is there plenty of waste, unemployed labour. Turn your poor in upon those lands, as sheep upon a common, and then you can postpone the question of Poor Laws for another two centuries at least. "Away," ejaculates Mr. Binns, "away with the absurd cry of a surplus population, and with the equally absurd cry of emigration." This last scheme he denounces as ruinously expensive, as much so as the workhouse system, so strenuously deprecated by him a few pages before. To neither would he resort until other means are tried, and found to fail, which he denies will be the case, if a fair opening be given for the development of her vast resources, yet but half discovered, or suspected.

That these resources are varied, are vast, and are as yet but half ascertained, (if so much) is most undoubtedly the case. There has been, as yet, no search made after them in real earnest. A country, for ages delivered up to plunder and oppression—continually the scene of civil commotion, offering, until recently, nothing but peril and insecurity to the timorous capitalist, with a population of paupers, pressed and ground down to the earth unceasingly and unmercifully—their industry nipped by fresh exactions, ever as it tried to raise its head—their spirits broken—a country, whose commercial interests were for so long a time

basely sacrificed to the fancied interests of another—and whose landed proprietors have so uniformly deserted her, and drawn away, to spend in foreign countries, all that every species of tyranny could wring from the hard hands of a starving peasantry—such a country gave little outward indication that her more obvious natural advantages were capable of being turned to profit; and when these, open as they were to the most superficial observer, were neglected, it was not to be supposed that her latent advantages and riches—those which are to be got at but by the exertion of man's patient industry and persevering skill—should be speedily laid bare in their entirety, to the wonder and admiration of those hitherto contemptuously incredulous of their existence. But the fact of the immense extent and variety of her resources, is now universally admitted. No country, of her size, in the world, possesses, or could possess, more. Time, however, is necessary for their working out. Time for this purpose is an indispensable, and is the first requisite—even money, the all-mover, being secondary to it; as money is only attainable in the course of time. We contend that even the limited number of her resources at present fully ascertained, could not be worked out at once—at the same period. Ireland cannot rise in a moment from the depths of destitution to the pinnacle of prosperity. There must be a gradual, although it may be a quick, progression. A beginning was to be made, and has been made, with only some of the easier-worked advantages; and as these bring in their return a thousand fold, we can proceed gradually and steadily to the rest. Money, which has been called the sinews of war, and which is also the sinews of peaceful enterprise, will come in time. There can be no conjuring of it up—the old hags of the parish, in our days, are more solicitous in asking us for money, than in teaching us to find it under a stone, or transforming pieces of slate. Even the Irish Leprechaun, that cunningest of sprites, has not of late years been heard of, unless Mr. Nicholl has contrived to meet with him, and made him surrender his hidden treasure to help along the Poor Law Bill. Mr. Binns speaks with such contempt of the legends he heard in Ireland, that we cannot suppose that at any rate he has received promise of assistance in his projects from the exchequer of Fairyland. Yet some such “foreign loan” is necessary, if we are, as he advises, to set about cultivating our waste lands, and quartering our paupers upon them. *We have not the money*, and not having it, the finest-looking scheme that ever was drawn on paper, is not worth the cost of the ink which was consumed upon it.

Government, our author suggests, should take up the home colonization scheme, in conjunction with private companies. He

does not, however, lay before us any plan, or method, by which to fix upon the particular companies that government is thus to enter into a species of partnership with. Supposing, what he proposes, to be in every other point perfectly feasible, there arises here a difficulty that he does not tell us how we are to conquer, and we readily excuse his evading to consider it, for it appears insuperable. If it be proposed to give aid to all the colonization companies that may be started, the premium of government assistance will bring an immense and impracticable multitude into the field; if a selection is to be made, we ensure violent competition, rivalry, and heart burnings. One company, we are aware, has already been formed for the purpose in question. Let the scheme of "*assistance*" be broached, and a thousand rivals will start up about it. How are we to decide among these, which are to be the favoured;—shall there be sealed tenders, as in contracts for the shoes of a regiment? The most impartial selection that can be made, will create bitter murmurs and jealousies. And what is the history, not remote and ancient, but at our own doors—in our own times—of government assistance to companies? What occurred in the late "Kingdom of the Netherlands?" There, capitalists were taken out of the herd, and especially assisted out of the national funds. Success seemed to attend their enterprise, and their outward appearance of high prosperity was not belied by their actual condition. But *how was that condition supported?* By repeated and exhausting draughts upon the public coffers, and at the double expense of the people; who had first to pay the taxes that supplied the funds for assistance, and who then found themselves at the mercy of the favoured manufacturers for the prices of their articles—all competition being destroyed by the powerful copartnership. A case still more in point is in the accounts of the pauper colonies in the same countries. A good deal of praise has been lavished upon these institutions, but it has always been vague and in general terms, for those who praised have laboured under the slight disadvantage of being utterly ignorant of how such institutions have worked. Some years ago, when the reform now in progress in the English Poor Law system was in contemplation, the authors of that reform made enquiries into the systems in force in foreign countries, with a view to gather from them, and adopt, whatever they might have of inherent good, and avoid what had been proved to be of a contrary tendency. With this view, among other employes, a Mr. Brandreth, a gentleman of talent, experience, and high education, was directed to examine the "*poor colonies*" in the Netherlands, and report upon them. The following is part of his report.

"The most favourable accounts were circulated in Holland as to these colonies up to 1825. In 1829, a distinguished Italian, Count Arrivabène, visited these colonies, and reported favourably of their progress, but qualified his commendations by expressing great doubts of the efficacy of their moral and social progress, and ultimate success. * * When the objects of these institutions, and the philanthropic spirit that originated and pervades all their efforts, are considered, it will doubtless be a matter of serious regret that they should have hitherto failed to realize the sanguine hopes of their benevolent originators and supporters. The persons admitted into the colonies were paupers, or bordering on pauperism, not altogether invited, but compelled to enter, under the penalty of being treated as vagabonds. The future advantages of good conduct and industry were too vague and distant to persons of their improvident habits and limited intelligence, while the constant sense of seclusion, their eleemosynary condition, and of the constraint under which they were living, repressed their freedom of thought as well as action, and was adverse to their ambition to excel. * * * The evidences were unsatisfactory as to the success of colonies in either Belgium or Holland; and I may farther observe, that, while the people in general recommended those colonies to foreigners, I do not remember meeting *one individual who could point out any specific results, and few who would distinctly assert any increasing or permanent benefit from them.*"—Appendix from Report of Poor Law Commissioners, 1834.

"Were we to establish home colonies, it is our "paupers, or persons bordering on pauperism," (to use Mr. Brandreth's words) that we should quarter upon them; and to a certain degree there should be a compulsion to enter, "under penalty of being treated as vagabonds;" otherwise the Irish paupers would prefer the free, roving life they lead at present.

In the same Appendix, a letter is to be found, addressed to Mr. Senior, whose opinions on the Poor Law question are well known, and who was one of the Poor Law Commissioners. The letter is from the "distinguished Italian, Count Arrivabène," alluded to in the foregoing extract, and gives long details relative to the colonies spoken of, and to a certain degree commends them. But he denounces as absolutely folly the idea that by their means mendicity can be got rid of; and the indispensable restraint which is exercised in them over the colonists, he declares to amount to absolute, although inevitable, tyranny. That they are *really* and are likely to be *permanently* beneficial, he totally denies; and he concludes with a most important reflection—that looking to this system in point of *profit* arising from the cultivation of waste lands, (by which profit alone could the enormous expenses the system entails be justified) it is absurd to imagine that such a field would not long

ago have been entered upon by private speculation, if profit were really attainable. In these remarks he is fully coincided with by M. Duespétiaux, Inspector-general of prisons, hospitals, &c., in Belgium, who gives the following picture of the actual state of the pauper colonies, while discussing the suggestions made as to means for protracting their existence.

“ Aurait-on recours à cet effet aux emprunts ? Mais cette ressource est plus qu'épuisée ; les garanties manquent ; le protectorat a disparu, les terres et les bâtimens, les meubles et les immeubles, sont déjà chargés d'une dette qui dépasse de beaucoup leur valeur, et qui va chaque jour en s'accroissant : quelle hypothèque offrirait-on désormais aux prêteurs ? ”—*Appendix from foreign communications, Poor Law Report, Session 1834.*

This, then, is the flourishing state—the successful experiment—of home-colonization in the Netherlands. A ruinous pressure of debt—a failure of the means to support the system—a doubt, UNIVERSAL, as to any moral or social good, either effected or likely to be so—a galling and inevitable tyranny towards the paupers—bitterness and every bad feeling generated in their breasts. Is the prospect of all this likely to allure us into an adoption of the mistaken scheme of which these are the certain attendants ? We have the evidence of impartial, cool-headed, educated men, and who would gladly have proclaimed benefits and success, if the facts had justified them. They felt and understood, and entered into the feelings of benevolence that suggested the system, but sacred truth compels them to acknowledge that that benevolence was utterly misguided and mistaken. And they furthermore inform us, that, not only have these colonies not been found, after nearly twenty years of trial, to have succeeded, but also they have never at any one time succeeded even so far as to supersede the necessity of *workhouses* ; the latter, in numbers, and, in addition, *actual mendicity*, having existed throughout the whole period. Have we money for the costly experiment of establishing these colonies and supporting workhouses at one and the same time ? If we will spurn and neglect the experience of foreign countries, let us at least consider our means before we rush upon the expensive scheme before us. Would it not be well to wait at least till we see what progress an unassisted private company may accomplish in the work of reclamation, alike of waste lands, and of thriftless, spiritless paupers ?

Mr. Binns declares his hostility to all plans for “ *emigration*,” and certainly if they involve, as he says they necessarily must do, *greater expenses* than his own proposition of home-colonization, he has reason in his hostility. It is unfortunate that so

many fair-looking and most excellent theories of relief are doomed to fall to the ground for the want of that vile dross—money. One thing alone is wanting to the establishment of a most extensive and beneficial scheme of emigration, and that one thing is *money*—money, be it understood, not raised by taxation from the countries we would relieve by such emigration. That taxation is unfortunately yet more oppressive than the burthen we endeavour to remove. We fairly confess that to us, the propositions of “home-colonization,” “emigration,” or “poor laws,” unconnected with either, seem all alike impracticable, and chiefly and principally on the ground of hopeless deficiency of pecuniary means to work them to any but a very limited extent. The poor-law theorists tell us of the immense amount *wasted*, as they say, in *voluntary* charity at present; but how do they propose to get a legislative enactment for anything like this amount? A thousand obstacles are in their way. In the first place, is the natural reluctance of human beings to *give*, when they are *forced* to give. Again, the present donations are, in a very great proportion, relief in *kind*, relief in food, &c. In instances innumerable, the poor landholder has been known to cultivate half an acre more than will supply his family, and this surplus is intended for the poor. This is the way in which he can best afford to give charity; and, indeed, generally speaking, the *only* way. This cannot be touched by the legislature. The classes to be relieved are at present very numerous, indeed frightfully so; but a terrible addition will be made on the establishment of poor laws. At once the pauper roll will be fearfully swelled by the vast class denominated “*strugglers*,” who are now fighting a life and death battle against destitution, and who will readily and gladly give up their desperate and life-wearing efforts when they are assured of a provision by law for themselves and their families. The experience of England ought to warn us against pauper legislation. After three centuries of the establishment of a legal provision for the poor, a good system has not yet been found out, and strong and increasing doubts exist as to the possibility of any system being good. Were poor laws sound in principle, this would not be the case. The late “amendment” of them, consists, in the main, of a *reduction* of their enactments, and is in fact as near an approach to their total abolition, as could well be made in a country whose inhabitants are so long accustomed to a legal provision for the poor. A maxim strongly and earnestly laid down by the promoters of the “amendment,” is, that the condition of the pauper under relief ought to be inferior to the condition of the independent labourer. We have, in a former page,

said with Mr. Binns, that this is impossible in Ireland, where the labourer's condition has nothing below it, short of actual starvation. If proof be required, we refer the reader to our author's volumes, where, at almost every tenth page, the wages and condition of the working peasantry in various parts, are accurately detailed and described.

Legislation for the poor in England began in no kindly feelings towards them. The Poor Law Commissioners state in their report, that "the great object of early pauper legislation seems to have been the repression of vagrancy." The feudal lords sought to restrain their vassals from flying to corporate towns, to escape their thralldom and find protection under the municipal privileges. To remedy this, the "*statute of labourers*" was passed in 1351. By it not only the personal liberty of the agricultural population was put under severe restraints, but their *wages* were sought to be definitively settled and fixed. In the years 1376 and 1378, complaints were renewed in parliament of the escape of vassals and their finding protection in corporate towns, and this notwithstanding several acts of Edward the Third, by which it was vainly endeavoured to enforce the statute of labourers. This iniquitous statute was found, like all such, quite inoperative for the end for which it was intended, but at the same time copiously productive of misery to the wretched people. But centuries had to roll over ere the legislature would abandon its endeavours to fetter industry. The reign of Richard the Second, and the succeeding reigns, present a long list of acts, more or less restrictive of personal liberty, and more or less interfering with industry. The natural consequence of this unholy crusade of the rich against the poor followed—the lower classes, met at every step by searching and grinding tyranny, either gave up, or were forced greatly to relax, their exertions for subsistence, and the land was crowded with the destitute and the discontented. Then the harsh and despotic spirit, that dictated the ruinous restrictions, got full scope for its cruelty, and vagrancy was punished by laws of which it has been well said, that "with the single exception of *scalping*, they equalled the worst atrocities ever practised by the North American Indians upon their prisoners." (*Eden's History of the Poor.*) Whipping "until the body be bloody"—boring with a hot iron, the compass of an inch, through the gristle of the ear—branding in the face and on the shoulder—cropping the ears—being adjudged a slave for two years, and, (in case of attempts at escape) slavery for life—chaining, and finally death as a felon—these were the mild and paternal methods of treating the poorer classes, that marked the earlier history of Poor Laws, and that

indeed continued, in a modified degree, to be used until not a very remote period from our own time.

When the productive classes were thus trodden down, it is not to be wondered at if these laws increased the evils they were meant to remove. Confessions began to appear in the preambles of the new acts, of the utter inefficacy of those that preceded them. The statutes against vagrancy were altered, amended, remodelled, and multiplied, and, *pari passu*, the multitude of the poor increased. Meanwhile, the slender provisions these laws contained for the relief of the impotent, remained without addition for an immense time. Notwithstanding the gross imperfections of the social institutions, and their consequence, the thousand-fold increase of pauperism, voluntary charity did much to relieve the destitute. The commissioners whom the rapacious Henry the Eighth appointed to enquire into the state of the monasteries, sent him with their report an earnest recommendation that the subjects of their enquiries should not be dissolved, because of the good they did the poor; and when subsequently a bill was brought into parliament for their dissolution, it contained a promise that their revenues should continue to be devoted to purposes of charity. But this promise was at once broken, when the end for which it was made was attained, and compulsory relief was introduced. Statute after statute was enacted to enforce it, until, in the forty-third year of the reign of Elizabeth, the famous and much vaunted act was passed which is considered as properly the foundation of the laws for the relief of the poor. This act is the theme of much and loud praise, and according to many theorists we have but to recur to it, to find a sure and safe guide in establishing poor laws in Ireland; yet if it were so intrinsically excellent, why has it not been solely confided in, in England? Why were there complaints almost immediate against it, and why have so many attempts at amending it been made? It is true it gave for a short space relief—but let it be recollected, that for several years preceding, the seasons had been very bad, and a great and extensive dearth prevailed. A change occurred—the three or four succeeding seasons were good, and all their benefits were ascribed to the influence of this panacea, the forty-third of Elizabeth. But this state of things did not last long. So early as the seventh year of the reign of James the First, poor laws were deemed, in the words of a statute then passed, to “operate as a *premium upon idleness*.” During the protectorate of Cromwell, wars, domestic and foreign, drew public attention from the subject. Under Charles the Second additional acts were passed, altering, amending, &c. &c., the system of pauper legislation—the preambles of

each confessing the worse than uselessness of former enactments, and ever complaining of the still progressing increase of pauperism. This confession and complaint were repeated over and over again in the reigns of James the Second and William the Third, the latter of whom declared in his first speech from the throne, that poor laws had been effective only in the multiplication of objects needing relief. During the reigns of Anne and the Georges, a myriad of acts of parliament, crowding one upon another, proclaimed to the world that no effective plan was yet discovered to give real relief and stop the appalling increase of destitution. Meantime, throughout the period from the Restoration down, a host of writers were busy proclaiming the same melancholy fact. Clarendon, Sir Joshua Childe, the keen-witted and penetrating De Foe, Fielding, and many others, all acknowledged it, and all and each vainly sought to suggest a remedy, while no two of them could agree upon the same, nor indeed upon any point but on that of the before-mentioned fact itself. It is worth while to quote Fielding's words, as given by Sir Frederick Eden in his *History of Poor Laws*. Writing in the year 1753, Fielding says, "That the poor are a very great burthen and even a nuisance to this kingdom; that the laws for relieving their distress, &c., have not answered their purposes, *are truths which every man will acknowledge*. Such have been the *unanimous complaints of all writers* from the days of Queen Elizabeth down; such is the *sense of the legislature*, and such is the *universal voice of the nation*." The words of Fielding are true in the present day. In our time, enlightened as we deem it to be, and advanced in every species of knowledge, the real panacea is yet unknown. A poor law reform of a sweeping nature has been devised, and is slowly coming into operation. As yet no general opinion can be pronounced upon it, but this much may be remarked in passing, that where as yet any benefits have resulted from it, they are traceable more to the doing away of some of the old multitarious provisions than to any new and positive enactment. We venture to prophecy that the tendency of future amendments will be to annihilate still more of the old provisions, until gradually the English people shall be weaned from the tainted sources where they have so long been mocked with a false nourishment, and at length the abhorred compound of tyranny, selfishness, hard-heartedness, hypocrisy, and moral and social degradation, which constitutes the poor law code, shall be exposed to the execration of the world.

The space we have devoted to the hasty review we have given of the history of legislation for the poor, can scarcely be said to be taken from our proper subject, when we are considering with

Mr. Binns the various remedies proposed for the "miseries of Ireland." We agreed with him in doubting the efficacy, and dreading the expense, of a regular government system of emigration—we differed with him upon his own scheme, and differed *toto cælo*. But we find ourselves again in accord with him, in reprobating Poor Laws, and go to his full extent and *farther* in that reprobation. We distrust all attempts at compulsory relief. Differing thus from him and others, it is in some measure incumbent on us to state to what means we do look for relief to the poverty of Ireland. It is vain for Mr. Binns to seek to consider the economic condition of Ireland apart from her political state. The one is and has been in close dependence upon the other. Her present misery, her former sufferings, both alike proceeded from misgovernment. Those now in power are manfully struggling to remedy some of the evil effects of that misgovernment, and to give "*justice to Ireland*." But their best efforts are crippled and often baffled by the base faction who were so long the tyrants of that unhappy country. One branch of the legislature is in the hands of that faction, and every good and healing measure is either stopped there in its progress, or not suffered to pass, until it is but a skeleton of what it was at the outset. This obstacle must be removed. England is beginning to recognize the rights and feel repentance and sorrow for the wrongs of the sister island. The tide has turned, and the blessed stream of kindness and benevolence at length is setting our way. Its flow must not be impeded—it is time the vile barrier should be knocked away, if it be not voluntarily withdrawn. Let full justice be done to Ireland. Let continual attention be given to her internal affairs, as is given to those of the two other countries of this realm. Support public works if you will, but let them be those of a nature likely to be permanently beneficial, not such as call into action for a limited period a vast amount of labour, and then, when completed, leave that labour a drug in the market, thereby occasioning greater misery than before. Give the people of Ireland a share and an influence in the management of their own corporations, of the levying rates out of their own pockets, and the distribution of the products—extend the franchise and protect the poor voter from his tyrant landlord, by the shield of the secret ballot—free commerce from its restrictions—improve harbours and open roads—give free play everywhere to industry and enterprise. Meantime provide hospitals and houses of refuge for those sick of contagious disorders, for incurables, and for the maimed, and support *liberally* these institutions. All these make up the pro-

visions of the species of Poor Law we would propose, and surely it would be well to try what these would effect, before we venture upon the doubtful and perilous experiment of the laws that England for upwards of three centuries has been vainly enacting, altering, remodelling, and has not yet succeeded in reducing into a beneficial, *or even a harmless code*. Let us remember, if we hastily adopt Poor Laws, that that step once taken, many a long year must elapse before we can retrace it, if we find it to be an injurious and pernicious one. The people once accustomed to these laws, will not easily give them up, and thus we may rashly entail misery and degradation upon generations yet unborn.

Turning from this painfully interesting subject to Mr. Binns' remarks upon other matters, we find that gentleman strangely at variance with Mr. Nicholls, (the author of the present Irish Poor Law Bill,) on the subject of the marriages of the Irish peasantry. The latter gentleman has declared it to be quite a mistake to suppose those marriages take place at a very early age of the parties, and informs us that both in England and Scotland premature wedlock is far more common. Mr. Binns' experience is all the other way, and he gives the evidence to this effect of various persons, indifferent of the places where the examinations were conducted. In one case, in the barony of Few's Lower, in the county of Armagh, he heard of a man, "the joint ages of whose father and mother, on the day of their marriage, did *not amount to thirty-one!*" We believe our author has the fact on his side, in saying that the Irish marry very early; but this practice is far from being of the mischievous tendency some theorists declare it to be. One great benefit results from it in Ireland at least—a young man is saved from much temptation and vice, and gets an additional impulse towards exertion and industry, while the hardships he encounters on entering life are lightened and solaced by the companion he has chosen. "The women," observes one witness, "are generally careful; they may in many ways make a man comfortable." The young couple afford a home to their parents in their old age—"it is common for them to have their parents living with them."—(p. 57, vol. i.) The person who informed Mr. Binns of the very early marriage in Armagh county, (to which, by the way, several parallels are noticed in other places,) added, "that a man who has no wife and family is far less highly esteemed than one who possesses them." The same is the case in other parts of Ireland, and this would not be so if early marriages were so deeply injurious and ruinous in their tendency as is generally supposed.

The following extracts are a good antidote to the Tory calumnies on the Irish people :—

" Their disposition is most confiding, when the conduct of the landlord, *whatever be his politics or religion*, is regulated by honourable principles. This confidence in their superiors, is one among many proofs of the docility of the Irish, and the ease with which they may be governed Their misery is borne with cheerfulness; they are uniformly polite and hospitable, and ever ready to communicate any information it may be in their power to supply. Their submission to their hard destiny is remarkable. On one occasion, a woman remarked to me, ' that they had hard fare and disappointments, but God prepared the back for the burthen.' By way of giving them some little comfort, I frequently remarked, that they and their children were far more healthy than the rich; they would cry, ' God so ordered it for the poor !' (pp. 84, 89. vol. i.) The Irish are a *patient*, as well as an oppressed people, or they would not so long have submitted to the hardships they endure . . . The inhabitants of the County Tipperary have been considered the most ferocious, but I felt as safe there as in England. It is only under deep injury that the people seek revenge. (p. 62, vol. ii.) I was much gratified to hear from Mr. Bolton, (agent to Lord Stanley's estate in the just-named county) that the people were docile and easily managed, and that although he was living in the heart of what is thought the most turbulent part of the kingdom, and had occasion to travel at all hours, he had never been disturbed, or intimidated, and did not feel the slightest apprehension. This is a strong additional proof, that if a conciliatory policy, in unison with the great principles of Christianity, were uniformly adopted both by the legislature and by individuals, towards the people of Ireland, disturbances would in a great measure cease, and extensive police and military establishments be rendered unnecessary."—(p 163, vol. ii.)

The recent charge of Judge Moore, at the Spring Assizes, for the same county, is the best comment on this prediction :—

" Under providence, said his Lordship, Tipperary is fast approaching a state becoming the finest county and population in Ireland . . . The disinclination to prosecute, if not for ever crushed, is fast disappearing—the law has been enforced; no longer do we hear of those deadly brutalizing battles formerly of such common occurrence—peace and order prevail."

The common accusation of great addiction to drunkenness in the Irish people, Mr. Binns throws discredit upon in numerous parts of his work; and his authority is the more to be respected, as he examined very carefully into the grounds on which it was made. Indeed, in general he seems to have formed a good and kind opinion of the people among whom he was; but that opinion has occasionally a little alloy; as, for instance, where, in pages 98, 140, 279, &c. of vol. i. and 24, 36, &c. of vol. ii. he accuses them

of credulity and superstition. Without denying that among them, as among the uneducated of every country, credulity and superstition do exist, we confidently say that it is in a much inferior degree to what appears to strangers. In the first place strangers, especially Englishmen, coming to Ireland, bring over with them a firm conviction that the Irish are pre-eminently superstitious and credulous. This conviction is the result of the million misrepresentations and calumnies, with which ignorance or hostility, or both, have filled the pages of English writers upon Irish affairs. To a person thus involuntarily, but obstinately prejudiced, every trivial circumstance gives "confirmation strong" of his old impressions. A singular feature in the Irish character tends to add to this delusion. A strong and deep under-current of satirical humour pervades that character, bursting forth in a dark and bitter flood under the pressure of wrong and tyranny; but, in moments of merriment and ease, venting itself in a light and sparkling stream. Then all things around are made matters of jest, and the peculiarities of individuals are probed and played upon, with a quiet but keen and exquisite humour; while the person submitted to the process is all unconscious of it, and thinks, "good easy man," full sure he is himself laying bare and detecting the salient points of ridicule in the strange people he is among. It is thought that this inclination to search out food for laughter, is a dangerous quality to its possessors, as inducing to levity upon the *great*, as well as on the minor occasions of life, (and it must be confessed that the habit and love of looking at the ludicrous side of things are sometimes pushed very far); yet it is to be remembered that but for this constitutional tendency to "daff the world aside" and all its cares, with a jest and a laugh, the Irish peasant would succumb to the spirit-crushing misfortunes of which he has been, and still is, but too frequently the prey. Mr. Binns has met with his share of "quizzing," and we cannot refrain from quoting one instance that has just caught our eye. Upon his road to Magherafelt, in the county of Londonderry, he noticed, as he informs us, the absence of *mile-stones*. The driver of the vehicle, on which he was, had too much of the genuine Irish peasant about him to be for one moment at a loss for an answer, and he accordingly gave the satisfactory reply: "That the old *mile-stones* had just been taken up, and the new ones had not as yet been put down." A thousand similar good and sufficient reasons are daily offered to the matter-of-fact minds of English enquirers, and swallowed, for a time at least, with an easiness that delights the secret souls of their ingenious, but not always very *ingenuous*, informants. We must beg Mr. Binns'

pardon for setting him down in the class of "mystified," when he tells us the following :—

"Extraordinary stories were related to me of bloody fights for the bodies of St. Patrick, and other saints; and in order to appease the people, of St. Patrick having thrust his hand through the earth to prove that he was at Downpatrick. These stories are related with the most perfect gravity, and apparent zeal."—vol. i. p. 143.

And again, shortly after :

"Some of the credulous Irish have a tradition, that the Isle of Man was formed out of the land scooped out of the space now filled by Lough Neagh," &c.—p. 274.

We do not mean to deny that in former times credit was given by the Irish peasantry to the idle tales they now relate in jest—the peasantry of every country, and the higher classes also, were credulous and superstitious in former times. But we *do* mean to deny that the Irish do *now* attach credit to the fairy tales that they tell with "*most perfect gravity*," when they perceive

"A chiel's amang *them* takin' notes,
And faith he'll prent it."

The authors of those amusing compilations, which from time to time appear, professing to detail the fanciful belief of the Irish in beings of unearthly nature, are quite as often indebted to their own imaginations for the wild and grotesque legends they narrate, as to what they have actually gathered from the lips of parties to whom they ascribe the belief. We cannot suppose that Mr. Binns, who, in several parts of his book, so well and feelingly urges the great precepts of charity and mutual forbearance, meant to include under the title of "degrading superstitions" that which is included under such a head by many of the holiday tourists that visit Ireland to slander and vilify her. We allude to the *religion* of her people. It has been the tolerant custom to denounce the Catholic religion as a superstition, but as we do not think our author intended to adopt such a mode of speaking of the religious belief of his fellow-men, it is not necessary to dilate farther on the subject.

Acquitting him of *wilful* bigotry, and giving the ample credit he deserves for his evident kindness of feeling, and his sound and enlightened remarks on the holiness of mutual charity, as well as on matters of mundane policy, we turn to what he does permit himself to remark as to the faith of the Irish people, and the conduct of their pastors.

"It is notorious that the blessings that are ever found to result from a free and unmolested perusal of the bible, are often denied to the

poor and unlearned members of the Roman Catholic communion. Except in the company of their priests, or when attending divine worship in their chapels, they are forbidden to consult the Scriptures; thus being excluded from one of the richest sources of instruction and comfort. Besides, apart from the evil of interdicting the popular use of the Scriptures, in a spiritual point of view, the prohibition is objectionable on another ground. It imposes on those who submit to it, a yoke of mental slavery. As long as a people submit to a dictation of this sort, they are unfit for the successful execution of great enterprizes. But in spite of the interdiction of the priests, the Catholics, I believe, will *not* be prevented from reading the Scriptures. In one place I visited, I was told by a most respectable gentleman, that such had been the anxiety of several poor Catholic families in his neighbourhood to 'search the Scriptures' in consequence of relations from their children of passages they had read at the schools of the Board, that, in defiance of the risk they ran, *they had actually obtained bibles*; and Mr. Blacker, at the conclusion of his 'Claims of the Landed Interests,' gives the following information: 'I have been lately assured by a Protestant clergyman, that he had it from *good authority* that Roman Catholics were now meeting by stealth, at night, to read the Scriptures, in a district where Popery seemed thoroughly to predominate.'—vol. ii. p. 228.

As to Mr. Blacker's statement (or, more properly, the statement of Mr. Blacker's anonymous informant, on equally anonymous "*good authority*") it is but one of the thousand "*astonishing proofs of the spread of the Gospel in Ireland,*" that are to be found every day in the Tory papers, and that are deficient in but *three* important requisites, *dates, names, and truth*. Mr. Binns is mistaken. It is *not* notorious that Catholics are not allowed to read the Bible. They are forbidden indeed to read the *Protestant* version, because the Catholic Church believes, and has the clearest evidence to prove, that that version was in very many places *wilfully* corrupted. Catholics may read the version their Church approves of, and to which she has added notes and commentations to assist the judgment; for she repudiates the idea that every person—the uneducated as well as the educated—the obtuse of mind as well as those of keen perceptions—the weak and unstable as well as the sound and solid reasoner—can all alike interpret for themselves the obscure and difficult passages of the Holy Writings. The vast variety and gradation of intellect, character, and education, to be found in the human race, have the effect of producing an equal variety of opinion on questions of civil policy and other matters of universal interest; yet it is held that on one point,—the highest, most important, and difficult of all—the question of religious belief—a harmony and accordance of opinion and of decision is

attainable by the unassisted efforts of each human mind, working by itself, apart from the mass, and from all counsel and support. But perfect harmony, it is stated, is not required, except upon the foundation truths of religion. Has even this been attained? if so, then why are there Anabaptists, Owenites, Southcotites, Atheists, and a thousand other designations? The Catholic Church provides for her children guidance and counsel—she traces the succession of her heads from the Apostles; and from them transmits down, through the long reach of 1800 years, the unchanged unchanging interpretations of the Sacred Volume; and long as time shall last, she will still transmit that interpretation to every successive generation of her children, as their chart and compass, pointing out the one true course over the darksome waters of existence, to the secure and blessed haven of eternal happiness.

Besides this grand accusation of Mr. Binns, he accuses the priests of the north of Ireland especially, of “want of charity;” and states that “they and their flocks entertain towards those of the opposite faith, a *deep-rooted and unchristian prejudice*.” Were the case so, it ought scarcely to be wondered at, when both pastors and flock are and have been treated with such contempt, oppression, and insult, by “those of the opposite faith,”—Protestant clergy and Protestant laity, both landlords and lower orders. Orange processions, sanctioned and patronized,—corps of orangemen, not only suffered to drill and arm themselves, but encouraged and cheered on to “wreck” and devastate the little property of Catholics,—to insult and outrage their religious belief and religious ceremonies, and put in peril the lives of themselves and their families,—these are the fostering kindnesses that Catholics receive at the hands of “those of the opposite faith” in the north. Is it strange that they are not very grateful for such treatment?

“Fair sir, you spit on me on Wednesday last;
You spurned me such a day; another time
You called me—dog; and for these courtesies,
I’ll land you thus much monies?”

For such “courtesies” as we have described, we do not think much gratitude is due from Catholics; but we do not, however, grant that they entertain the unchristian prejudice Mr. Binns speaks of. We fear he is the unconscious retailer of calumnies he heard from those who hate the Catholics and their religion. He has been among men like Mr. Blacker—in politics heated partizans—and their exaggerated and unfounded stories (the offspring of that unforgiving hatred which rankles in the breasts of those “who have done the wrong;” the offspring, too, of fear—

cowardly fear—of the consequences of their own and their predecessors' ill-treatment of the people among whom their lot was cast), these stories have been poured like a deadly poison into Mr. Binns's mind, perverting his natural good judgment, and prejudicing him, despite of himself. A sample of the nature of the information sometimes given him (and, indeed, another instance, and, in this case, a malignant one, of the species of *mystification* we have before said to be common in Ireland towards ready-believing strangers), is in his second volume, where he tells us he learned that, at Philipstown (King's county), peace and order prevail, "not MORE than eight or nine Protestants *having been murdered in affrays connected with religion* during the last fourteen years." (vol. ii. p. 65.) We regret to be obliged to say, that among those of Mr. Binns's own communion—the Society of Friends—we mean the *Irish* portion of that Society—are some, and *many*, of the most deep and inveterate enemies and calumniators of Ireland and her unfortunate people. Their conduct is very much unlike that of the members of the same most respectable society in England, where the great and constant characteristics of the body are charity, liberality, philanthropy, in its most energetic degree, as so abundantly testified in a thousand ways, and pre-eminently by their whole-hearted and self-devoting exertions in favour of the Negroes. Honour to the body that produces such men as Joseph Sturge, who twice gave up his home, his country, and his ease, to brave the dangers of the climate, and the persecutions of the culprit planters, to ascertain with his own eyes, and report to the world, the real condition of the "apprenticed labourers" in the West Indies!

We gladly leave the unpleasant subject we have been discussing, and turn to our author's allusions to, and descriptions of, Irish scenery and objects of interest. The following is his decision on the much-agitated question, whether are the Irish or the English lakes superior in point of beauty?

"Having seen the Lakes of Killarney, I was enabled to draw a comparison for myself between them and the rest of the Irish lakes and the celebrated lakes of the north of England. Lough Neagh, the largest of all the Irish lakes, would be altogether uninteresting, were it not for its immense extent, and for the pebbles, petrifications, and plants, scattered upon its shores. Lough Erne, the next in size, certainly surpasses Windermere, as a lake, in the neighbourhood of which, art and nature are united with consummate felicity; and Lake Killikeen, and the other lakes of Cavan, are, from their number, as well as their variety and beauty, certainly entitled to take high rank among the lakes of the 'Emerald Isle.' Lough Gilly, though comparatively unimportant, when considered in reference exclusively to size, is a charming spot, infinitely superior, in my opinion, to Lough Erne. The Islands on it are bolder,

the shores not so flat, and more variously indented ; and the mountains seen from its bosom, far surpass, in diversity of character and outline, those that encompass the latter lake. It also has a charm in its luxuriant arbutus, that Lough Erne cannot pretend to. But the Lakes of Killarney, attractive as many of the others unquestionably are, exceed them all in variety, boldness, and beauty. None of the Lakes in either Cumberland, Westmoreland, or Lancashire, will bear a comparison with these. . . . Those who have not seen the Lakes of Killarney, can form no adequate idea of the abundance and exquisite loveliness of the arbutus there."—vol. ii. pp. 115-19, &c.

Mount Melleray, the seat of the order of the Trappists in Ireland, he thus describes :—

" Being provided with a note of introduction to the Rev. Mr. Ryan, the superior of the Trappist settlement at Mount Melleray, I set off to inspect that most interesting and singular establishment. Mount Melleray (a name given by the monks themselves), is situated near Cappoquin, in the midst of a vast tract of barren heath, on the side of the Knockmeledown Mountains, which were covered with snow. The buildings are of immense magnitude ; and though certainly striking from the loneliness of their position, and deeply interesting from the associations connected with the history of their inhabitants, have nothing to recommend them as specimens of architectural beauty. They strongly reminded me of the drawings of the Hospices on the Alps. Mr. Ryan received me with great politeness, and shewed every disposition to communicate information on the subject which had induced me to obtrude upon his privacy. In 1831, it appears, seventy-eight monks, who, for fifteen years, had lived happy and contented under a M. Saulmer, employed in cultivating the barren lands of Brittany, were forcibly expelled from the Monastery of La Trappe of Melleraye, their expulsion being accompanied with acts of brutal violence, ' attended,' (to use the words of Mr. Ryan,) ' by many atrocious circumstances, based upon accusations the most stupid and calumnious.' On arriving in Ireland, Sir Richard Keane granted them, at a nominal rent, 600 statute acres of moor and bog-land, on a lease of one hundred years. This they instantly began to cultivate ; they, at the same time, began to raise their extensive buildings ; and it is a remarkable fact, a *fact*, by the way, *that speaks with singular emphasis against the indispensableness of a compulsory Church*, that, though possessed of only *one sixpence* on their arrival, they raised, within the short space of three years, a series of structures that would have cost, if paid for at the usual value of work, not less than £10,000. They were, however, gratuitously assisted in their stupendous undertakings (for such they may indeed be called) by the people on every side. In a country where tithes has nearly ceased to be collected, a small company of religious men, sixty in number, have succeeded, though penniless, in converting a wilderness into a fertile place, and in raising an immense and costly habitation. This can only be accounted for by the fact, that the religion they professed was the religion of the people, and that the people honoured and respected

them for the virtues that adorned it. The monks of Mount Melleray, when I visited their establishment, had 120 acres under cultivation, yielding fine crops of rye, oats, turnips, and potatoes. Their gardens, too, abound in every variety of vegetables. They have planted, moreover, 120,000 forest trees; so that, in a few years, the face of the country, so lately brown and bare of beauty, will be covered with verdure. Besides the land granted to the Trappists, Sir Richard Keane had 5000 acres of bog, all of which was untenanted and uncultivated. Since the settlement of the monks, however, the whole of it has become tenanted, and is now undergoing cultivation. Buildings are springing up on every side, and the barren waste is gradually changing into a fruitful and smiling land."

In common with all visitors of late years to Ireland, Mr. Binns made it a point to go to Darrynane Abbey, the seat of Mr. O'Connell, M.P. for Dublin. His description of it is full, and contrasts favourably with the descriptions given by other tourists, some of whom seem to wish to avail themselves of Mr. O'Connell's hospitality, in order to abuse it.

"Old castles abound in the course of the drive from Kenmare; and from the high moors, about two miles before we arrive at the descent to Darrynane, an extensive and noble prospect is commanded. The mighty Atlantic bounds this magnificent view, which includes, among other objects, the mouth of the Kenmare River,—the Islands of Scariff and Dinish, rising abruptly out of the ocean,—the rocks called the Bull, a Cow, and Calf, at the extremity of the peninsula that divides Bantry Bay from Kenmare River,—and, lastly, Darrynane House, and the ruins of Darrynane Abbey, reposing at the foot of the mountains, on the borders of Kenmare River, near the open sea. . . . It was on a Saturday evening I arrived at Darrynane, and having left my introduction to the proprietor, along with some other papers, in Dublin, I had an opportunity of proving the statements made to me as to hospitality. I had, in fact, no other introduction to Darrynane Abbey, than that I was a stranger and an Englishman; but these were amply sufficient. . . . The day on which I arrived was a fast-day, the table was admirably supplied with a variety of fish, and some excellent Kerry mutton for the use of Protestant strangers. Fourteen different kinds of fish, caught close to the place, are frequently on the table at the same time. The coast abounds with fish—as many as thirty turbot have been caught at one draught. Darrynane Abbey is an extensive pile of buildings, erected at different periods, and without regard to any particular order of architecture, or uniformity of plan. Convenience, and the comfort of his guests, seem to have guided Mr. O'Connell in the enlargement of his mansion. In front stretches a garden, at the end of which is a fine natural lawn of short soft grass—in spring and summer the scene of various sports and pleasant recreative exercises. The sea, which here forms a small bay, comes close up to the lawn. The sands are firm and clean, and the waves, which struck me as of a remarkably emerald hue, are interrupted in their majestic progress by picturesque rocks. A

rookery presents a scene of perpetual animation to the north of the house; and in the same direction are extensive plantations, containing rustic bowers, tastefully designed, and winding walks, by the side of clear brooks. . All these, of course, I saw under considerable disadvantages, it being winter; yet I saw enough to convince me that Darrynane is a lovely spot. The air is peculiarly wholesome; and during my stay, a letter was received from Mr. O'Connell, anticipating the enjoyments of his native place, and speaking with delight of deriving from its healthy climate a good stock of health, to enable him to stand the political war. When at Darrynane, hunting is his favourite exercise; and I was informed he climbs the rugged mountains after his favourite pack of beagles, with all the untiring activity and buoyancy of youth." . . .

Having gone with the parish priest to the parish chapel of Darrynane, Mr. Binns was—

"Much struck with the devoted manner of the congregation, not only in that lonely chapel, but in every part of Ireland. They who sneer at the religion of Roman Catholics, would forego their contempt, if they saw the consolation derived from the despised faith of their fathers by the half-starved Irish. As a Protestant, I dissent from many of the doctrines of the Church of Rome; but having seen the power of those doctrines over the hearts and conduct of their votaries, I am admonished not to mingle my dissent with uncharitableness. . . . The minister of this congregation was a man of humble pretensions, but industrious and zealous in his calling. . . . His unostentatious dwelling was a very humble cabin, such as few labourers in England would consent to live in, and his labours immense. . . . The congregation were remarkably clean and respectable-looking, and are a stout and healthy people. They believe their ancestors to have been of Spanish origin, and feel some pride in the antiquity of their descent. From this feeling of family pride, Mr. O'Connell himself is not quite free; making use of the circumflex over the 'O,' as indicative of Spanish origin."—vol ii. pp. 343, 347, 349.

The *circumflex* over the "O" in Mr. O'Connell's name, we understand is meant as a contraction of an *Irish* word signifying "*the son of*," and not as evidence of Spanish origin. At the same time, Mr. Binns is quite right in saying that there are many marks of a Spanish race among the southern peasantry of Ireland, and also in Galway, the likeness of which to a Spanish town has forcibly struck many visitors. The simple cause is this, that a very long continued, and, for the times, a very intimate intercourse and correspondence, existed between the shores of Ireland and the northern coast of Spain; and warlike adventure, or, more frequently, mercantile enterprize, continued this intercourse and correspondence, from a remote period, down to so late as the middle of the last century. The extent and strength of these relations between the two countries, are, comparatively speaking, very little known in the present day, and, indeed, were

so in a very limited degree to the various English historians and writers upon Ireland during past ages.

We have not left ourselves room to notice other remarks upon scenery, and descriptions of objects worth visiting, in Ireland; but for them, and other matters and topics of general interest, we refer our readers to the book itself. The two volumes are decorated with a few lithographs from the author's personal sketches, and they are of a character to excite a wish that Mr. Binns had used his pencil more. We have said in the beginning of this article that his work is one deserving of much commendation, and calculated to repay the perusal; and that opinion we repeat. If those to whom we seek to recommend it, do not find grounds to agree with our opinion, they must at least grant that it is the production of an instructed and benevolent mind, honestly and anxiously seeking after truth, for the sake of truth alone.

We cannot close without transcribing from vol. i. the following short description of a contrast that struck our author, on his first return to England, after a few months' stay in the sister island:—

“What most immediately and most forcibly struck me, was the amazing disparity which a sail of not more than five or six hours had produced in the character and appearance of the people. On *that* side of the channel, squalid looks and lamentable destitution met me at almost every step; on *this*, the plump and rosy faces of a well-clothed population greeted me wherever I went. In Ireland, *three or four shillings a week* was a very respectable amount for wages; here, the same class earn regularly from *twelve to fourteen*. *As in a dream, I was transported from a land of poverty and misery, to one flowing with milk and honey.*”—vol. i. p. 237.

This needs no comment—all who have crossed the channel have been struck with the melancholy contrast he mentions. It exists, and must, we fear, exist for some time longer. The effects of seven centuries of grinding oppression and unbridled tyranny, cannot be got rid of in a day. Remedial efforts are in progress—feeble and tardy, indeed, as yet—but still they are being made. It is the duty of those whose fathers created the miseries of Ireland, to give their best energies to the noble task of raising her to a level with her happier sister. It is, above all, the duty of her sons, of every class and every rank, to devote themselves to her regeneration. Yet, of her own children, a large proportion are inveterately hostile to her interests, while of the rest, but too many are led astray by the false lights of poor-law systems, and other wild delusions. Still is there hope that all will yet be right. The misguided may yet see the error of their ways, and the inveterately hostile are fast discovering the utter uselessness

of their base and unnatural enmity. Whatever be the mistakes and misdeeds of the higher classes of society in Ireland, those of inferior degree, her people,—her honest, brave and noble people,—are true to themselves and to their country. By them will her regeneration be wrought out, when the time comes (and we believe it is fast approaching) that all-bounteous Providence shall, in its mercy, see fit to take off the chastening hand so long held over our suffering country, and reward her for her patience, her fortitude, and her unshaken fidelity in the one true faith.

ART. VII.—*The Modern Egyptians, &c.* By E. W. Lane, 2 vols. London. 1836.

IN the year of the Hegira 1151, (A.D. 1773) at Cavala, a small sea-port in the Ejalect Romania, death suddenly released from the most abject poverty an inferior officer of the Turkish police. He left all he possessed, a male child only four years old, totally unprovided for, destitute of even a single relative or friend—in short with no protector but Providence. The Aga of the place, however, touched by compassion, received the helpless orphan into his household; and subsequently bestowed on the boy an education, judged by the Turks of that period sufficiently liberal. He was instructed in the art of managing a horse adroitly, and acquired great expertness in the use of the sabre and carbine. Sixty years after the date referred to, that forlorn child became known to the gazing world in the person of Mehemet Ali. Then, not only the founder of a new dominion, but an unshorn Sampson, prostrating the pillars of an ancient empire. It has proved the singular fortune of Mehemet, to render himself celebrated at an age when the statesman's political fame, and the warrior's laurelled triumphs, generally begin to decline "into the sere and yellow leaf."

Not the least remarkable circumstance in the history of this truly extraordinary man, is the fact that he passed some of the best years of his youth in the shop of a tobacco merchant, by whom he was employed, after the loss of his patron obliged him to seek a subsistence. How minute are the causes that frequently give rise, or contribute, to the mightiest events. Mehemet's occupation in the service of a petty plodder, confined to the every day walks of trade, was the second link in the necessary chain of strange incidents, that finally enabled him to unite the opposite vocations of war and commerce, and cultivate with such signal success those branches of the tree of industry, which, however

essential to the civilization and permanent prosperity of a people, were yet unknown to the generality of Eastern despots.

The talents displayed by the sovereign, when he governed the commercial and financial departments of the state, were no doubt in operation on a minor scale, and gradually maturing, during the long hours of drudgery passed at the tobacconist's; whence, after accumulating a slender stock of piastres, Mehemet removed to open a magazine on his own account. There years rolled quietly on, and the merchant became one of the wealthiest of his class in the Ejalect, although absolutely unable either to read or write.

Mehemet thus early acquired the habits of business; whilst, on the other hand, the sagacity, promptitude, and vigour, shewn by the politic prince, the warlike pasha, equally conspicuous in the cabinet and the field, were qualities previously germinating in his youthful breast; when he volunteered to quell an insurrection among the inhabitants of a village, who rose in resistance to the government taxes,—and actually, at the head of a small party of the police, succeeded by artful management, personal courage, and immovable resolution—a peculiar feature of his character—in carrying away four of the ringleaders, seized before the very faces of their numerous fellow insurgents. Our space; however, will not permit us to continue details, purely personal and comparatively trifling. We turn, therefore to the eventful page of public history, wherein we first find the since justly renowned name of Mehemet Ali. It appears at an epoch of no common interest. That memorable hour when the ambitious aspiration of Napoleon, and the decrees of the French Directory, conducted a hostile armament to the shores of Egypt. What a field for contemplation does that scene present! The gigantic aims developed! The wondrous ends undreamed! The mighty men, now chronicled in the dread Doomsday-book of eternity!—What unimaginable consequences are ever “hanging in the stars,” invisible to the farthest reaching eye of vain mortality! The mandate of an anomalous anarchical republic, despatches a host of modern Gauls to battle amid the vestiges of Rome's ancient glory, on the banks of the Nile! That host is led by a soldier, to eclipse the fame of Cæsar; yet perish a discredited and exiled captive! The invasion incites an obscure Macedonian trader to quit his peaceful monetary labours, and practice in ripened manhood the martial lessons of his boyish days! The ceaseless wheels of time and fortune revolve; till, at length, astonished Christendom beholds the torch of civilization re-kindled, after the lapse of ages, by the hand of the now

merchant-monarch, on the ruins of Memphis! The first step towards this proud consummation, after Mehemet Ali, drawn by an irresistible impulse, joined his countrymen, was the victory which overthrew Egypt at the foot of her own pyramids. A present infliction on humanity is frequently pregnant with future benefits to mankind.

Imitating the conquerors of classic antiquity, the French professed to enlighten wherever they wished to subjugate. Thrown among the subdued, into immediate contact with the victors, Mehemet Ali's energetic mind probably received the electric spark, as it were, from the projects of Napoleon; and the light thus derived from the growing Colossus of the western world, guided his after efforts in dissipating the mental darkness of the east. Obeying their creed, Mehemet's Moslem brethren, when vanquished, regarded the defeat as pre-ordained, and deeming it impossible to arrest, or alter the edicts of destiny, bent in religious resignation to the will of fate. His acute and active spirit, on the contrary, taught him to cast aside the veil of national superstition, to trace success or disaster to its primary cause, and discover in the intellectual advantages possessed by civilized Europeans, their consequent superiority over the semi-barbarians of Asia, in most matters of worldly contest, or concernment.

If the French expedition to Egypt suggested to Mehemet Ali a worthy object for his new-born ambition, a subsequent event, which, like the preceding, he could neither foresee nor influence, opened to him the daring, but perilous, crooked, and blood-stained path to power, which he thenceforward inflexibly pursued. The naturally weak, but ever-galling bonds, imposed upon the fierce and turbulent Mamelukes, by their Turkish rulers, were afresh broken, and merciless war, in its most ferocious form, burst forth. From the commencement to the catastrophe of this intestine tragedy, Mehemet sustained a part of such consequence, as to render his individual biography an historical record of transactions, perhaps, little inferior in characteristic interest, and momentous results, to the annals of olden Greece or Rome. Posterity, noting the sanguinary footsteps of Mehemet Ali's unsparing career, may demand whether any motives could justify designs, necessarily cemented by blood, or atone for the sacrifice of myriads massacred in clearing his course to supremacy?—Then let regenerated Egypt, aroused from the moral lethargy of morbid centuries, bear witness, that out of evil Providence may bring forth good.

To understand the precise nature of the deadly struggle in

question, and the situation of the conflicting parties at its outset, it may be necessary to take a brief retrospect of the history of the Mamelukes.

Towards the close of the thirteenth century, and during the crusade of the ninth Louis of France, (surnamed, with a propriety which no one can dispute, the *Saint*) Sultan Malek Sala, a great grandson of Saladin, and grandson of Malek Adhel, purchased a vast number of young Circassians, and selected from them a formidable body-guard. They were styled *Mamelukes*; meaning in the native tongue *slave soldiers*. An appellation that at no very distant period they might have exchanged, without hyperbole, for the title of *Slave Kings*. According to the customary practice of eastern tyranny, the sultan no sooner discovered any of his slave warriors in possession of wealth, sufficient to render its seizure desirable, than he transferred the owners to his dungeons, and, finally, on some pretext, possible or impossible, put them to death, and confiscated their property. Dissaffection, of course, sprung up and grew with the growth of the Mamelukes' military strength; till in the reign of Malek Sala's successor they broke into successful rebellion, put an end to the dynasty of the *Ayabites*, and appropriated to themselves that sovereignty, which they retained and defended with invincible valour for nearly three hundred years, despite the repeated attacks of the Christians, the Turks, and even of the all subduing Tamerlane! At length Selim the First, taking judicious advantage of the general disunion existing among the Mameluke chiefs, overran Egypt, carried his conquering army to Cairo, and there concluded his work by hanging the deposed sultan at one of the gates of the city.

Beneath the sway of Selim, Egypt, as a Turkish province, was nominally governed by a Pasha, or viceroy. But Selim, aware that the very qualities required in the possessor of such an office, would present him, if competent to use them, with abundant temptation and opportunities for establishing a dominion independent of the Porte, resolved to guard against the reconstruction of a sole absolute authority, which, from the remoteness of the Turkish capital, it might be found difficult to destroy. To effect this purpose, by counteracting the pasha's otherwise unlimited power, Selim created a species of oligarchy. He divided the country into twenty-four parts, and placed each district under the command of a Mameluke Bey. This disjointed government soon became, as might have been foreseen, completely anarchical. Civil wars were continually occurring between the beys, severally; with similar strife, in common, betwixt them and the pasha.

The native Egyptians, exasperated at the increasing intrusion and arrogant ascendancy of so many Asiatic foreigners, either retired from their vicinity, or refused to intermarry with them. The Mamelukes, thus entirely placed apart, were reduced to the necessity of recruiting both their harems and armies by procuring slaves from Asia.

In retaliation, the Beys adopted a most singular mode of marking their contempt for the ancestral pride of the native scornors. They decreed that none but *foreign* slaves should be capable of bearing, or privileged to receive, the dignity of a bey. Thus slavery combined in one individual the highest and lowest distinctions of society, amongst the anomalous and isolated race, who formed thenceforth a people devoid of kindred sympathies, and whose offspring were self-barred from all honourable emulation.

This strange, unnatural system, had prevailed for three centuries, when the Sultan, Selim the Third, provoked beyond endurance by their atrocities, determined to cleanse Egypt, effectually, from the pestilent plague spot.

Already had various beys been severally disposed of by stratagem or force, when Mehemet Kusruff Pasha, one of the Turkish generals during the French invasion, then (in 1802) Viceroy of Egypt, received secret orders from the Divan to sweep the whole Mameluke militia, with their chieftains, one and all, from the face of the land.

Circumstances reserved the execution of this design for the reign of Mahmud, and the agency of Mehemet Ali; but the original conception undoubtedly belonged to the profoundly politic Selim.

In compliance with the Sultan's commands, about 15,000 men were concentrated under the standard of the Pasha. This army was gathered from nearly all the Eastern nations subject to the Porte, with the single exception of the Egyptians, for the possession of whose soil this intended war of extermination was on the point of commencing. Kusruff's infantry consisted principally of Albanian, Turkish, and Barbaresque hordes; while the less numerous cavalry was a heterogeneous body of adventurers from all countries, acting as a corps of observation, of little service beyond mere reconnoitering, and styled by the Turks *dellis* (fools).

The Mamelukes were incomparably better soldiers than their foes, and so especially dexterous in their manœuvres,* that the greatest general of the time (Napoleon) had previously pronounced them the most accomplished cavalry in the world; yet the practical advantages derivable from their superiority in this

respect, were commonly neglected and lost by the beys through their own incessant dissensions, since the common cause was ever unheeded when it interfered with the indulgence of a personal jealousy, or the furtherance of a private interest.

At this crisis, Mehemet Ali, who had distinguished himself, during the late contest with the French, by bravery and judgment, received from the viceroy the rank of general, and was placed at the head of a division of the Turkish army. Envy, hatred, and malice, had their votaries among the Ottoman, as well as the Mameluke leaders, and Mehemet did not long enjoy his command. After the loss of the battle near Damanhur, some of the other generals accused him of causing the overthrow, by a retreat only attributable to treachery or cowardice. Mehemet clearly refuted the imputation, and showed, not only that his apparent flight was a mere feint, for the purpose of dividing the enemy's force, but that the plan was actually preconcerted with the very men who charged him with a desertion, in reality committed by themselves. The Pasha, nevertheless, either prejudiced against him, or yielding to the popular Turkish belief in the subjection of a fated individual to the pursuance of misfortune, deprived Mehemet of his post, and without ceremony dismissed him. Indignant at such undeserved degradation, the wronged and insulted soldier resolved to vindicate his valour, and seek revenge on his traducers, by combating for, instead of against, the Mamelukes. In their cause, he soon proved himself equally well versed in the arts of policy and war; succeeded in alienating the Albanians from the service of the Crescent, and attaching them firmly to himself; opened the gates of Cairo to one of the beys, and forced Mehemet Kusruff to fly to Damietta, whither he followed, besieged, and took him prisoner. From that event may be dated the rise and progress of Mehemet Ali's military ascendancy and political influence.

In the East, revolutions, except in very rare instances, are never directed against the established form of government, but are merely aimed at some of its presiding heads. A martial mutiny, or a factious insurrection, may produce what we term a change in the ministry, or even lose the monarch his sceptre and life, but still the people never dream of altering the regular institutions, modes, and methods of authority. Thus, in Egypt, during the three centuries of unceasing discord and bloodshed between the Turkish pashas and the Mameluke beys, originating and inherent in the very ingredients of the administration given to the country by Selim the First, neither sultan nor slave-chief thought of ameliorating the evils experienced, or stopping the carnage perpetrated, by remodelling the state. A fresh pasha

succeeded to the dignity and danger of his slain predecessor. One bey supplanted or assassinated another; but the radical cause remained undetected and untouched. When intelligence of Mehemet Kusruff's capture and imprisonment reached the Porte, the Sultan ostensibly contented himself with nominating Ali Gazarli, with conciliatory powers, to the violently vacated pashalik. The new viceroy carefully concealed his secret hostile instructions beneath the cloak of peaceful amity, and Mehemet Ali met his hypocrisy with more than equal dissimulation. Whilst apparently unsuspecting, and professedly obedient, he set his engines in motion, and induced the beys to strike an anticipatory blow, watched his plot gradually ripen, and when the moment for action arrived, at once threw off the friendly mask. Supported by him, at the head of his partizan allies the Albanian troops, the beys succeeded in making Gazarli their prisoner; but unlike Mehemet Ali, who only incarcerated Kusruff, they put their unfortunate captive to death. The Mamelukes were accustomed to communicate and receive orders from the viceroy, through the medium of a *sheikh-el-beled*, a sort of high deputy or delegate appointed by the beys.

Subsequently to the fall of Mehemet Kusruff, this weighty office had been entrusted to a certain Osman Bardissy, who, pending the appointment of a successor to the late Gazarli Pasha, ruled unopposed, and with the aid of Mehemet Ali, almost despotically, over all the country. The calm was of short duration. Just at this juncture an unexpected candidate for the equivocal prize of power appeared. Mehemet Elfi Bey advanced pretensions to the supreme authority of Egypt, supported, as he alleged, by the court of Saint James's, and under the express protection of England, whence he had then arrived.

The eagle eye of Mehemet Ali did not fail to perceive in these clashing claims the means to serve his own intents. He had hitherto used the Mamelukes as instruments to free himself from the successive Turkish viceroys. They were now to weaken their own force, and assist him in removing the remaining impediments to his ultimate objects. He began by firing the rival spirit of the two competitors into active hostilities. Then assisted Osman Bardissy to gain an easy triumph, and forced his adversary to fly from Egypt.

That done, he clandestinely instigated the adherents of the beaten bey into fresh intrigues, and succeeded in raising the clamours of the fickle populace so high against Bardissy, that he compelled him to follow the example of Britain's protégé, or emissary, and save his life by self-banishment.

For more than four hundred years had the Mamelukes,

equally famed for courage and craftiness, foiled all assailants. They still defied every effort of the Porte to subvert them, either by fraud or force. Yet this wily intractable tribe were moved, as mere puppets, by the super-subtle spirit of an otherwise powerless stranger, "in birth unhonoured, and of name obscure."

From the departure of Osman Bardissy, Mehemet Ali was, in fact, Viceroy of Egypt, though he wisely abstained from assuming the title. Under similar circumstances, any shorter-sighted ambitious novice, would assuredly have seized it, since there were none openly prepared to contravene his will. But Ali saw clearly the perils of his situation. On one side, the offended Porte; on the other, the dangerous beys. Both parties would, inevitably, have been exasperated at his elevation; and he would thus have been exposed to the attacks of both. Calculating visible probabilities, the chances of an immediate appeal to arms were greatly against him, and he resolved to strengthen his position by artificial disinterestedness, rather than venture an advance that would place him between two fires. This determination he executed by nominally replacing on the vice-throne, Mehemet Kusruff, his former commander and after captive; a master-stroke of refined policy, that would have reflected credit on the genius of Machiavel himself. Not only was the wrath of the Divan turned aside, by the air of submissive repentance for the past, and the desire to conciliate in future, apparently evinced by this measure, but it averted from him any mistrust entertained by the beys, and awakened all their old enmity against the reinstated Pasha! If the Mamelukes refused obedience to Kusruff, and he should have recourse to arms, even then the belligerent parties would serve Ali, by mutually weakening each other.

But Mehemet Ali looked for another result. The rejection was expected—the train of its consequences laid. He rightly judged his influence over the minds of the multitude, as not yet sufficiently absolute for the mere expression of his will to be received as the decree of an oracle. No; the many must command him to his own wishes. Accordingly, the sheikhs, and the officers of the army, strongly opposed his choice; and acting, no doubt, unconsciously, on suggestions emanating, indirectly, from himself, solicited the Porte to sanction their election of Kurahid Pasha, the governor of Alexandria, to the vice-royalty of Egypt, in lieu of Kusruff; and, at the same time, as a peace-offering to Mehemet Ali, for the disrespect shown to his nomination, named him to the post of *Kaimakan*, or Lieutenant, an office only second in importance and dignity to the Pasha. No sooner were these appointments confirmed by the Divan, than, as Mehemet had foreseen, and probably forwarded, new causes of

quarrel occurred, and hostilities fiercely commenced between the beys and their new viceroy. At this period, Mehemet Ali was well provided with confidential agents and spies at Constantinople, who carried on intrigues in his favour among the members of the Divan, whilst he, at the head of the Turkish troops, took every opportunity of reducing the Mamelukes; yet also found leisure to regulate and reform the state of affairs in the Egyptian capital; where his presence was of no less service in protecting the inhabitants from the rapacity of the soldiers, than in quelling insurrections, sometimes indebted to him for their birth. The sheikhs, or priests, who generally assumed the reins of power, in cases of emergency, duly impressed with the merits displayed by the Pasha's deputy, soon found reason to declare Kurshid incapable of governing Egypt. They, therefore, deposed him, and conferred his title and authority, subject to the approval of the Sultan, on his Raimakan, Mehemet Ali!!! Thus was the cherished vision realized, the long-sought talisman of potency obtained. Kurshid protested, and shut himself up in the citadel, where he was besieged by his successor, who was preparing to storm the place, when a *Kapidgi Basha* arrived from the Turkish capital with a royal Firman, establishing Mehemet Ali in the Pashalik, to which he had been called—so said the Firman—by the wish of the people of Egypt. Such was, certainly, the case. They judged him by the partial good effected within their knowledge, and the vigour he had shown in repressing evils; but they could neither estimate his motives, nor discern his remote designs. The Sultan was reported to be personally impressed with ominous foreshadowings on the subject, and to have yielded to necessity a reluctant consent; but his compliance was hailed with unfeigned joy by the priests, the people, and the army. The year 1803, which witnessed the promotion of Mehemet Ali to the Viceroyalty of Egypt, is also remarkable for another event, equally momentous in its consequences. The Turkish forces were defeated by the Servian insurgents, under the command of George Czerny, who afterwards called forth the revolution, and with it the independence of Greece. The first blows, therefore, of the double series that finally severed from the Ottoman empire two of its most valuable provinces, were struck in 1803, though above a quarter of a century was required to complete the disjunction.

Behold Mehemet Ali, after his death-daring, tortuous ascent, placed on the gory, giddy eminence of despotism. What was there in the prospect, from the height attained, to recompense the fearful toil of climbing thither? A miserable country, impoverished by heavy taxes and enforced contributions! Its

inhabitants driven to despair and disobedience ! Undisciplined and insubordinate troops, inured to rapine, and continually deserting their ranks to join those of the still more lawless and rapacious Mamelukes ! Add to all this, the suspicious, selfish policy of the Porte, ever ready either to prey upon the weak, or treacherously destroy where strength might be feared ! On this view, but few, we imagine, blessed with the golden mean of European civilization, would envy Mehemet the possession of his pashalik. But, to Mehemet, an atmosphere of storms had become congenial. His mind, cast in an all-surpassing, yet, still, Asiatic mould, looked firmly forward to the marvellous race it had yet to run. Fully conscious of the precipices in his path, he traversed their brinks with unwavering self-dependence, as he advanced towards the two-fold goal of his immutable resolves—the restoration of Egypt to its rank and integrity in the scale of nations, and the re-creation of its mental and social energies.

To perfect these stupendous purposes, hitherto unattempted through a succession of unknown ages, but half the span of man's allotted life remained to Mehemet. The second, and more glorious end, could only be accomplished after the full attainment of the first. Egypt could never be freed from the Turkish yoke, whilst burdened with the perpetual desultory warfare of the Mamelukes : still less could the seeds of humanity be sown, until the ground was cleared of its most baneful and obnoxious weeds. It was necessary, also, before Mehemet could assail the Porte with prudence, to combine against it the various oriental tribes, only retained in their obedience to the Sultan by the bonds of ancient custom, ever prevalent among the Asiatics, even where plainly prejudicial to their interests. This hatred of innovation, Mehemet justly thought, might be removed by setting before them revolutionary examples within his own immediate dominion. In a word, imperious necessity demanded, as an opening and indispensable measure, the extirpation of the Mamelukes :—but it was easier to pronounce the doom, than execute the sentence. Previously to his late exaltation, Mehemet had armed the free Bedouin Arabs against the bays, who had suffered, materially, from his successes ; but, as their peculiar habits of warfare, and high excellence in horsemanship, must render the utter extinction of the Mamelukes, at least by the regular weapons of war, an almost interminable labour, the too common expedients of the East were resorted to. Those practices consisted in disseminating discord among the chiefs—then attacking them separately, when off their guard—slaughtering them by treachery—and, briefly, in out-manceuvring them by every device that deceit or cruelty could invent. In one instance,

Mehemet, by false intelligence speciously circulated, induced them to believe that a large portion of the Turkish troops were eager to raise the standard of rebellion in Cairo, and only awaited their junction and commanding. Several of the beys fell into the snare, and found their deaths. In the midst of his machinations against the Mamelukes, Mehemet did not neglect the more legitimate and laudable duties of a governor. He vigilantly inspected and improved the discipline of his licentious soldiery, and classified them into proper divisions. Nor were his reforms confined to mere professional correction. He constituted himself chief manager of the police in the capital, and perambulated its streets, both by day and night, in the garb of a common *kavak*, or Turkish soldier: visited, thus disguised, all the public places and coffee houses, and either castigated with his own hands, or gave into the charge of the guards, who followed within his summons, every military delinquent whom he detected in the commission of any act of violence or depredation. Such proofs of rigid, impartial justice, of public protection, and of unusual care for the conservation of private property, could not fail to render the Viceroy extremely popular. So loud, indeed, were his subjects in their expressions of admiration and gratitude, that the echoes resounded even unto Constantinople; and the ever-apprehensive Divan, alarmed—in this instance with reason—at the rapid advance of attachment on the part of the people, and the consequent spread of power on that of their ruler, determined to transplant him, before he became too strongly rooted to be removed at will. A firman from the Sultan reached Mehemet at Damanhur, designed to deprive him of the throne he filled too well; raise to it an appointed vizier, and replace the beys in their pernicious authority. But the watchers of the wonder-working head, had slept too long, and only awoke to hear "*Time is past.*" The Viceroy, confiding in the devotion by which he was surrounded, the tried fidelity of his Albanian auxiliaries, and the support of the Bedouins, lamented that destiny would not permit him to obey the mandate of the Divan, adding the most dutiful assurances that his denial was enforced by the obstinate resistance of the troops. Mehemet certainly owed no thanks to the gloss of invariable warlike success for his popularity. His forces had been roughly handled, on several occasions, by the hydra-like Mamelukes, and especially by the Anglo-Egyptian Bey, Elfi; but all extraneous considerations of adverse import, vanished before the brilliancy of his domestic reputation; and the eluded Porte found it necessary, for the present, to flatter him whom its distant authority was impotent to supersede. The Sultan

bowed once more to the majesty of the people's "wish," and confirmed Mehemet Ali in his dignity. Another fortuitous event contributed not a little to his prosperous progress. This was the almost simultaneous death of his two most troublesome foes, Osman Bardissy and Mehemet Elfi. On receiving information of the decease of those beys, he lost no time in taking advantage of the general consternation caused by the occurrence: resumed offensive operations; attacked and defeated various parties in succession, and dreadfully harrassed their retreats, by employing his Bedouin friends in the pursuit. In attaching the children of the desert to his service, and opposing them against the Mamelukes, he gradually predisposed them for the political changes, and vast reformation, he silently contemplated.

Mehemet's attention, however, was soon diverted to self-defence, at another point, where foreign efforts were on foot for unseating him. An expedition despatched by the British Cabinet, expressly to support the Mamelukes, arrived at Alexandria; and the disembarked troops, amounting to six thousand, were received into the place by the Governor, whom the beys had also found means to confederate in their cause. Mehemet's good genius did not desert him. An attack made by the associates on Rosetta, most disastrously failed, and the defeat of course greatly lowered the confidence of the beys in the irresistible prowess of their insular allies. The politic Pasha, instead of presuming on his success, and pushing it to extremities, threw out propositions for peace, advantageous to the Mameluke chiefs; and whilst they were balancing between his offers and the possibility of still profiting by the English aid, the latter party decided the question for them; finding it advisable to preserve the national honour from any farther fracture, by stowing themselves, "homeward bound," under the guardianship of Dan Neptune; even then, confessedly, indebted to the forbearance of Mehemet, for the opportunity of regaining their ships.

If, on the whole, Mehemet may be termed an indulged child of fortune, he cannot be characterised (like Napoleon) as a prodigal son. Whilst engaged in those early games of war, that, in the end, were to enable him to compete for the incalculable stake then at issue, he carefully husbanded each minor winning, and avoided risking his resources in dubious, bye bets,—coolly calculated against contingencies, and baffled his adversaries by finesse, when his hands were weak. But where he felt himself secure, he boldly took the lead; and every new trial of his strength only added to the odds in his favour, on the match.

Turkey soon put his skill to the test. The Sultan Selim's murder made way for the mild Mustapha, who occupied the throne

only until shortly after the repulse of the English from Egypt. Mustapha was followed by his brother Mahmud, on whom devolved the task of completing the dissolution of the Janissaries, and carrying on the other works of improvement began by Selim. In addition to the good effected by Mahmud in his proper sphere, he most undoubtedly, though unintentionally, accelerated the deliverance of Egypt, by calling her slumbering capabilities into action.

The Sultan's motives for this, eventually, philanthropic act, was the necessity of crushing the sect of the *Wahabites*, engendered about fifty-five years past, in Nedshed,* by a sheikh, from whose name his followers derived their designation. These dangerous rebels, previous to Mahmud's accession, had gained complete mastery throughout the whole of *Hedshus* and *Yemen*, and their victorious banners were already fluttering in the environs of Damascus and Bagdad, when the Sultan sent orders to his Egyptian vassal viceroy, to gather all his forces together, and proceed to annihilate the *Wahabites*, who were daily extending their encroachments in Arabia. Mahmud evidently trusted that the destruction of one party, he cared not which, would be so dearly purchased by the other, as to leave the victor's after fate at his royal disposal. Mehemet Ali, instead of shrinking from the honour of an investment, similar in its expected efficacy to the envenomed garment of Nessus, received his commission with joy. It was to him as the dawn of a rising sun, whose beams were to invigorate his strength, irradiate his influence, and guide him to farther avenues for its extension. He meditated on the means of encouraging commerce in the Arabian ports; of facilitating an intercourse with Yemen, and of forming, among a people already won to his interests, a fresh basis for his ascendancy, by the protection he might confer on their sacred cities. Still, those baleful birds of prey, the *Mamelukes*, obscured the horizon of his hopes. Congregated in the *Delta*, they prosecuted their roving ravages, and hovered, as it were, around the gates of Cairo :

“ ——— dread hell-kites all,
Seeking to swoop on aught within their range.”

* *Nedshed*, or *Naged*. It is so styled from the elevated aspect of the country; and the term might be rendered *Mountainous Arabia*. Abdeefteda says that opinions vary as to the exact position of Nedshed; but that the name, most probably, indicates the high tract of land which separates Yemen from Tahamah, (Lower Arabia) and Irak Arabia from Syria. Towards Hedshas, it abounds in marshes. The mountains Salamy and Adaha are the best known. The inhabitants are an Arabian race called *Taite*, but that name is common to all the Arabs. Hence in Assemani, *Bib. Orient.* tom. i. p. 364, “Monder, a king of the Taite.” With the Chaldeans, ܡܢܕܝܐ signifies an Arabian Merchant.

Occupied in his preparations, and anxious to expedite his mission, Mehemet ardently desired to clear Egypt from its intestine pest, before the departure of his armies left the country still more exposed to devastation:

Were the gangrened wounds of the deeply lacerated land never to be healed? How long were the crimes of a hateful oligarchy, a community of public robbers, intruders on the soil, to resist the establishment of a healthy government, and retard the enlightenment of millions? All his endeavours to unravel by degrees this Gordian knot of Egyptian bondage had proved fruitless, and he now wound up his faculties to cut through it by an act, detested even by the northern savages of antiquity, and which, if weighed in the common scales of modern European religion and morality (setting retributive justice aside) must be condemned as an offence against God and man, utterly inexpiable on earth. Mehemet resolved to lure the Mamelukes into certain toils, and at one ruthless blow exterminate the whole race and name, by assassination! He commenced his design by disarming them of the habitual distrust, dictated by experience and their own practices. This he accomplished by artfully negotiating and concluding a truce, under pretence of devoting himself entirely to the important arrangements for the approaching expedition, and actually appeared so wholly absorbed in the business, as to set any lurking suspicions at rest. He proceeded to build a flotilla in the Red Sea, and went in person to Suez, to inspect the progress of the work. Numerous magazines, also, were at the same time erected under his orders in Alexandria, to render that place eligible for the commercial emporium, which, aided by the natural advantages of its situation, it has since become. At last, when all was prepared for the denouement of this dreadful drama, he announced to the surrounding country the period fixed for the departure of his army to Arabia, under the command of his eldest son, Tussan Pasha. During the few intervening days he lavished all possible civilities and insinuating flatteries on the Mameluke chieftains, and they were finally invited to visit the citadel on the 11th of March, 1811, and partake of a banquet in honour of the prince's farewell. The beys, now completely blindfolded, did not hesitate an instant to comply with the viceroy's gracious request. The morning rang with shouts, and all was revelry and excitement throughout Cairo, until the beys with their followers were past the gates of the citadel. Scarcely had the last entered, when the entrances were secured; and the victims, exposed to an incessant shower of fire from the walls, fell without being able either to fly or defend themselves." On the same day and hour their brethren were put

to the sword in the streets of the city, and in all other places and towns of Saïd and the Delta. The wretched wreck of these hitherto insuperable soldiers escaped into the desert.

Thus perished, after an existence of 600 years, the body of the Mamelukes, who formed an exception in human physiology, and an unparalleled solecism in the laws of social organization.

We have already acknowledged that Mehemet's guilty deed is, abstractedly, indefensible; but though it cannot be justified, it surely admits of considerable palliation. Leaving the general eastern unscrupulous familiarity with blood out of the question, still, there is no rule, it is said, without an exception, and if the ethical edict which proclaims, "no end is worthy, where the means are bad," can ever admit of a proviso, Mehemet, certainly, may prefer a claim to the benefit. Shakspeare's *Bassanio* beseeches the *Judge* "to do a great right, do a little wrong"—the supposed legal casuist does not deny the *right*, but yet declares "it cannot be"—the *wrong* has law on its side, and were the law infringed "it would be drawn into a precedent." We presume there is no fear of that in Mehemet's case; his subsequent actions are of a nature to leave the memory of the Mameluke massacre a lamentable monument of buried barbarism, rather than as a model for imitation to future aspirants for fame. Moral and political earthquakes seem to be the results of certain combinations of morbid matter in any mundane system of government; and would seem to be permitted by an all-wise Providence, in analogy with the elemental conflicts ever attendant on the dispersion of "a congregation of foul and pestilent vapours," clouding the bright expanse of heaven, when the mad tempest is, for the wisest purposes, awhile permitted to deface the beauteous order of creation. The fate of the Mamelukes created no commiseration. Their heartless trade forbade them to pity others. They could not sympathize in miseries inflicted by themselves. Who was there, then, to mourn their dissolution? Not a tear mixed itself with the expiatory blood that moistened the liberated soil.

Mehemet was left to rule in peace, and the people felt that the sway of military rapine had passed away with their immolated oppressors. If we may credit history, the Mamelukes of the early ages were endowed with many splendid qualities; but those who latterly bore the name, inherited with it only the virtue of intrepidity; brutal, when exercised only for harm, and held in common with the gaunt ravening wolf! They displayed no military talent, worthy of notice, after the French evacuated Egypt. From that time, their bravery appeared to degenerate into the mere animal insensibility to danger, common to the

reckless bandit of all countries. The Pasha having thus cleared the way for his own internal operations, the army under Tussan set forth on their route. The Wahabites opposed to a war of extermination, the fearlessness of men who conceived themselves doomed to martyrdom; and so successfully, that Mehemet was obliged to dispatch his second son, Ibrahim Pasha, with strong reinforcements, to the assistance of his brother. The desperate struggle was protracted for six years, passed amidst hard-fought battles, alternate advantages, and severe sieges. Every step was disputed; but, in conclusion, Dereyeh, the capital, and last refuge of the Wahabites, (and, previously to the war, the threatening rival of Cairo and Constantinople) was taken and destroyed; when the last remnant of the tenacious, unyielding sect, was drowned in torrents of blood.

By their victories in the Arabian peninsula, the viceroy's sons virtually added to his dominions Mecca, the principal towns in Nedshed, and the ports of the Red Sea. With these materials, he began his welcome toil of recomposing the mighty empire of the Pharaohs, though the fragments recovered were only a portion of the number torn away,—and to redeem all the wanting parts appeared an Herculean undertaking. The wasteful war, too, with the Wahabites, had deprived him of the *élite* of his armies, and exhausted the resources of Egypt. In this exigency, Mehemet failed not to discover a bold expedient. He looked to the southern provinces, those marts of slavery, where mothers yet are taught to curse their fruitfulness,—and determined that there his conquests should be carried on, and from those acquisitions, his recruits obtained.

The execution of this purpose he entrusted to his son Ismael, who, with the remainder of the army, proceeded up the Nile, and gathered laurels at a much easier rate than his brothers in Arabia. In a very short time, compared with the magnitude of the enterprize, the whole of ancient Ethiopia was united to Egypt. Ethiopia, who originally lent the first elements of civilization to her, whose now paramount sons will, ere long, we trust, be enabled to pay off a part of the outstanding debt of six thousand years! In vain did the wild Africans rush forth to repel the intruders from their deserts. In vain did the savage Shaykieh, the cannibal Sheluk, oppose to their invaders' fire-arms, their poisoned arrows, their iron weapons, and their bucklers covered with the skin of the hunted rhinoceros. The practised Egyptians drove them back to the sources of the river which they deify—Kenus, with its colossean memorials of the many-named Sesostris, to whom Ethiopia gave its first tributes of ebony, gold, and ivory; Shadney, Domer, Halfay, Sennaar, surrounded

by the White and Blue Rivers, Lower and Upper Nubia, that had not witnessed the hostile footstep of a human being, of the Caucasian race, since the expedition of Cambyzes; Cordofan, Darfur, and Oasenarchepele, which, though situated in the heart of the desert, abounds in gold, copper, iron, and even in population. All these, almost virgin countries, were subdued and made tributary to the vice-king of Egypt. There is, at present, not a single province washed by the waters of prolific Nile, that does not acknowledge his authority. These vast lands may now be properly styled the territories of the Nile and of Mehemet Ali!

Until the crusade against the Wahabites, we find in the actions of the viceroy only a negative policy. At first, like a provident gardener, he fitted his labours to the passing season, and employed himself in weeding, pruning, and eradicating. From the removal of the Mamelukes, he began to sow, to plant, and to cultivate. The third epoch brought him the spoils of Arabia, and concluded with the attainments of the Ethiopian inroad.

The cup of conquest quaffed to his full content, the now absolute monarch assumed the duties of the peaceful reformer, the beneficent creator. As if to dispose him wholly for the office, and by a providential dispensation, incline the hardened warrior's heart to sympathize with his new vocation, his late triumphs were accompanied by a most bitter personal lesson of the horrible calamities inseparable from war, as practised in the East. Ismael, his victorious son, the treasured hope of his house, was cut off by a most horrible death. He was burnt alive in his own tent, at the instigation of an African king whom he had dethroned; and whose agents, with the stealth of their native serpents, penetrated to the spot, despite the neighbouring guards, and fatally effected their purpose. Mehemet had now regained the separated limbs of Egypt's gigantic frame, as it stood in the time of Moses. But the reconstructed Colossus was yet devoid of animation. It still required the living breath of civilization, which, he well knew, Europe alone could furnish. He chose, for the instruments of the desired vivification, natives of France,—a country, whose skill in arts, in arms, and in learning, he had witnessed, and knew how to appreciate; though seen under no friendly auspices. The French government had entrusted its commercial interests to an able functionary, the consul Drovetti: and Mehemet, anxious to profit by his extensive information on subjects vitally connected with the plans he cherished, became so familiar with the consul, and the consul's influence with the vice-king increased so conspicuously, that Drovetti's own countrymen termed him *Ali's minister*; and reproached him with having the interests of the Pasha more at heart than even those of the "great nation."

European improvements were fast spreading through the East, and Colonel Sèves arrived at Cairo, on his way to attend Feth Ali Shah, who had engaged him to discipline the Persian forces. Mehemet Ali prevailed on the Colonel to undertake a similar occupation in his dominions; and no sooner were the contracting parties agreed, than numerous barracks were erected at Syene, and 20,000 Arabs, with an equal number of young Negroes from the newly-conquered provinces, were delivered over to the military tuition of a disciple of Napoleon.

From that period, the man who could announce himself to the viceroy as a Frenchman, possessed an all-sufficing passport to public employment, without any particular reference to his peculiar qualifications for the post assigned. This indiscriminate patronage necessarily led, in some cases, to disappointment on both sides. An opportunity speedily presented itself for putting in practice the newly acquired theoretical skill of the native soldiery, who were the first on record that imitated European manœuvres upon African soil. The Greek insurrection seemed rushing irresistibly forward on the road to its ultimate triumph. Kurshid Pasha, the same unlucky chief whom Mehemet had used as his stepping-stone to sovereignty in Egypt, was defeated at the head of 50,000 Turks, by a mere handful of *Rajahs*, and chose, by committing suicide, to avoid the disgrace and punishment he foresaw his ill-starred destiny would award him, should he return to Constantinople. Impartial fortune, however, equally denied her smiles to his successors. One after another, four armies were routed in the passes of Thessaly and the Peloponnesus: the Archipelago was strewed with the wrecks of three fleets, and the road to Stamboul thrown open to the *Giaours*. At that eventful moment, the Sultan claimed assistance from the subduer of the Wahabites, the emulator of Sesostris; for, disinclined, as we may well suppose, Mahmud must have been, to provide Mehemet with fresh food for his ambitious appetite, stern necessity compelled him to oppose to the insurgents who threatened his capital and throne, a vassal who, as yet, had ostensibly obeyed his orders, and still acknowledged his supremacy. The present evil was urgent; the future might be guarded against. The viceroy was at submission, and 30,000 men, under Ibrahim Pasha, sailed from Alexandria to the western coasts of Greece. The arrival of Mehemet Ali's military masses in the Morea and Crete, presented a remarkable coincidence, and most curious political antithesis. The ancient world called forth, as it were, her two most renowned types, Egypt and Greece, as combatants, into the lists prepared by modern despotism. Yet the gladiators themselves, though momentarily opposed, were, in reality, fight-

ing for the same end. Still more singular, France, who warmly sympathized with the progressive emancipation of both parties, had equally qualified each for the present paradoxical contest. Fabrier, an enthusiastic Carbonaro and liberal, was the warlike instructor of the Hellenes; and Séves, a thorough Bonapartist, had sedulously trained the Arabs. Strange, too, as at first sight it may appear, both the Greeks and the Egyptians were appropriately placed; for, whilst the Greeks were struggling to establish their republican independence, the Arabs were indebted for the dawn of their civilization to Mehemet Ali's *despotic* principles—principles which Napoleon as fully possessed, and which nothing but genius like his could have rendered enduring to a free people. At the time in question, Mehemet was generally censured by Europe for affording his support avowedly to crush a noble nation, instead of uniting with them, and thereby at once securing the independence of both. But the annals of all ages—the revolutions of South America not even excepted—have clearly shown, that semi-savages confound the terms of republicanism and anarchy; and that the reformer of Mussulmen cannot favour liberalism, in the European sense of the word, without hazard to himself, and nullifying his own power to do good.

The introduction of civilization into Egypt was not at the desire of the superstitious and ignorant natives, but, on the contrary, founded on, and the result only of, implicit obedience to the unquestionable will of their pasha. It was his despotic influence, solely, that empowered him to reclaim the wild Arabs, and reconcile them to the restraints of European discipline. Had he now aided the Greek revolution, he might as well have given the watch-word to his own subjects to follow the example thus set them, and disown in his person the self-same authority that he taught them to overthrow in others. Neither by birth, by country, nor by religion, was Mehemet a philhellenist, and it requires a species of political obliquity to demand from him an appearance in that character! But he proved himself the friend of humanity, and made the atrocities of barbaric warfare give place to the laws of European hostility. He accustomed his enemies, as well as his own soldiers, to that mercy and indulgence towards the captured and wounded, which he himself exercised ever after the death of his son.*

The battle of Navarin, and the arrival of a French expedition,

* Much has been said of the cruelties committed by Ibrahim Pasha in the Morea, and indeed the interest excited for the unhappy Greeks, made the sentiment creditable to all the liberal parties. But the fact is, that Ibrahim was guiltless of any bloodshed out of the field of battle. All the prisoners of war were sent by him to Egypt, and were afterwards delivered up to the European consuls.

at length put an end to the doubtful contest, and Ibrahim Pasha evacuated the Morea; but the provinces of Greece had been so dilapidated and dismembered, that the island of Candia remained in his father's hands. We should say unfortunately, for no benefit to mankind can possibly arise from an Asiatic, or African ruler, presiding over a European state. His absolute ideas of government can only tend to retard, instead of advancing, the march of civilization, where it requires no such impetus. Another incident, insignificant in its origin, added to the viceroy's already immense dominions, another country, at once important and difficult to preserve. In consequence of a few deserters having taken refuge in St. Jean d'Acre, Mehemet demanded them from the pasha of the place, who, in accordance to the instructions he had received from the sultan, refused to comply. Ibrahim, the right hand of his father, immediately laid siege to the fortress—the same where Napoleon once held his quarters,—carried it, after a series of bloody actions, and became, in consequence, lord over the whole of Syria.

Mahmud now found himself under the necessity of recovering by force what he had lost by imprudence; and it followed that vassal and liege, the two reformers and innovators of Islamism, the destroyer of the Mamelukes and the annihilator of the Janissaries, unsheathed their scimeters, and took the field against each other. The advantage was evidently on the side of Mehemet. Mahmud only imitated his example: like him the sultan felt the necessity of reform, and like him supported it by a newly disciplined army; but was yet far behind his prototype. It must be confessed to his honour, that what he did, he effected under great reverses of fortune, whilst the viceroy had every facility afforded him by the invariable success of his arms, and came to the combat with a reputation, in itself "a tower of strength!" The eyes of Europe were turned to Stamboul and Cairo, now prepared to rush upon each other like two enraged and jealous lions. Two different races of mankind were now to try their mutual strength in single opposition. Mehemet had re-inspired the Arabs with a feeling of their former importance, and they now burned to distinguish themselves under the word of command which had rung in their ears ever since the French invasion under Bonaparte: "March! Forward!—They now advanced to demand retribution from the Turks, for the infamous oppressions heaped on them for three centuries and upwards; whilst the Turks, though also disciplined on the modern system, had lost, by their long continued disasters, that moral confidence in their own strength, and the skill of their leaders, so indispensable to the success of arms; and the result was a complete victory gained over them

by the forces of Mehemet, in the plains of Iconium, the cradle of their former greatness and glory.

The sultan, hard pressed by his irresistible viceroy, was forced to defend his capital by the interference of the Russians, who possibly might have copied the conduct of the first Saxons in Britain, had not England and France barred any specious pretext for their longer stay at Constantinople, by compelling Mehemet to withdraw from farther aggression, and rest satisfied with the wide conquests already in his possession.

In Egypt the progress of civilization is positive and uninterrupted; since the people are mere machines in the hands of their ruler, who directs at his own pleasure the enlinked mass, which follows in blind acquiescence the impulse received from his will. Mehemet, assuredly, must be revered by those whom he has rescued from foreign bondage, and formed into an independent nation. His commands they consider as conveying a divine inspiration deigned by the Holy Prophet for their best guidance, for they have seen every enterprise undertaken by Mehemet crowned by fairest fortune.

In Turkey, where the first rays of enlightenment have been introduced by a prince, whose own sun the people have witnessed constantly eclipsed by defeat, or darkened by evil omens, the Prophet cannot be supposed to extend his protection so manifestly to the proceedings of the sultan,—and civilization may possibly for a time remain of a negative character, or increase but slowly. The line of policy, however, pursued by Mehemet Ali, with such admirable effect among nations who adhere to the creed of passive fatalism, is by far too inflexible to be equally successful with any people whose customs and religious doctrines have rendered them more active both in body and mind. Thus the Maronites and Druses were harshly treated by him, in order to force them to resign their orthodoxy; and no wonder that they sold him the possession of their mountains as dearly as possible. As to Syria, there is but one alternative left him, either to alter the mode of government there, or to resign the country entirely; at all events, enough has already been shown to him in the obstinate resistance of the natives, to prove that when supremacy is too rigid to make allowances for different customs and characteristics, it should be confined to homogeneous nations. The power and influence of Mehemet in the East, vanishes with the Arabic language, and in countries where other tongues prevail, he can maintain his authority only by force of arms. Nothing now is wanting to his fame, but to complete the task which he has imposed upon himself, in the triple capacity of a *Revolutionist*, a *Conqueror*, and a *Reformer*.

As a *Revolutionist* he has freed Egypt from the authority of the Porte, destroyed the insatiable Mameluke locusts, overthrown the encroaching Wahabites, and deprived the priesthood of its secular power.

As a *Conqueror* he spread his victories through Arabia, Nubia, the Morea, Crete, and Syria.

As a *Reformer* he regenerated the nationality of the Arabs, organized a regular army (Nizam), and introduced into Egypt the arts, the sciences, and the industry of Europe.

In the two first of his three-fold offices, he has fairly wound up his labours. In the last he is still making every possible addition to his noblest work. Prosperity to his efforts—may he live to see them consummated.

ART. VIII.—*Irish Tranquillity under Mr. O'Connell, my Lord Mulgrave, and the Romish Priesthood.* By Anthony Meyler, M.D., M.R.I.A. Dublin.

DOCTOR Meyler is just the sort of tool that the gentle craft of moderate Conservatism delights to work with. He hath the devil of self-conceit beyond most doctors and all other men, and being endowed with a copious and ready flow of words, which he is quite willing to print and publish at his own cost, a sly and malignant coterie, who do not like to burn their own fingers unnecessarily, find him a most convenient instrument for their purposes. They have used him as such on more occasions than one. A little flattery is all the return he demands for the wear and tear of his brains, and the waste of his midnight oil. He despises vulgar criticism—*Satis est equitem plaudere*. Let him only be puffed by the *Standard*, and “kudos'd” by the *Evening Mail*, and he is blessed to his heart's content. No man was ever more easily tickled with a straw.

It was thought at one time, that nothing short of the floor of the House of Commons would have served this cavalier as an arena for displaying his prowess. And had he thrown himself into that assembly, with the facility that he possesses of amplification, and of saying the same thing ten times over without varying the expression, the *lullaby*, at least of the government had been sung ere this. More than Lord Glenelg would have taken their rest under the power of that spell. But Apollo, in an auspicious moment, pinched his ear, reminding him, probably, in the inspired numbers of an elder and somewhat wittier brother, that

"Physicians, if they're wise, should never think
Of any arms, but such as pen and ink."

To those weapons, therefore, did our Machaon resort, determined to demolish the objects of his aversion according to the oracle. But by an additional happiness in the luck of Whiggery, he has been overruled to plant his battery in the printing-room, where such black missiles lack force and direction; instead of pouring them through the deadly chamber of the apothecary's shop, from which every shot might tell.

By his own account, and the concurrent testimony of common fame, we learn that Dr. Meyler was the son of

"A very valiant rebel of the name,"

who, like the sire of another shining light of this our day, Mr. Emerson Tennent, carried on a retail dealing in the tobacco and snuff line. Mr. Meyler, senior, however, was not satisfied with that small traffic, but must needs try a venture also at practical politics, a dangerous trade about forty years ago. He became implicated in the rebellion of *ninety-eight*,—took an active part in the fearful doings at Wexford,—and was, in consequence, obliged to go into exile to America.* Our author at that period was "yet a boy,"—a precocious youth, however, who "had the sagacity to understand what was going on," yea, to approve of it all in his heart's core. The hatred with which he pursues the very name of O'Connell, seems to have originated at that early period, when the most durable impressions are left upon the waxen tablets of the heart. It was the fate of the Liberator, then as now, to differ with Mr. Anthony Meyler as to the best and most becoming mode of serving his country; O'Connell having always maintained, with a consistency which we greatly admire, whatever Dr. Meyler and his friends may think of it, that "Freedom's battle" is most effectually fought against its domestic foes without shedding of blood. That doctrine, however, was too tame and insipid for our ardent young politician, whose frank confession of early treason we must record in his own words:—"My heart," he says, "went with it," that is, with the rebel cause; while, he adds, with the bitterness peculiar to civil dudgeon,—"Mr. O'Connell's Irish heart then thumped by the side of his brother Orangemen in the ranks of the yeomen, wearing the same uniform, shouldering the same musket, responding to the same bugle, and professing the same politics,—being then most ostentatious in proclaiming his loyalty." In another

* It is but justice to the memory of an honest man, to avoid misconception, by adding our testimony to that of persons of every rank and denomination in Wexford, in favour of the unblemished reputation of Dr. Meyler's father.

place he designates the honourable Member for Dublin by the contemptuous title of a "Triton of the Minnows," who "seditionizes under a legal quibble, and is a pettifogger in rebellion."

We hope the English public will not fail to observe the kind of reproaches with which the Orangemen now employ their scribes to taunt Mr. O'Connell.

Mr. Anthony Meyler did not remain long in America, being "completely cured," as he informs us, "of revolutionary propensities;" but what brought him home again to Wexford, he does not mention. Probably he had a *stake in the country*, which required looking after; not such a one, of course, as Keller once complimented a learned friend of ours upon possessing, namely, "a stake with a pike at one end of it;" for the air of revolutionary freedom had cured him of that "propensity;" but such a stake as enables him now to strut and fret his hour upon the *trottoir* of Merrion Square, to write and publish unsaleable pamphlets, to frequent the *conversaziones* of the Royal Dublin Society, and to

" Shine in the dignity of F.R.S."

We omitted to state, in the proper place, that when this gentleman was in heart a rebel, he was also, by profession, a Catholic, having been educated in that faith by "the accident of birth;" a phrase, by the way, of which he is fond, and for which he seems to be indebted to his recollection of the facetious *Jack Johnstone*, who, in an assumed character, gave a somewhat similar account of himself,—

"I was born one day, when my mother was out
In her reckoning; an accident brought it about."

So goes the song; and so it was apparently with the late Mrs. Meyler. She was "out in her reckoning," if she supposed, as no doubt she did, that she was bringing an accession to our seven millions into the world; whereas, in point of fact, her labour produced but the germ of what Wolsey would have been surely justified in calling "a *splenny* Lutheran." Such, at least, we are given to understand the young gentleman found himself, *intus et in cute*, as soon as the mists of his accidental education had dispelled themselves; although he still continued in ostensible captivity to the bondage which, in his soul, he loathed. Thus he played the hypocrite for a considerable time, but his motive was a patriotic one:—

"As long as the chain of temporal servitude was fastened to the Roman Catholics, and as long as they were unwisely and unjustly oppressed for conscience sake, I remained with them,—suffered my full portion of their degradation,—and voluntarily subjected myself to the

heavy pressure of those restrictive laws which impeded me in every effort I made to advance myself in life."

It is not easy to appreciate the generosity of such self-immolation; for had Dr. Meyler made a public profession of Protestantism previous to the measure of Catholic Emancipation, who can estimate to what a remote futurity the passing of that act might have been retarded by so momentous a conversion? In waiting for the event which was to remove the imputation of interested motives from his change, he stands in honourable contrast to the O'Sullivans and others, who, by their selfish eagerness to clamber out of the boat, and by the spring they made in leaving it, had done their little *possible* to sink the vessel, or drive it back into the current, together with all the company that chose to remain behind. But the Doctor, albeit nauseating from his inmost soul the tobacco fumes and other unsavoury exhalations of his fellow-voyagers, kept his seat with a constant heart till the craft was moored securely by the shore; and then he shook himself and walked away like a gentleman, secretly vowing to sail in such vile company no more.

He is now a Tory, basking in the grim smiles of Chief-Baron Joy, honoured with the valuable friendship of Sir Robert Shaw, and "responding to the same bugle" with the illustrious Captain Cottingham; distinctions which he prizes above those substantial rewards of agitation which he might (if he tells the truth) have commanded, had it been his choice or his taste to linger a few years longer among the liberal ranks. What those rewards would have been, whether he would have succeeded the lamented Dr. Cheyne as physician-general, or outflourished Crampton himself in the Court of the Viceroy, he leaves the world to conjecture; but of this he assures us, that he might, "from the position in which he stood, and through the influence of those who now command the Castle, have reaped the reward of his agitation." In choosing, therefore, with Cato, the conquered side, he voluntarily closes the door on his advancement. Exalted patriot! When the Tories come in, they must be guilty of more than their proverbial ingratitude, if they do not consider such devotion to their principles before all other claims.

This is as much as we know, and perhaps more than it imports the public to be apprized, of the personal history and qualifications of Dr. Meyler. Let us now take a cursory glance at his book.

Ireland, as may be inferred from the ironical title prefixed to this publication, groans under the ban of a three-headed monster, which Dr. Meyler,—

"The great Alcides of his company,"

takes upon himself to drag into the light of day, and expose to the people of England. For it is to "the people of England, Radicals as well as Tories," that he writes, on the same calculation, perhaps, that M'Ghee crosses the channel to preach to them, because their comparative ignorance of the political condition of Ireland, which he professes to illustrate, renders them more plastic to "ingenious devices," and their ears peculiarly open to the reception of statements upon trust. We have no fear, however, of the result of the present clumsy attempt upon the credulity of our British neighbours; for, ready as members of them may be to receive unfavourable impressions against a country which has been for ages both misgoverned and misrepresented, they are too wise and too generous to admit vague assertions, uttered in a tone of furious party spirit, and without the shadow of a proof to sustain any one of them, in the place of *evidence*. They must have at least the semblance of argument, or the appearance of facts, to ground an opinion upon; but the confirmation of facts and arguments will be in vain sought in the pages before us, which are a mere tissue of impotent railing and frothy declamation.

The first head of the tergeminous monster which bars the access of the Orange faction to their lost Elysium, is that which grows upon the shoulders of "My Lord Mulgrave;" and his Excellency is consequently the principal object of every attack from that quarter. He would be, in truth, unworthy of the place he holds in the respect and affections of all true Irishmen, if every currish scribbler that either volunteers or is hired to vilify our country, did not rush in the very first instance at him, by the same instinct that makes a gipsy's or a poacher's dog bark at an honest man. We hold it to be an impossibility honestly to carry out the principles on which the noble Earl undertook the government of Ireland, and not be hated and abused by its ancient oppressors. To administer impartial justice, and extend protection to all men alike; to love mercy and practise it; to curb and chastise the insolence of petty tyrants; to proceed with honourable consistency in the course on which he set out, by selecting for office, and distinguishing with his confidence, men capable of executing, in good faith, the details of his enlarged and comprehensive policy; and to give effect, without paltering or equivocation, to the objects of the Reform Act, and the spirit of Catholic Emancipation,—these are duties from which Lord Mulgrave has never swerved, and which no man in his situation could perform without drawing towards himself the implacable hostility of every thorough-going Irish Tory. The acrimony with which he is regarded by that ruthless faction, is the best

possible test of the genuine excellence of his government. For, if he were only such a Reformer as some of his predecessors were, the opposition to the measures of his administration would be tempered by a show of tenderness towards himself; and many a staunch old Orangeman would be found dangling about his Court, professing, in the words of Swift, to

"Do the most that friendship can,
To hate the Viceroy—love the man."

But they hate both, because they know that his heart is on the same side with the politics of his party; and they hate him the more, for the virtues which adorn his private life, and add a lustre to his public conduct. His manly and intrepid character; his generous compliance (which even many of themselves have advantageously experienced) with every reasonable request;* his unaffected courtesy of manner, such as could only proceed from an ingenuous and kindly nature; and the clemency of his rule, extending itself irrespectively and alike to all parties; are qualities to which, in ordinary circumstances, the Irish heart, whether it beat under a green coat or a blue one, warms of its own accord; but the presence of these virtues in Lord Mulgrave serves but to increase the ill-humour of his detractors, and to draw out their innate verjuice, just

"As Heaven's bless'd beams make vinegar more sour."

It appears to us that they could endure him much better, if he possessed fewer of those qualities which conciliate affection, and command respect.

Dr. Meyler does not fall behind-hand with those whom a certain crazy earl might call his "brother comrades," in doing fearful homage to the merits of Lord Mulgrave's government, by this species of "involuntary praise." All the common-places of invective are ransacked for terms of rancour; and although our author steers wide of the rashness of citing particular cases to justify his general philippics, he yet contrives to sauce them with violations of the truth almost as glaring as if each statement were accompanied with fictitious dates and names, to attract attention to its fabulous character. That old story, the invention, we

* Several gentlemen, notoriously attached to the Tory party, have been promoted, on the ground of personal fitness and capacity, to places of considerable emolument and honour, by Lord Mulgrave. What Tory Lord Lieutenant ever did the same by Whig aspirants to office? Major Warburton of the police, the Rev. Dr. Graham, head-master of Enniskellin School, the Surgeon-general Crampton, Dr. Adams, Mr. Jameson, the rector of Carlow, and many others, have experienced the most valuable proofs of his Excellency's readiness to serve the private interests of even a political adversary, when his doing so involved no disregard of the principles which he himself maintains.

think, of the Marquis of Londonderry, about O'Connell being the master of the Viceroy, is brought up with more than the usual flourish :—

“ This very man, there is every reason to believe, is the master of the Viceroy ; that it is he who directs into what channels the stream of patronage is to flow ; that he appoints to the police and the magistracy, and even to the bench ; and that he not only sways the patronage of the Castle, but its policy also.”

This is a fair sample of the indefinite and random nature of the charges brought forward in Dr. Meyler's book. The sentence we have just quoted is a short one, yet it contains six propositions that are positively false, and which the author cannot substantiate by a single proof. If, as he alleges, there is “ every reason” to believe that Lord Mulgrave is in so degraded and subservient a position, it surely would not have been very difficult to state explicitly *one or two* of those reasons. What means that sweeping phrase, “ the stream of patronage ?” Are we to suppose that it takes in the whole range of ecclesiastical, as well as of civil promotions, which have been conferred by the Lord Lieutenant ; and if it does, are we to understand that Doctor Sadleir, Sir Henry Meredyth, Mr. Lyons, Mr. Birmingham, and Mr. Tyrrell, are indebted to O'Connell's dictation for their recent advancement ? But if, on the other hand, these are to be exceptions, then what becomes of the fine comprehensive metaphor of the “ stream of patronage ?”

Well, but “ he appoints to the police.” Indeed ; since when, “ most learned Theban” ? It is a well ascertained fact, of the knowledge of which Dr. Meyler, though ignorant of many things, can scarcely plead that he is innocent, that from the date of Colonel Shaw Kennedy's arrival in Ireland, to that of his abrupt and somewhat huffish retirement, including a space of nearly two years, he, and not Mr. O'Connell, had and used the exclusive power of nominating individuals to the situation of sub-constable, and promoting them to that of constable, in the police. Those ranks comprise about nineteen-twentieths of the whole force ; and amount to a considerable *qualification* of Dr. Meyler's parrot-cry, filched from the lying columns of the *Times*.

But in addition to the above appointments, there is another office, created under the last police act, to which many an individual in that class of society which has afforded the most constant and valuable support to Mr. O'Connell, and whose interest he is always most anxious to serve, would have been desirous to be promoted ; we mean the place of *head-constable*. A hundred and ninety persons, we believe, were raised in one day to that enviable situation ; it was left perfectly at the dis-

creation of the Lord Lieutenant, both expressly by the act of Parliament, and unreservedly, as far as regarded the verbal pledges of ministers in the House of Commons, to choose and nominate persons to fill those situations; and how many of them, let the curious reader suppose, were placed at the disposal of his "*lord and master*," Mr. O'Connell? Not a single one. Colonel Shaw Kennedy was requested to recommend individuals, serving in the police, to be advanced to the new rank; he did nominate them *all*, and in every instance his recommendation was implicitly complied with.

There are, however, higher offices than those we have mentioned, of which the government retains the patronage in its own hands, for this good reason, along with many others, that a great portion of its responsibility for the preservation of the public peace—a responsibility not to be shifted or transferred to other shoulders—depends on an efficient and temperate discharge of the duties annexed to them. These are the chief-constables of the first and second class, the sub-inspectors of counties, together with the provincial inspectors, and, though not immediately connected with the police, the stipendiary magistrates. Lord Mulgrave has not delegated to Colonel Shaw Kennedy, or to any subordinate functionary, the power of nominating persons to fill these important situations. Yet, in no instance, where the office, or the person designated to hold it, were within the jurisdiction of the inspector-general, has an appointment been made, or a promotion from an inferior to a higher grade taken place, without first consulting him, and submitting the individual, if previously unknown, to his examination. Thus was Colonel Kennedy invested, in all such cases, with a peremptory negative; his objections, when he had any to make, having uniformly prevailed, to the exclusion of the party, and that, against the implied wishes of the Lord Lieutenant; while his positive recommendations, which were neither few nor unfrequent, rarely failed to receive a prompt and full compliance.

Still, however, as the Lord Lieutenant reserved to himself the right (which he is fully entitled, and, we will add, bound to do) of consulting his own judgment and pleasure in conferring those appointments, *here*,—if anywhere—are the traces of Mr. O'Connell's bugbear influence to be sought out. And what is the evidence of facts, to bear out the oft-repeated assertion that he "appoints to the police?" Why, he is so far in favour with the Government, to which he gives his powerful and disinterested support, that an application being made, *not by Mr. O'Connell, or by any person in his name*, on behalf of Mr. Nicholas Ffrench,

for the appointment of a stipendiary magistrate, Lord Mulgrave was verily guilty in this thing; and Mr. Ffrench, although married to a daughter of the great Agitator, and by that knot placed for ever out of the pale of all "*constitutional*" favour, or confidence, was sent to administer justice in a district of the county of Limerick—that region which the redoubtable Captain Vignolles considers synonymous with "*confiscation and banishment*;" and there, in a perfect understanding with the present Government, he gives unqualified satisfaction to all denominations and degrees of the people.

We have diligently inquired into the number of chief-constables and sub-inspectors who owe their appointments to this ruler of the Government, but we cannot discover one. Mr. Ffrench, however, is in himself a *multitude* sufficient to prove the terrible dictatorship which is exercised, and to convince any mind that has but a reasonable bias to the right side, that O'Connell is Lord Mulgrave's master, and "appoints to the police."

But he appoints likewise "to the magistracy." If ~~there~~ so, he has much to answer for, that he has not made better appointments and more of them. But we are yet to learn whom he has appointed, and where they are located? Are they in Carlow, where the dignitaries of the quorum are suffered, for want of a controlling or neutralizing power, to weed the panel* of every name obnoxious to them on the ground of politics or religion, and make an open mockery of the Jury Bill, even as certain of the judges have done with the Reform Act? Are they in Tipperary, where calendars are fabricated at petty sessions, and culprits sent to trial on charges of murder, against whom there is scarcely sufficient evidence to go before a grand jury to sustain a *prima facie* case of manslaughter?† Are they in Kerry, where a leg

* The petition of James Fox and others, lately presented to the House of Commons, states distinctly—nor has the fact been called in question by any member of Parliament, or even by the Tory papers—that certain magistrates, named by the petitioners, illegally and unconstitutionally struck off one hundred and eighty-eight names from the list of qualified jurors returned from the Barony of Carlow, being considerably more than one half of the names returned; and that the persons so rejected are for the most part known Reformers, whilst the hundred and twenty-two, who have been retained, are, with few exceptions, violent Tories.

† In Judge Moore's charge to the grand jury of Tipperary, last month, is the following extraordinary announcement.

"I find the number of prisoners charged with murder, and aiding in murder, (which amounts to the same) *seventy-six*, and since I came to this town, four have been added, making in all, *eighty for murder*. Gentlemen of the Grand Jury, it is not the first time I have intimated from this place that it would be wise at least, if not just, to represent these things in their true colours. Does any man believe there are eighty persons to be tried for the crime of murder since the last assizes? On reading over the calendar, I find that *not one case* has been set down as manslaughter.

of *mutton* has been known to do good service, and gratuitous labour is sometimes used with effect to blind the eyes of justice? Or in Limerick, where, to the astonishment of half the world, Mr. Darby O'Grady still burlesques the very name of authority, perpetrating such outrageous solecisms upon law and good manners, as makes all that we read of *Squire Western* and *Goodman Dogberry*, not only credible, but most probable and truth-like? If O'Connell had a voice potential in the appointment of magistrates, we must, in justice to him, declare our conviction that such *Midases* as we allude to would scarcely be "left alone in their glory," undisputed lords of the rustic tribunals and supreme arbiters of the liberties of the poor. He would endeavour, at least, to infuse a little fresh and untainted Irish blood into their worshipful body.

We hope that the day is at hand, when the besom of reformation will be carried in right earnest into that nest of privileged depravity, so that not only oldstanding nuisances shall be removed, but future mischief prevented, by the introduction of such ~~persons~~ into the commission as the people can confide in, and as every friend to Ireland and its peace will be delighted to see there. We have been long expecting a complete and cleansing revision of the magistracy. The issue of the new commission, under the great seal of her present Majesty, has been retarded much beyond the ordinary period; and we are willing for once to believe the *Times*, that the delay is occasioned by a close and searching inquiry, on the part of the Lord Chancellor and the law officers of the Crown, into the merits and qualifications of country gentlemen—as well of those who have served their generation in this capacity, as of many who are as yet untried—with a view to secure an efficient, an impartial, and, as far as may be found consistent with a strict enforcement of the laws, a popular magistracy for Ireland. Great, indeed, will be the disappointment, and universal the discontent, unless the purgation, which we all believe and trust the magisterial roll is now undergoing, shall drive corruption into holes and corners, and bring justice, pure and unsuspected, to the door of the lowliest peasant in the land. Provided this effect be accomplished, the taunts of the Tory scribes and pamphleteers, or of

or justifiable homicide, though I have no doubt that many of them will be found to be of that description. No—they are ALL indiscriminately set down as MURDER. Where a life may be lost in a quarrel, it is casting an indelible stain upon the country to class it as murder. In many instances, where coroners hold inquests, and juries return verdicts of justifiable or unjustifiable homicide, there is no distinction made in the calendar; they are classed under the head of murder!"

* See minutes of evidence taken before Mr. Shea Lalor and Major Browne, at an investigation last year, which was held at Listowel.

their masters in Parliament, are of little consequence; they are quite welcome to call it the work of O'Connell, if they please.

But to the last and most audacious of these ridiculous accusations:—O'Connell appoints "even to the *Bench*." To the Bench! Does the gentleman mean the seats in the higher law courts, or those only of an inferior mark and dignity? No matter which; in either case he affirms that which is untrue, and which he must be a very besotted politician indeed, if he does not know to be untrue. We will not, however, weary the patience of our readers by going over ground which has been so often beaten, but shall merely ask Doctor Meyler, (if our humble voice can reach so lofty a personage) by what confirmation, beside that of his own sheer impudence, he can pretend to make such an allegation pass? Does he seriously mean to say that Lord Mulgrave wanted any extraneous solicitations to induce him to confer judicial appointments upon three gentlemen, who successively held the office of Attorney-General under him; or would any sober man believe him, if he said that O'Connell had the smallest share in appointing the Hon. Mr. Plunket, Mr. Stock, Mr. Wills, or Mr. Hudson, to the posts now occupied by them? We have not picked these names out of a number, but take them in the order of their respective appointments, being the names of the individuals who have last appeared before the public, distinguished by the favour and preference of the Irish Government.

The late triumphant contest in Dublin was a sore subject, even when the Doctor brandished his pen some weeks before the election committee was struck. It is more so now, since the "temporary success" at which he sneers has been placed beyond the power of chance or fraud to defeat it. But though we could make allowance for a reasonable share of ill-humour in so provoking a case, it is going a little too far even with righteous indignation, to give vent to it in such hardy terms as these:—

"It is notorious that in the late election for Dublin, neither Mr. O'Connell nor his nominee would have had the least chance of even the temporary success which they have obtained, were it not for the influence of the Castle. It was painful to see gentlemen compelled either to leave their families without support, and relinquish situations which they had so long and so honourably filled, or vote in favour of those to whose political and religious sentiments they were, on principle, so strongly opposed. So low did the Government descend, and so active were they in their exertions to obtain the return of Mr. O'Connell to Parliament, that even the very tradesmen were tampered with, and some who had the honesty to be true to their principles, and to vote according to the dictates of their consciences, were ordered to send in their accounts."

To these statements the answer is very plain and very short—*they are false*. The story of the tradesmen is a palpable re-creation of Baron Tuyl's Torylike mission to Thompson and Long in 1881; and with respect to the other circumstance, we know not what "gentlemen" in particular are meant; but this we do know, that there are clerks at this moment holding confidential and lucrative situations in the Castle of Dublin, and removable at the pleasure of the Lord Lieutenant, who flatly refused their votes to Mr. O'Connell at the last election. Neither of these allegations, however, are of Dr. Meyler's *invention*. They only "lay in his way, and he found them." Mr. West having thrust them, as make-weights, into the body of his petition, to aggravate the horrors of his repulse, and move the sympathetic indignation of Andrew Spottiswoode and Company. But when his complaints came to be investigated before a committee, he wisely withdrew those frivolous and vexatious pleas, and concentrated the *virus* and the justice of his cause in—the *pipe-water*, that continuous succession of mud refined, which, somewhat like the flow of his own eloquence,

"Spouts—and spouts—and spouts away,
In one long, washy, everlasting flood."

O'Connell has often said of himself that he is "the best-abused man in Ireland;" but that phrase is not applicable to the abuse he receives from Doctor Meyler. It is not *good* abuse, such as a man might wince under and quail to remember, in a week, a month, or a year to come. 'Tis but the buzz of the hornet without its sting, the effort of "the bluest of bluebottles," to vex and disturb by its drone, while in effect it only hums the subject of persecution into soft oblivion of real cares and tormentors. Any old woman can fling a shower of liquid odours out of her casement upon the head of a giant; but to meet him "beard to beard" is a work of more than anile or—which is the same thing—Meylerian performance. Our author half confesses as much when he says—"It is difficult to write of Mr. O'Connell: one knows not how to handle such a subject." This is no other than the complaint of *Falstaff* revived—"A man knows not where to have her;" but in the present case it is "mine hostess" who urges it, and not the fat knight. We suspect, however, that Doctor Meyler is not the original discoverer of so wholesome a truth. More expert *handlers* have found it out before now, and taught puny whippersnappers caution by their fate.

The Doctor is a mere scold—*vox et præterea nihil*; he stands at a distance and plies his offensive volley, like *Gil Blas* in his

noviciate, with his eyes shut and his head turned aside. The consequence is that he shoots wide of the mark. Let the reader just imagine such pellets as these being discharged at O'Connell:—"NO MAN can regard him as the advocate of religious liberty;" and, "he NEVER delivered an oration that a man of ability would be proud to have spoken, nor uttered a SENTENCE that a man of taste would wish to remember."

Dirt like this never sticks. Very frequently it recoils "to plague th' inventor;" whereof we have a ludicrous instance in an attempt—most classical, most melancholy—to show that O'Connell has failed in *Parliament*.

"Even when in the House of Commons, though labouring to adopt a more measured and elevated form of speech, nature will still assert her right: '*Si naturam furco expellas, lamen usque recurret.*'"

How *tritically sublime*! Would a sensible Tory disparage his own party by thus vilipending an adversary who has scattered terror through their ranks a hundred times? Besides, when we are told that *Castlereagh* was what *O'Connell* is NOT, that is "most sincere" in his advocacy of the principles of religious liberty, who would hesitate between the censure and the eulogy of such a critic? Who would not deprecate his good-will with more fervour than he would shrink from his animosity, and run into any cranny to escape the bespatterings of that "very foul mop," his praise?

The old leaven which first soured our author's boyish stomach against O'Connell, is that at which his gorge still rises; he would not be a rebel in *ninety-eight*, and "it is quite clear that he never did, nor does he now mean rebellion." We own that we can see no great harm in all that; but there are numbers of excellent Tories, as well as this mouthing Doctor, whose great quarrel against O'Connell lies in this unaccommodating obstinacy of his nature, that by all their wiles and guiles he cannot be induced to "come out and be hanged." They think it would be consistent in him to do so; but he hates consistency and won't oblige them. This is very tantalizing, no doubt, and therefore he well deserves to be esteemed, in the words of our eloquent and pious censor, "A political monster, sent here by the mysterious dispensations of Providence to punish us for our transgressions." Ah—

"*Monstrum nulla virtute redemptum!*"

Not even by the virtue of rebellion.

The reason assigned for this provoking want of pluck to kick

up "*a bit of a ruction*" is as old as the excuse of the soldier in *Horace*—"He now enjoys all he wants and all he contemplates"—

"King, Glamis, Cawdor; all he *hast* it."

It may argue a lack of spirit in us, that viewing the honourable member in that happy state of complete fruition, enjoying all that he wants and all that he contemplates, we do pronounce him to be quite wise to let well alone; nay, we should look upon him as a confounded fool indeed, if, even to allay the biting taunt of the Tories, he should rebel in such circumstances. Why should he rebel? Doctor Meyler testifies—and we believe it, though he says it—that "he (O'Connell) does not really wish to establish the dominion of the priests in Ireland."

We have the same authority for saying that he has no serious intention of effecting a separation, alias, a Repeal of the Union; though, inconsistently enough with both these statements, we are told that "he would doubtless be delighted to effect it, for *the priests* and he would then in truth be the masters of the country;" and what is still more conclusive, and not the less remarkable, because it is as high a compliment as could be paid to the Earl of Mulgrave's administration of the laws, we also learn, that "should the present Viceroy be continued, Mr. O'Connell's connection with the Castle will render it necessary for him not only to relinquish his hitherto lucrative trade of agitation, but even, as far as he can, to put down the demon which he has raised." All these are strong presumptions in favour of Mr. O'Connell's continued allegiance, particularly the last, for the present Viceroy will be continued, to the discomfiture of those who long to see the country in a flame. But there remains yet another ground, greater than all the rest, to justify the fears of the Tories that he never will be a rebel. Our long-headed doctor, who ought to agnize the early symptoms in such cases, for he has experienced them in his own body—inclines to the hypothesis, that after all—though the honourable member already enjoys all he wants and all he contemplates—yet wanting still more, and contemplating what he does not enjoy, he will on some fine day, to be hereafter specified, we presume, in *Murphy's Almanack*, follow a most respectable example, and TURN PROTESTANT. That will be a great day for Ireland whenever it shall come to pass.

"It is not improbable," says this disciple of the Delphic God, "but that his eyes may be again opened to the errors of the Church of Rome, that the flame even of Protestantism might animate his Irish heart, dissipate the mist that obscured his way to the *wolsack*, and enable him to quarter all the young Hannibals on the country, accord-

ing to the most approved precedent of the Tory, Whig, and Radical lord that now occupies it."

It is quite natural, we admit, for Doctor Meyler to lay that down as the most appropriate terminus of the road which conducts to worldly honours and distinction.

For which one, or for how many of all the crimes above enumerated or anticipated, Mr. O'Connell deserves to be proscribed and driven beyond the limits of civility, we are still in the dark; but it is decreed. Yes—this non-rebel, *par contumace*, this non-repealer, anti-priest-supporter, contented Papist, and Protestant in embryo, is outlawed; there is no right hand of fellowship to be extended to him; even legal protection must be denied him; every imaginable species of warfare is to be permitted against him; and he is to be hunted down, like the untamed and untameable vagrants of the forest and felons of the fold. Hear the sentence—

"One is led to regard him as *one of those fera natura* ('*fera*' our *Longinus* is pleased to write it) *against whom ANY mode of WARFARE IS JUSTIFIABLE*; and we become unavoidably impressed with the conviction that *it is the IMPERATIVE DUTY of every HONEST MAN in society to raise up, AT LEAST, his voice against so dangerous and so abandoned an incendiary.*"—p. 61.

The worthy *Sangrado* seems to have perfected himself in Christian morality among the "honest men" who direct the secret council of the trades in Manchester.

Last, but not least in hate, are the *priests*, who cut a most disreputable figure in these classic pages, as the instigators of all the excitement, real or supposed, which our author describes, and that for the purpose of shaking off the connexion with Great Britain.

"There can be no doubt that there is a strong party in this country anxious to effect its separation from England; the lower classes are all favourable to it—the *priests*, TO A MAN, are bent on it.—I have no doubt, but that if favourable circumstances offered, they would themselves, as they did before, raise the peasantry and head them; and the great cause of Mr. O'Connell's popularity with the revolutionists and priests is, that there is in their minds a decided conviction that he means rebellion and separation, and intends at a proper time to be their leader and to re-establish the Roman Church."—p. 96.

O'Connell stands already absolved, in the allowance of this candid judge, of a real participation in such designs. The priests do not appear to know him so well as Doctor Meyler does; for with his consent (as the Doctor very truly affirms) we shall have no rebellion, while Ireland is left under a government

like that of Lord Mulgrave. But in good truth it is rather a serious accusation which is brought against the clergy of the people; and it would have been as well, perhaps, if it had not been so roundly preferred without something in the shape of proof or argument to sustain it. For although our author, in such matters, has "no doubt," how can he tell but others may? It is exacting too much even from the credulity of the people of England, who sometimes make it a rule to "see before they doubt," to require their implicit assent to a judgment, deeply involving the character of about three thousand Christian teachers—not even excepting one man of the number—on the credit of so threadbare a quality as Doctor Meyler's *assurance*.

But there are proofs, aye, pregnant proofs, of an overweening and usurping spirit among the priesthood:

"Instead of remaining in their chapels and confining themselves to their religious duties, these clerical gentlemen now assume the first places at dinners and public assemblies, strut about as public functionaries, embellish the levee with their presence, and carry their courtly accomplishments to the very table of the Viceroy."—p. 21.

Here are overt acts, the only specific ones which are stated, and may we not therefore conclude—the only acts that can be adduced in support of the *rebellious* impeachment?

The attendance at levee constitutes the *gravamen* of this charge. If the priests did not go there, they might leave their chapels and neglect their religious duties, to the end of the chapter, for aught that so enlightened a Christian as Doctor Meyler would care. But the Orange party know too well what brought *Churchmen* to the Castle of old, and what sort of counsel they poured into the ears of authority, to sit easy under the thought of any other clergy frequenting that venerable seat even in its outward courts. "Thus conscience doth make cowards of us all." It is quite true, indeed, that Archbishop Murray and some half-dozen of the Catholic prelates besides—would we could say all of them "to a man"—do sometimes appear—as *bishops*—at the Lord Lieutenant's public levees. It is not alone that they are habited, on those occasions, in their "customary suits of solemn black," but—*novum dictuque nefas*!—they wear gold crosses, suspended by chains of the same costly and high-reaching material, from their necks. We saw it with our eyes: there is no getting over the fact.

As an extenuation, however, of what cannot be denied, it might be pleaded, on the part of the *intruders*, that if they should make it a point wholly to absent themselves on such occasions, and remain cloistered "in their chapels," that might

be interpreted as a sign of dogged hostility to the British Crown, refusing to relent even so far as to greet its representative, though he appeared in the most attractive and amiable guise which could solicit their acknowledgments. Thus they were placed between two fires; and having chosen the part which is at once respectful to the sovereign, and suitable to their own rank and dignity, they must submit to be arraigned of high presumption and arrogance, in affecting a display of pomp and state, which the retiring clergy of the Establishment are said to avoid.*

These instigators to rebellion, these insolent diners out, these levee-hunters, must be extinguished. They are unmanageable by any milder treatment.

"With the priesthood of that Church you can form no treaty; you cannot enter into any compromise with them; there can be no approximation on the part of the priest either towards the Church or its ministers."†—p. 121.

It might be even conducive to "Irish tranquillity" to substitute collars of a more contractile nature, in the place of those gold chains which have been spoken of; for

"A few *salutary legal* EXAMPLES made of THEIR REVERENCES, would have a most wonderful influence in effecting *tranquillity*."—p. 33.

* Our Doctor, although in general as far remote from "*un animal risible*," as any doctor, apothecary, or man-midwife, that "e'er our conversation coped withal," waxes merry, in a note, upon this point:—

"Whenever any unfortunate stray minister of the Established Church appears at the levee, it is usual with those about the Castle to say, 'we have caught a parson.'"

This is "*mighty nate*," as Lady Morgan's guager would say; but if Dr. Meyler will vouchsafe just to drop in to his friend Bartholomew, (who is one of *those about the Castle*) the next time he hears of a good endowment or a snug benefice being at the disposal of the Lord Lieutenant, he will find that the apparition of a parson within the Castle walls is not by any means so wonderful a phenomenon as he imagines. Scarce as they may choose to make themselves at other times, they can readily find out the way on those interesting occasions. We have seen as good as a score of them "*ploughing the half-acre*," when there happened to be a carcass on the wind.

† In striking harmony with this sentiment, are the following lines of a song, entitled "*Nulla pax cum Roma*," published in the *Evening Packet* of the 17th of March, from the divine pen of the Reverend John Graham, Rector of Magilligan, in the diocese of Derry.

"If these men truth and reason will withstand,
Shutting their ears and heads against instruction,
Make no peace with them—give them not your hand—
Lest you be partners of their just destruction!"

We refer, however, with much pleasure, to a document of a widely different character, namely, a parting address to Bishop Haly (of Kildare and Leighlin) from his late parishioners and friends of all denominations, at Killocock; which address, breathing a spirit of Christian liberality and affection, was written and presented by the Protestant rector of the parish.

At all events, *the order must be abolished* :—

“ There can be no security for the country, nor no hope for its civilization or prosperity, till this order is *put down*—‘ *Delenda est Carthago.*’ * * * There can be no civil or religious freedom where that Church has power ; *there can be no security* for their continuance where that Church is PERMITTED TO EXIST. * * * Every engine and power of THE STATE should be employed to CRUSH that ‘ *imperium in imperio.*’ ”—p. 121.

In the warfare which he wages against *his mother-Church*, it is allowable, or, at least, we conclude that he deems it so, to use any weapons that may serve his purpose, that purpose being always to mislead the people of England. On that principle, and with that object in view, he may possibly justify to his conscience the employment of such a poisonous piece of slander as the following :—

“ A priest does not allow the validity of a marriage celebrated by a Protestant clergyman ; he considers the offspring of ALL *such marriages* as illegitimate ; HE WOULD NOT ORDAIN the offspring of *such a marriage* ; he would not allow them the civil rights of legitimacy.”—p. 121.

We take this out of a pile of surrounding rubbish, not that it is the vilest calumny, nor anything like it, that he utters against the Catholic clergy, but because it enables us to pin him to a specific allegation more easy to be grappled with and confused than the numerous vague and wild-goose aspersions which are scattered everywhere through this “ little tract ” of his. He states that a priest would not ordain the offspring of a marriage celebrated by a Protestant clergyman. Has he never heard, then, of the Honourable and Reverend Mr. Spencer, who has been within the last five years ordained to be a Catholic priest ; nor of Mr. Mills, a student of Trinity College, Dublin, the offspring, we believe, of a marriage solemnized by a Presbyterian minister, and therefore farther removed from approximation to what Catholics consider to be essential to the validity of a sacrament,—who has been ordained duly and regularly in the Church to the same office and ministry ? If he is aware of these instances, (and we might cite many more) what is the world to think of his honesty ? If he is ignorant of them, and yet presumes to write and publish statements about what the Catholic clergy do, and about what they would not do, it may be well to remind him of a fact in natural history, that it is the peculiar property of the cur to bark the loudest at those of whom he knows the least.

And now having gone through, at much greater length than

we had proposed to ourselves, the three heads of abuse and misrepresentation into which the political thesis of our doughty anatomist branches, we must proceed very briefly to analyse his view of the "state of the country," and the mode of treatment which he suggests.

Ireland, then—be it known to those who take an interest in its concerns—is a complete chaos of misrule and iniquity at this moment.

"A tremendous crisis is approaching, and we are on the eve of a struggle between the peasantry, goaded on by their priests, and the Protestant Church and its members.—(*Preface*, p. 4.) . . . A great and alarming crisis is impending.—(p. 1.) . . . At no period within the recollection of the writer have revolutionary principles been so prevalent and so openly avowed; at no period was *hostility to England so sedulously inculcated*; and at no period did the country exhibit so frightful an aspect of disorganization, of lawlessness, and of crime.—(p. 14.) . . . The country never was in so deplorable a condition as it is now; ribbon societies are more general, and more regularly organized; and violence, intimidation, and murder, prevail in every part of the country.—(p. 16.) . . . All the sources of industry are dried up; violence and murder prevail in every quarter; *the gentry are driven from their seats*; all useful measures of improvement are suspended.—(p. 105.) . . . Crimes of the deepest die are publicly committed with impunity; property is destroyed; the peaceful are assailed and dreadfully beaten; the crime of *murder is of more than DAILY occurrence*."—(p. 18.)

Then there are *more than three hundred and sixty-five murders per annum*! This beats the calendar of Tipperary all the world to nothing. But to proceed:—

"The Juryman dreads the consequences of his verdict."—p. 18. . . *The landlord does not receive his rent* nor the minister his tithe.—*ib.* . . . The police do not afford adequate protection; *it has even been proposed to let them out ONLY on hire*."—p. 19.

These several lamentations have we given *in ipsissimis verbis* of the author. They compose a "relation—too nice" but happily not "too true." Every thing approaching to a tangible statement in his budget of horrors is either a gross exaggeration or a palpable fiction. The gentry driven from their seats—the landlords left without their rents—the juryman afraid of the consequences of his verdict—the letting out of the police only on hire—have no existence save on the canvass of the accomplished artist who paints them. But the most dishonest of all, and the most palpably malicious, because it is devised for no other purpose than to create a false and injurious prejudice in a quarter where there is no opportunity of ascertaining how false it is, is the

imputation of "*hostility to England.*" There never was a more wilful or gratuitous slander uttered against the character of any people. At no time since the two islands were placed under a common sceptre, has there been less foundation to construct even a plausible lie upon the subject; for never before did there exist a more unaffected or a more cordial disposition amongst the Irish people to cultivate the friendship of their fellow-subjects of Great Britain, and to desire well of them by every service of neighbourly kindness and of political co-operation, which it is in their power to render. The feeling of jealousy or aversion towards England, which once prevailed—not without cause, we will say; certainly not without excuse—exists no longer; nor are there to be found amongst the religious instructors, or the political leaders of our people, men base or unwise enough to attempt to resuscitate that sentiment. It is the interest of Ireland to be on terms of amity and reciprocal benevolence with her more powerful sister; no harshness and injustice now operates to disturb or prevent such a relation; and the people of Ireland, who are by no means blind to their own advantage, well know how much it imports them to stand well with England, nor would they hear with patience any person who should offer a contrary opinion or advice.

The Orange faction indeed, who are by themselves utterly weak and contemptible, view this increasing bond of strength in their opponents with great and well-founded alarm. All the unnatural power and importance, which they possessed in the bygone days, were derived from the supposed necessity of keeping up an *English party* in Ireland. They contrived to palm themselves upon the empire for an English party, when their real policy was to hold the country, not for England, but for their own knavish and jobbing purposes, and to make it not only an useless but a dangerous and disgraceful incumbrance to the British crown. In that they succeeded too well, and unhappily many degrading consequences of their vile misgovernment still remain to the discredit of our name and nation. There was no principle held dear and sacred by Englishmen, which they did not violate—no institution which Englishmen revere that their iniquitous and perverse domination did not render an object of horror and disgust. These are the persons whom it now concerns to inculcate, anxiously and sedulously, the belief of hostility to England; and therefore has this yelper of the pack received his cue to make that the keynote of his song.

The general howl which he sets up about disorganization, revolution, violence, and such like, we shall not be expected to analyse, any more than an accused party would be required to

answer *seriatim* all the verbal and *adverbial* adjuncts, used to set off the leading count in his indictment. Dr. Meyler himself shows that these "swelling epithets," albeit—

"Thick laid

As varnish on a harlot's cheek,"

are but the appropriate adornings of a truly meretricious eloquence, and of no farther significance whatever. By admissions which he makes, we collect that "disorganization" means with him a state of not being organized; and that "lawlessness" and more than "daily murders" are elegant pleonasms, to express a portentous calm, and (if we rightly explicate his "parts of speech") a nation asleep upon a volcano, which is not flaming yet, *but intends to break out some time or another*.

Thus after declaring that "at no period did the country exhibit so frightful an aspect of disorganization, of lawlessness, and of crime," he says:—

"There MAY HAVE BEEN *times of greater ACTUAL crime*, the prisons may have been more crowded, and the criminal calendar more loaded."—p. 14.

And again:—

"No preparations now exist among the leading agitators for organizing a rebellion, or for arming the people.—p. 50. . . . As far as we have any means of information, THERE IS NOT NOW in Ireland, as there was in 1798, ANY REGULAR ORGANIZATION amongst the agitators, for the purposes of rebellion. In my estimate of them, I would say they have neither the talent nor the energy to organize one. They have no such men amongst them as Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Tone, Emmett, Bond, O'Connor, and others; compared to whom, our agitators of the present day are but as puny whipsters! *whose policy seems to be to keep up the game of agitation, AND WAIT for the tide of events.*"—p. 50.

And yet "a great and alarming crisis is *impending*"—and "ribbon societies" (which are held to be the very *nuclei* of rebellion, and workshops of all seditious agitation) "are more general and more regularly organized" than ever was known before!

Again he says:—

"The priests and their instruments have *suspended agitation*."—p. 118. . . . The means by which her Majesty's representative is now enabled to preserve any semblance of tranquillity is by their influence."—*ib.* . . . We repose—on a volcano" [but we *do* "repose"] "and government have bribed the disloyal into a suspension of their revolutionary agitation."—*ib.*

The volcano is a favourite image. Dilating elsewhere on the same topic, he says:—

"The frightful scenes of outrage and of murder with which the

press (*The Evening Mail*, to wit) daily teems, are as the showers of ashes from the crater, which proclaim the fire that rages within."—p. 14.

In good sooth he seems, like many an honest fellow, to be a little too fond of "*the crater*." It is to be noted, however, that he does not venture any where to proclaim that an actual eruption has taken place.

Let us now leave these very consistent testimonies of the frightful aspect and impending crisis of the patient, and mark the mild physician's prescribed course of treatment. How he is disposed to proceed towards the priests, we know; and to what protection he would abandon O'Connell, we have an inkling. To Lord Mulgrave a hint is thrown out (of which we shall have a word to say by and by), that it may be advisable for him, in the neck of these troubles, not to wait to have his passport made out *secundum artem*, but bend his course, without leave-taking, back to Yorkshire, and leave this green isle of ours for Doctor Meyler to bustle in.

Having Ireland thus to himself, our Hippocrates would begin at once to

—— "cast
The water of our land, find her disease,
And purge her to a sound and pristine health."

Imprimis, then, he would begin with "strong measures." Quacks always do, and regular diplomatists sometimes:—

"Even the English Radical," he says, "will concur in the necessity of strong measures to preserve the integrity of the empire, and to save Ireland from the abhorrent dominion of the Church of Rome and its priesthood."—p. 125.

One of the earliest measures to which the English Radical would be required to yield his concurrence is *the suppression of the right of petition*.

"Unless lawless meetings, under the pretext of petition, are prevented, the agitators, aided by the priests, when they have no longer a selfish and subservient government at their command to advance their objects, will again congregate the people in large and turbulent assemblies, to overawe the peaceable, and to maintain their own bad, mischievous, and lawless dominion,"—p. 124-5.

We thank him for this plain confession that the Tories are not such drivellers as to dream of ever being able to regain their old dominion and to keep it, without virtually abrogating that constitution for which they pretend to be so great sticklers. The royal license, therefore, must be withdrawn from the "*farce of county meetings*," and all public displays of popular sentiment put down, at the risk even of a second *Peterloo*. It will follow, of course, that the *Curfew Law* must be re-enacted; for, as the Duke

of Wellington says, there can be no such thing as "*a little war*,"—no, not even against liberty; and the same paternal government which interdicts the right of petition, will also, nay must—

"*Constitutionally lock.*

Your hotse about your ears."

Another principle of government with which the English Radical is expected to coincide, is, that—

"The aristocracy should rule the mob, and not the mob the aristocracy."—*Preface*, p. ix.

The old doctrine—of some practical efficacy in England, and which Lord Mulgrave has been so honourably abused for enforcing in Ireland—that neither the aristocracy nor the mob should "rule," but that *both* should be ruled BY THE LAW, is, of course, to be exploded.

The "English Radical" is not expected to do the dirty work of the Orangemen for nothing. He shall have a sop, to reward his anticipated compliance with the strong measures of the Meyler dynasty; and, in truth, he will require it, for the suspension of Habeas Corpus, and the re-establishment of an irresponsible iron oligarchy, are draughts to which even the Oastler-Thompson school of Radicals (and surely to none of any other school is this joint warfare against Irish liberty proposed) can scarcely reconcile their consciences, without some soothing syrup or appliance. Therefore there are to be—"ameliorations;" and *proved abuses* must be rescinded. But these improvements are to be worked out gradually and in order. The do-little-and-will-do-less maxim, once propounded by a noble and learned lord (who now demands the annihilation of both time and space by those who pretend to do any thing at all), is to be carried out in all its glory: and highly flattering, to be sure, it must be to the self-esteem of that illustrious individual, to find his former notions so well expounded in the lucid and constitutional periods of Dr. Meyler:—

"There is a progressive order in man's intellectual progress—political power, therefore, should be progressive also; it should be imparted only as wisdom, knowledge, orderly habits, and wealth, progress with it. All useful ameliorations in the abuse of government must be the result of time, of experience, and of intelligence; they must be gradual also."—*Preface*, p. xi.

Here is the *festina lente* system beautifully and clearly laid down. The Aloe of Reform—which now sprouts in the Conservative Forcing-house, a vigorous seedling—will, no doubt, "blossom, and bear its blushing honours thick upon it," if the people will only have patience and wait a hundred years. But, in order that this progressive order may begin its progress and advance to the perfect satisfaction of all the progredient parties,

it is necessary that the Tories (who have been latterly rather on a retrogressive *pas*) shall forthwith progress into place, and put their notions with regard to the "pretext of petition," and the sway of the *Great Few*, into execution. Under any other direction, amelioration might not progress at the pace to be exactly approved of. It might haply outstrip the March of Intellect, and then would ensue a race, perchance a steeple-chace, neither orderly nor comfortable to behold.

But how to set matters in the proper train for a safe and equable start—that is the question. One thing is certain, that the Whigs are in, and won't go out, being to persuasion or remonstrance equally deaf. As regards Ireland, Lord Mulgrave has climbed the tree of office, and clings to its loftier branches with a most displeasing and vexatious tenacity. If words and clods could have dislodged him, Dr. Meyler and his party had not laboured in vain, for they have given him *mud* enough. What, then, remains, but the *ratio ultima*—"try what virtue there is in stones." So says our loyalist, without mincing the phrase in the least; and we cannot refuse our tribute of "honour to his valour:"—

"Unless Lord Mulgrave be at once recalled, and a new system of policy be pursued, THE PROTESTANTS have no alternative but to ARM THEMSELVES and confederate for protection."—p. 124.

Such is the sum and substance of Tory sympathy, and of Tory Justice for Ireland:—O'Connell proscribed, and a price perhaps set upon his head—the priests put down—their Church not permitted to exist—a virtuous government expelled—popular freedom extinguished even in name—the aristocracy (and such an aristocracy!) rampant—and the *Orangemen*—for these, in Dr. Meyler's acceptation, are "*the Protestants*,"*—IN ARMS!!! Then will the halcyon expand her sparkling wings over our troubled waters; Ireland will be at peace; order will rule in all her habitations. Yes—the peace of the deserted village, and such order as "reigns in Warsaw."†

"But of enough—enough." Some apology is perhaps due to our readers for detaining them at so great length in examining the frothy effusions of a frivolous and empty head. The incoherent and random defamation of the lowest Orange newspaper, deserves as well, in respect of its literary pretensions, the distinc-

* "*The Liberal Protestant* (he says) has become obsolete."

† The memorable words in which the Czar proclaimed his triumph over liberty and justice, when last—and, we fervently pray, for the last time—

"Sarmatia fell unwept without a crime."

The haughty insulting savage concluded his ruthless boast of the desolation he had caused, and described the despair and prostration of a fallen people with this phrase—
"Order reigns in Warsaw!"

tion which our pages can afford, as those dull and peevish lucubrations. Indeed, we owe even the *Warder* an *amende* for the comparison. Neither on personal grounds does it signify to any human being whether such an author bemauls his foes with all sorts of English, plain and ornamental, or

“Hurls his piebald Latin at their heads.”

One farthing would be about the highest amount of special damages that an honest jury could award to any of the parties he attacks, for the hurt inflicted by the *farrago* of his libel. But these things are often less contemptible, when viewed in connexion with other circumstances, than, looking simply at the author, one might be disposed to consider them. Dr. Meyler is the pet of the faction; he is their confidential pamphleteer; they clap him on the back for his malignant absurdities, cause them to be eulogized in their official journals and magazines,* and by every possible mode of approval and recognition, adopt and ratify his sentiments as their own. This consideration, founded on undeniable facts, communicates an importance to his railings and his revenges, which otherwise they could never acquire. As the manifesto, therefore, of the *Kildare Street Clubs*—for we believe there are *two* of them—and echoing the aspirations and designs of many who, in a change of government, would unquestionably be advanced to high political and judicial station in Ireland, we have thought this book of Dr. Meyler fully entitled to a serious notice.

ART. IX.—*The Bishop of Exeter's Speech, (Mirror of Parliament.)* 1838.

THE speech lately spoken by Dr. Philpotts in the House of Peers, for the purpose of charging the Catholic members belonging to the lower House with *perjury*, has not been suffered to make its way throughout Europe by the aid only of the diurnal press. Those who have been induced by his Lordship's arguments to adopt his conclusions, have thought it worthy of their zeal to throw his reasonings into a pamphlet-form, in order to preserve them from the more rapid oblivion which commonly awaits the perishing communications made through the public journals. This provident design of protecting his Lordship's speech against too hasty a disappearance from general

* See the *Dublin University Magazine* for April, for an eulogium on the ~~undoubted~~ moderation of the work we have been noticing.

notice, seems to us to be the offspring of aggravated fear and unnecessary caution. The great reputation of the right reverend speaker ought to ensure an earnest attention to whatever he may be pleased to say or to write. His great acquirements, his well-known talents, his experience in disputed questions of the first importance, his logical acuteness, are quite sufficient to give the stamp of currency to whatever may fall from his Lordship in his addresses, especially to the illustrious assemblage of which he constitutes so important a member. Even although those eminent qualities were less in favour than they happen to be with the noble auditors of this distinguished debater, nevertheless would the subject-matter of his late oration insure a deep, troubled, and most anxious regard, not only in every quarter of the United Kingdom, but in every state and nation of Europe. To reiterate against a considerable portion of the representatives of the United Kingdom a charge of treachery aggravated by *perjury*, is enough to startle the intelligent portion of mankind throughout the civilized world. That any portion of the legislature of the British people should be so branded, is enough to disquiet the moral feeling of all civilized nations. If the charge be well founded, it is a blur upon the human character; if otherwise, it cannot be considered in any other light than as one of the most dangerous, and desperate, and unworthy accusations, that ever was yet advanced by mortal man.

In support of this accusation of *perjury*, there is the Bishop's own train of reasoning. The grand question with the just and upright will be, does the reasoning bear out the impeachment of *perjury*? If it do, the verdict, however reluctantly delivered, can be only of one sort; if it do not, if it be insufficient not only to bear out, but to give a colour to the charge of *perjury*, it may be fairly apprehended that the learned and distinguished accuser cannot escape a judgment somewhat more harsh than mere censure.

It will be observed that the arraignment for *perjury* of so many Catholic members of the House of Commons, is placed on this simple ground, viz. that they, the Catholic members, who, on presenting themselves at the table of the House of Commons to qualify for taking their seats, did take an oath, to the purport set forth in the learned prelate's speech. That is to say:—

“ I do swear that I will defend to the utmost of my power the settlement of property within this realm, as established by the laws; and I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure, any intention to subvert the present Church establishment, as settled by law within this realm: and I do solemnly swear that I never will exercise any privilege to which I am or may become entitled, to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion or Protestant government in this kingdom: and I do

solemnly, in the presence of God, protest, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatever."

Perjury, or *no perjury*, is the question; and in order that this be decided according to any known principles of justice, we must scrutinize the conduct of the accused parties, with a reference to the strict terms of the obligation sworn to. And in this sense, it is but fair, and no concession of favour whatever, to consider the oath so far in the nature of a penal statute, that it be strictly interpreted; for if the *perjured* violation of the oath be averred, it is distinctly obligatory, on the part of the accuser, to show those acts plainly, and without the obscurity of a shade, by which the crime was committed. *Perjury* is a dreadful charge. No man should dare to impute it to an individual, and still less to a class of persons of weight, character, and condition,—invested with one of the first of all human trusts, upon the due discharge of which depends the welfare of millions—upon light surmises, uncharitable suspicions, or unfriendly speculations. A crime so direct against the majesty of God, and so detrimental to man, and a conviction for which is sure to be followed by exclusion and moral exile from the society of the virtuous and religious, ought to stand upon a basis of truth sufficiently clear and satisfactory to the most scrupulous and conscientious friends of real justice.

Now it is asked, in what instance has the alleged *perjury* been committed? The charge is distinctly directed against the *parliamentary* conduct of the jurors. What they may do, in their ordinary capacities as mere individual members of society, is utterly *dehors* the present question. Their opinions and sentiments, their habits and feelings, are altogether out of consideration. If these things were in themselves moral obstacles to the attainment of a political share in the commonwealth, it could only be under a system of tyranny, which the people of England would not endure for one day; and that they were very justly not considered to be so by the legislature of 1829, the oath alluded to unequivocally demonstrates. The charge, then, contemplates parliamentary conduct alone; and we would know from the Bishop of Exeter—for his printed speech does not afford a spark of evidence on the point—what parliamentary conduct, on the part of the Roman Catholic members of Parliament, amounts to a breach of any one of the clauses which constitute the substance of the oath? Have they attempted to shake the foundations of property *as established by law*? Have they, as members of Parliament, endeavoured to *subvert* the present *Church Establishment*? What bills have they brought

into Parliament for that purpose? What privilege have they abused, by exercising it to the disturbing or weakening of the Protestant religion, or Protestant Government, in these realms? To these plain questions negatives must be given—and then what becomes of the charge of perjury!

As the accusation assumes that the parliamentary oath was framed solely with relation to what Roman Catholics may do as members of the Houses of Parliament, one would have expected something better from a profound dialectician like the Lord Bishop of Exeter, than shreds and patches of extracts from speeches, delivered at tavern-feasts and electioneering assemblies, by Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Shiel. So good a logician must have known that those fractions of harangues which he condescended to stuff into his speech, never could have propped up the inferences of *perjury*, which he was so anxious to arrive at. Nor could the respectable scruples of Mr. Petre and other honourable men among the Roman Catholic members of the House of Commons, (if really entertained, which we somewhat doubt) afford better assistance in arriving at the favourite and desired conclusion of *perjury*, in those from whom those gentlemen differed. They were all equally free to follow their own courses. Men will differ in matters of opinion and sentiment in Parliament as they commonly do out of it, but the difference is not in itself matter of reproach to one party more than to the other; and even though one should be deemed to have acted with more apparent delicacy than the other, still, in the rough tasks which political duties will sometimes impose on public men, that is as frequently worthy of approbation which arises out of clear views of public policy, as out of nice sentiment of party delicacy.

There is more than one fallacy at the bottom of the Bishop's argument, for he not only relies upon things reported to have been said and done in various other places than the Houses of Parliament, and by Catholic churchmen also, in order to make out his case of perjury, but he also, with a very extravagant confidence, thinks he can collect abundant proofs in favour of his accusation when he takes up the tithe question, and the part pursued by the Irish Catholics in Parliament in the various discussions which have taken place from time to time on that prolific and troublesome question.

It is a matter of universal notoriety, not to speak of the abolition of agistment tithes, that for upwards of fifty years tithes have been the standing cause of universal popular vexation, especially in Ireland, where the people being dependent upon agriculture for means of social as well as of animal support, must

necessarily feel the burdens which the laws have placed on the land and labours of the country, with irritated impatience. It cannot be necessary to go over the catalogue of barbarous outbreaks which have thrown that part of the United Kingdom into convulsion, disorder, and crime; those melancholy occurrences have made their own impression too strong upon the public mind to be hastily effaced. Committees of Parliament have given the subject serious investigation; and if there be any result more explicitly demonstrated than another, by the evidence of witnesses of all descriptions, Protestant as well as Catholic, it is simply this, that there prevails in Ireland a universal desire that the country should be relieved from this constant annoyance and oppression. There could be no scheme of adjustment in mitigation of this source of general complaint, which could be limited to a few simple consequences. The tithes are interwoven with all the interests and relations of property throughout Ireland. From the lord of the fee, down to the occupying labourer who tilled the soil, the tithe system presses in various degrees and proportions of vexation or hardship. It was impossible for any legislature to overlook so singular an example of national complaint, and in which there was no intermission of remonstrance and reclamation. Whether the tithes be the most proper mode by which the sacred offices of the clergy should be requited, is a matter into which it is not intended to enter in this place; but surely a most reasonable and justifiable desire may be fairly supposed to exist, for bringing about some mild and benignant changes in the entire tithe scheme, without placing the design upon the odious and unjust ground of a preconcerted plan for the spoliation of the property of the Church, and for the ruin of its clergy. The condition of the ministers of the Established Church would be singularly infelicitous if their case alone were to preclude the possibility of any change, let the effect upon the rest of the nation be ever so injurious or vexatious; and a legislature which could consider itself incapable of substituting some other arrangement less irksome and grinding to the community at large, and full as liberal and satisfactory to the clergy, would exhibit such an excess of moral impotence and imbecillity, as must render it an object of contempt in the view of every rational government in the world.

The Government of the United Kingdom is essentially Protestant; and to assume that such a Government would direct all its powers towards the overthrow of its own Church and clergy, is as bold a begging of the question as a bad logician ever ventured on. The ministers of the Government are *sworn*—and

nobody accuses them of *perjury*—to protect the Church established by law. Neither the Duke of Wellington nor his colleague in office was accused of that odious and scandalous crime when they brought in the Relief Bill of 1829—and yet upon a mere matter of argument regarding the tithe bills which have been so frequently brought into discussion—and which bills, let it be observed, in point of *principle*, were inevitable consequences resulting from the passing of the Act of 1829—it has been rashly, ungenerously, and most unjustly, charged against the Catholics in the Houses of Parliament, that they have committed the infamous crime of perjury.

The Duke of Wellington, it will be remembered, as well as Sir Robert Peel, withdrew from the administration of which Mr. Canning was the head. The reason for having done so, was, that those distinguished persons were so attached to the Established Church, that they would not sit in the same cabinet with a premier who inclined towards conceding, without qualification, the claims of the Catholics to share and enjoy the honours and benefits of the English Constitution. After the demise of the Duke of York, those eminent statesmen consented to introduce the bill against which they had so fastidiously protested during the life of his royal highness, although by that act the external fences of the establishment were supposed to be exposed to considerable peril. The very persons who while they were in opposition prognosticated divers calamities to both Church and State, if ever the Catholics should be admitted to share in political power with the Protestants, when they became ministers themselves, did not scruple to invert their professed policy—and they reconciled the revolution in their minds and conduct to their sense of consistency, by framing this oath for the preservation of Church and State, of which Dr. Philpotts has made such unseemly and such illogical uses. If declarations made at taverns, and other places of meeting, by Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Shiel, as well as by others of the same religious communion, be twisted into the obligations and conditions of a compact, why may not the more grave and serious declarations of two persons, by means of which they had smoothed their access to power, be considered also to have the force of a compact—and to expose the tergiversation of those ministers to reproach and upbraiding?

After a considerable share of abortive labour, the Bishop of Exeter falls short of the conclusion at which he struggles to arrive. The bare idea of a compact between the sovereign power of a state and any given portion of the people, is a political absurdity. The legislature is bound by irrefragable obli-

gations, the cancelling of which can never be presumed, to pursue and adopt such measures as it may conscientiously consider to be essentially necessary towards the general welfare of the nation at large. Policy and justice never intermit in their claims. Good and wholesome laws for the whole of the people constitute the true and proper purpose of all governments. Compacts may be formed between independent governments, but nothing of the kind is imaginable between the State itself and its own subjects. The *animus imponentis* has no influential power between the legislature which proceeds to restore political power and those from whom it had been violently wrested; and the class, description, or sect, selected out of the body of the people, from whom the precautionary procedure may be exacted, have as good a right to put their own construction upon it, as a political ceremonial, as those who may have framed it, not upon any direct sense of its necessity, but as a pious imposture adopted to quiet the apprehensions of prejudice or bigotry. The paramount duty of a member of the House of Commons is, to bear his part in public deliberations for the peace, happiness, and welfare of the people; and if it were possible—which most indubitably it is not—to cramp him in the free exercise of his complete functions, it would be a constitutional obligation virtually imposed on him, and paramount to all others incident to his representative station, to break through those bonds by every moral means which may lie within the reach of his power. The Constitution of England does not recognize mutilated power or fractional privilege in the representative of the people. That trust once conferred, shackles and trammels of all kinds drop at once, and he becomes a moral being, uncircumscribed and disenthralled of all checks and restraints, save what is common to every other member, who, like himself, is placed under constitutional responsibility for his actions in Parliament. If the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel persuaded themselves that any oath—but especially one which has the stamp of their statesmanship upon it—could confine Catholic representatives within narrower limits than those that are known and enjoyed by Protestant members, they showed themselves to be but very simple and very inexperienced politicians. Oaths are not designed, by their very nature, for any purpose of political security. They belong to the administration of justice. They are the tests of moral veracity, which the living God is invoked to witness. Bungling politicians, who are weary of following out principles and details through all their ramifications, always stop short and botch up their projects with some such crude expedient as an oath; and hence it comes that under the administration of British govern-

ment, the people are obliged to swear their way through all the departmental details of the executive. A more futile resource for the preservation of the Church and State than the oath which the Catholics in Parliament are accused of having violated, never was invented in any age or country by the simplest of all simple law makers. When the noble duke and his distinguished coadjutor abjured their Protestant policy, they certainly had some difficulties in the way; but for these they had, in a considerable degree, to thank themselves. Before the miraculous light broke upon them, they did not cease to tell the people, year after year, that the implacable enemy of the religious faith and the political institutions of England, was the Catholic energy. If they thought so, it was their fault that they relied upon the feeble formality which they exacted from every Catholic member of Parliament previously to taking his seat. Those statesmen had opposed Catholic emancipation as being full of danger to the State; but they supported it, as being quite compatible with the perfect security of the State; and truly the Bishop, notwithstanding all his vigorous pamphlets against the Catholics, was deeply implicated in the inconsistency which this miserable oath was invented to varnish over. Such as that oath is, it stands inviolate to this hour. There is nothing in its spirit or in its letter which has suffered violence by reason of the arguments employed by the Catholics in the debates on the same question. Had it been possible to have expressly prohibited those members from taking any part in any discussion for the reformation, or for the abolition, of tithes, the injustice of the prohibition could not have been maintained against the feeling of England. To have closed their lips upon a subject which touches the main fund of their own interests in such a variety of ways, directly and circuitously—which works such a complication of injuries, troubles, and painful distresses, throughout the whole of Ireland—to inhibit them from pleading for themselves, as well as for the peace, and quiet, and order of their country, would have been a monstrous stretch of power, not a whit short of the most intolerable tyranny; and yet had such a preposterous and intolerable exclusion as this been actually and palpably embodied in the oath, the charge of *perjury* could not be more peremptorily asserted, than it appears in the circulated edition of the Speech which we are considering.

But is it not inconsistent with the oath taken by Catholic members, to give their support to a scheme, by which the clergy of Ireland are to be despoiled of their property, or at best reduced in their incomes? A few members appear to have thought so, and, accordingly, have not voted. Others have thought the

contrary, and with reason. Of all the litter of tithe bills which have been produced in the Commons for some years past, that which was introduced by Sir Henry Hardinge was one of the most severe and trenchant to the incomes of the Irish clergy. Yet no person accuses that gallant and meritorious person of being a Papist, or of having perjured himself; for if a Catholic be bound by his parliamentary test not to subvert the Protestant establishment, &c., a Protestant also must be considered, in justice and reason, as coming under the restrictive obligations which the Bishop of Exeter labours to confine to the Catholic.

But after all, does a change in the tithe system of Ireland carry with it a meaning equivalent to the robbing the Church of its temporalities, and bereaving the clergy of their incomes? Far from it. A Protestant State, and particularly the Protestant State of the United Kingdom, will never suffer their Church or clergy to be rifled of any portion of what is necessary for their dignity and independence. No man in his senses would think of concocting such a scheme of support for the clergy of the Establishment, as that which now exists, if it were an original measure of the present period, that due and liberal provision should be appointed for the first time. The parties opposed in interest by the present system have been, and actually now are, the landlords and the clergy. Ever since lands have risen in their value, and increased population has rendered them the staple of all the varied interests of Ireland, the question has been between those parties—the landlords and the clergy, and the lay-impropriators. The resources of the legislature must be miserable indeed, if, without doing the slightest injustice to the clergy, an ample compensation may not be afforded, more satisfactorily paid, and more securely defended by law, than that is, upon which so much ferocious declamation, and sophistical quibbling have been expended. •

It is not at all contemplated to enter farther into the subject of tithes, than they happen to be incidentally involved, and also so far as the charge against the Catholic members of Parliament may lead. Whatever measures affecting the Church have been pursued in Parliament, were undertaken by the Ministers of the day; and against some of these, none were more determinedly opposed than the Irish Catholic members of the House of Commons. Lord Grey commenced his administration with a distinct intimation of his intentions respecting the Church. He addressed himself, in pointed terms, directly to the Spiritual Bench in the House of Lords, and he exhorted those who occupied it “to set their houses in order.” His Lordship entered vigorously upon his scheme, and he abolished at a stroke ten

of the Irish bishoprics. This was considered by some as a direct attempt against the independence of the Established Church; for here were dignities and temporalities swept away, and from which several derivative consequences were perceptible, each productive, as it was conceived, of a greater or smaller degree of public injury. In all this proceeding, the Irish Catholic members had no more to do, than had the Protestant members of Parliament; and as concerns the latter, it would be difficult to discover their title to an exclusive right to inflict injury upon their own Church and clergy. So far from those measures being desired by the Roman Catholics of Ireland, Mr. O'Connell, in his place in the House of Commons, declared, that the Catholics did not care about them; that it was of no benefit to the people of Ireland that ten bishoprics were abolished; that they took no interest in the diminution of the number of bishops or in the increase of it—for that either regulation was not what they sought for: and he spoke what was undeniable, as every man must know who has any true and useful knowledge of the state of things in Ireland. This measure of the premier had the support of nine bishops—seven English and two Irish—viz. the Bishops of Winchester, Chester, Llandaff, Rochester, Norwich, St. David's, Oxford, Kildare and Derry. As regards Ireland, this was the most summary demolition that the Irish Church had ever suffered from a Protestant Ministry and a Protestant Parliament; but the Catholic members of both houses were wholly guiltless of the matter. Then followed the tithes—and then a subject became debated in Parliament, which came home to every being in Ireland who has landed property or landed interests, or who subsists by agricultural labour or produce,—and that is, after some manner or other, or to some degree or other, every head of a family throughout the entire kingdom. During those discussions which followed in Parliament, and out of doors, strong expressions were employed on all hands, according to the views or the temperament of those who engaged in the question. The Bishop of Exeter has treasured up some of these for re-exhibition; but they make nothing for his argument. Whatever powers Mr. O'Connell may employ out of Parliament, he had a right to call into use. He possessed those, whatever they were, at all times. *The Oath* had nothing to do with his language, and as little with his conduct; which, if it were blameable out of Parliament, was referable to justice,—not to any futile quibbling regarding the construction of as flimsy an oath as ever yet set men debating about its meanings. Mr. Shiel triumphed at a public meeting which was held in Tipperary, that they “had annihilated the Tories;” but even supposing this great achievement to be be-

yond all doubt, one does not see what it has to do with the oath which he had taken as a member of Parliament. The constitution, except so far as it has been changed, not by the perjury of the Irish Catholics, but by the Protestant Ministry of Earl Grey, is not yet forced from its foundations. "The Church as by law established" is not upset by the Irish Catholics—nor have they, as members of Parliament, attempted any thing of the kind; but if the Bishop of Exeter, instead of an intemperate railing, and a stringing together of every thing which could be swept out of the petitions, supplications, and remonstrances of the Irish Catholics to the Parliament during a space of eighty years, would really know how far the Church Establishment stands affected by times and circumstances, he has nothing to do but to consult some of his own political friends and patrons, to obtain a clue to guide him in his inquiry. His Lordship has done his cause no service by the temerity and injustice of his opinions and language.

We observe that Dr. Philpotts is bringing in aid the refusal of the Bishop of Malta to take the Catholic Oath, and a supposed opinion of our Holy Father the Pope in condemnation of it. We rejoice to see that the question is assuming a form in which its merits can be fully developed; and we doubt not that our champions in the House of Lords will prove themselves worthy of their responsible station, and will disdain Dr. Philpotts' offer of compromise of excepting *them* from his charge of perjury, with a view of thereby more effectually pointing his attacks against their Irish brethren in the House of Commons. When the facts under consideration shall be ascertained, we hope to return to the subject.

ART. X.—1. *Tales of Fashionable Life, &c.* By Maria Edgeworth.

2. *The Wild Irish Girl.* By Miss Owenson.

3. *O'Donnel; Florence Macarthy; O'Briens and O'Flaherties; and National Tales.* By Lady Morgan.

4. *Tales by the O'Hara Family.* First and Second Series. By John Banim.

5. *The Croppy.*

6. *The Collegians.*

7. *Tales of the Munster Festivals.*

8. *Traits of the Irish Peasantry.* By William Carleton.

9. *Rory O'More.* By Samuel Lover.

THAT the present is essentially, and *par excellence*, a novel-writing and novel-reading age, is a fact, in asserting which, we need fear no contradiction. The first talent of the day is

employed in the production, the whole reading world in the perusal, of novels. The demand is great, and it is equalled by the supply. Some fifty years back, the divine, the metaphysician, and the historian, would have sent forth their lucubrations in formidable treatises in folio, or scarce less formidable essays and histories in interminable quarto and octavo. The *cacoethes scribendi* in these classes is as strong as ever; but it has taken a different direction, and following the taste of the day, has vented itself in the composition of historical, metaphysical, and even of theological novels. The *domestic novel*, the only one in which our ancestors excelled, has been by us perfected, purified, and refined. The *fashionable novel*, a genus hard to be defined, and scarce worth the trouble of a definition, has sprung into existence, and has employed the pens of noble as well as of plebeian authors. The latter, it is true, have far surpassed their lordly competitors, yet the *prestige* of a noble name has not been without its effect upon the many; while, to the more thinking few, there is a gratification, enhanced by its novelty, in seeing the magnates of the land harmlessly, if not very usefully, employed, which disarms the severity of their criticism, and renders them, in the words of the old adage, "*unwilling to look a gift horse in the mouth.*" The *naval* and *military* novel forms a class apart, and allowing for some high-colouring and exaggeration, it is not the least skilfully supported. There is one class, however—in our estimation the most interesting and important of all—the *national novel*—which, embodying, as it does, the characteristics of a people, their manners, their feelings, their faults, and their virtues, may be made the vehicle of conveying the most important truths, and of exciting a strong interest and sympathy in the minds of those to whom the nation in question would otherwise have been a name, and nothing more. The national tales of Scott have done much to remove the barrier of prejudice which separated his countrymen from their fellow-subjects; the spirit-stirring novels of Cooper have had the same effect as regards America. Our country—our unhappy Ireland—as she stands more in need of extraneous sympathy, so should a double importance be attached to those works which paint her as she is. It is accordingly our intention to devote this article to a brief notice of the novels of Ireland, including the works of those who, however differing from us in religious and political opinions, still display in their writings that love of country, that strong national feeling, which, in *our* estimation at least, covereth a multitude of sins!

In commencing our survey, the first name which naturally presents itself is that of Miss Edgeworth. Not that her works

can be called *national*, in the fullest sense of the word, nor that we acknowledge her by any means to be what the *Edinburgh Review* once called her, the “best painter of Irish character and manners;” but, as the pioneer in the trackless forests of Irish romance, the foundress, so to speak, of a style which others have carried much nearer perfection,—she claims this precedence. In a clever article upon the genius and writings of Miss Edgeworth, which appeared some time since in *Tait's Magazine*, and which was ascribed to Miss Martineau, the following passages occur:—“Neither her feelings, mind, nor imagination, are Irish. She is a shrewd Englishwoman of enlarged understanding and rare talent, who cleverly, but sometimes not very correctly, sketches Irish characters and manners as any other well-informed person, long resident in Ireland, might do; with many cool minute touches, which would infallibly have escaped one whose heart and imagination had warmed and expanded amongst the Irish people, and who had grown up from childhood to womanhood nursed in their traditions, usages, habitudes, and feelings. There is little about her that partakes of the raciness of the sod. Though her heart and good wishes, and excellent understanding, may have been in Ireland, her imagination and fancy are, so far as is seen in her works, clearly absentees—they are essentially English.”

Nothing can be truer than this, to a certain extent; but on one point we must differ with the fair critic. Though Miss Edgeworth's “excellent understanding” may have been in Ireland, we much doubt whether her *heart* has ever accompanied it. In the *Absentee*, of all her works the one which displays the most sympathy with Ireland, although she tells many useful truths, and ably exposes the short-sighted selfishness of absenteeism, there is still no warmth of indignant patriotism, no identification of self with the country, little more, in short, than the cold and half-contemptuous pity of a shrewd and right-minded stranger. When Miss Edgeworth had attained the full maturity of her genius and her fame, the Irish Catholic was still degraded by unjust laws—the Irish Protestant more degraded by an unnatural ascendancy. Did she lend her powerful aid to forward the good cause of the oppressed?—did she record her protest against the monopoly of those whom the laws made oppressors? Alas, no. Nor can there be a stronger proof of her want of national feeling—of the slight hold her country has always had upon her affections—than the circumstance of her writings being totally silent on a subject of such overpowering interest to Ireland.*

A critical examination of the works of Miss Edgeworth would, at this time of day, be as tedious as a twice-told tale. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to a few general remarks. Of *Castle*

Rackrent, we believe the earliest of Miss Edgeworth's works, we are not inclined to think very favourably. It professes to be a picture of the manners of a past age and generation, of which we know but little; but we have reason to believe that it is highly overcharged in its details, and the characters are certainly crudely and coarsely drawn, whilst the story, if "*vrai*," is any thing but "*raisonnable*," and its revolting unpleasantness is unredeemed by any sparkles of wit and humour. This, indeed, is a common fault with our author; her description of the condition, manners and customs of the Irish peasantry is generally faithful, but in her hands their quick and racy humour degenerates into coarse blundering, whilst the deep well-spring of feeling that gushes in the Irish heart, is to her a fountain sealed. But if her Irish peasants be, generally speaking, but vapid caricatures, we must allow that she has been highly successful in drawing the characters of a higher class; her Ring Corny and Sir Ulick O'Shane in *Ormond*, are perhaps the most finished portraits she has ever traced, and as the representatives of two widely different, but still both genuinely *Irish* classes, can scarcely be surpassed.

We must now take leave of Miss Edgeworth, repeating our lively regret that this distinguished writer should have forced us to consider her as wanting in national feeling—a regret enhanced by our conviction, that this want has lessened the value and usefulness of her writings, and will prove injurious to her fame with posterity—and expressing our ardent wish—we dare not call it *hope*—that she may, even at the eleventh hour, assume her fitting place amongst those to whom their country is the first and dearest object.

Our attention is next directed to the works of Lady Morgan, to whom the reproach of want of nationality, at least, does not apply. Her novels are, indeed, thoroughly Irish in matter, in character, in their dry humour, and cutting sarcasm; no less than their vehemence and impetuosity of feeling. It should never be forgotten that, although writing at a period when, if it was not actually considered "*treason to love Ireland*," to defend her was to incur suspicion, Lady Morgan never hesitated to express her indignation at the wrongs of her country—that she continued to expose its misgovernment, and to win sympathy for its sufferings, and that she pursued this course regardless of the obloquy it entailed upon her, and careless that she thus provoked the enmity of those, high in station, whose good-will and powerful patronage a different line of conduct would have speedily commanded. Lady Morgan has powerfully advanced the cause of her country; she has been its "*unbought and unpurchasable servant*;" and we, therefore, in common with the Irish public, consider that the

present government, in bestowing upon her a pension, has done itself high honour, and to her but a tardy act of justice. Would that such names alone were to be found upon the Pension List, and it would soon cease to be a bye-word and a stumbling block to the people!

The first of Lady Morgan's national tales (and it is with them alone we have to do) was the *Wild Irish Girl*. It is evidently the work of a young and inexperienced writer—the story, the sentiments, and the characters, being alike extravagant and overwrought. Still there is a strong national feeling throughout—an occasional graphic sketch of Irish character and customs, and a tone of genuine enthusiasm which carries one along, and causes its deficiencies to be forgotten. Besides, its faults, as springing from an undisciplined and exuberant fancy, are those most easily pardoned in youth, from the high promise they hold out for the future; and this promise the succeeding works of our author have amply redeemed. Between the *Wild Irish Girl* and *O'Donnel* there is all the difference that can be imagined to exist between the first sketches of a young artist and the finished work of a great master. We are sure that this admirable production must be still fresh in the recollection of most of our readers. Who can forget the inimitable M'Rory, that personification of the fidelity, the courage, the reckless gaiety, and shrewd mother-wit of the "*mere Irishman*"? or the scarcely less admirably drawn character of the pert and servile Mr. Dexter, the "*English by descent*," and the type of a class once widely extended, and still too often to be met with in Ireland, who "live by the country they revile"?

The character of O'Donnel,—the Irish gentleman of high descent, the distinguished soldier, the sometime associate of princes in other lands, reduced by the consequences of obsolete statutes and the continued operation of others, no less unjust, if less strikingly barbarous, almost to a level with the peasant in his own—is a master-piece. His high sense of honour—his pride, which prefers the extreme of poverty to the incurring of obligation—his morbid sensitiveness, shrinking almost from the voice of courtesy, lest it should convey a covert insult—his bitter sense of the wrongs of his country, and of his own unjust and unmerited degradation—all these distinguishing traits are drawn with a force and verisimilitude that suggests the idea of Lady Morgan having had some living original in view, and that she sketched at least the leading characteristics of O'Donnel from some one of the many noble and gallant Irishmen whom the first French Revolution threw back upon their country, and whom she is likely in her early youth to have known. The history of the fallen fortunes of the house of O'Donnel, is told with great spirit

and fidelity, and embodies many a painful fact, but too often repeated in the past history of Ireland. We have indeed little doubt that, placing as it did the iniquities of the penal and restrictive laws in a new and forcible light, this narrative contributed not a little to disabuse the English mind of its prejudice, and to predispose many for the long delayed act of justice which the Catholics have at length obtained.

The lighter portions of this work are equally admirable with the more serious. In the scenes where M'Rory figures, not merely the idiom, but the modes of thought and expression peculiar to the Irish peasantry, are faithfully preserved, and their rich humour, ceremonious politeness, and natural tact, given to the life. Lady Singleton is a capital specimen of the bustling, officious, and self-important personage, who, though universally considered a *bore* of the first magnitude, yet so often deludes the world into calling her "an uncommonly clever woman;" whilst Lady Llanberis, the spoiled child of fortune, the capricious and inconsistent woman of fashion, led by the whim of the moment, and the willing slave of whoever gratifies her passion for excitement and variety, forms an admirable contrast to her more bustling friend.

The character of the Duchess of Belmont, although evidently a favourite with the author, and worked up with much care and pains, we cannot help considering a failure. The change is too violent from the *bête* and *beckyish* Miss O'Halloran, the butt alike of her patroness and her pupils, to the self-possessed and satirical Duchess, braving unmoved the repelling coldness of the haughty family she had entered, and the envious sneers of their little world of flatterers and dependents. There is also something repugnant to all our ideas of feminine dignity and delicacy, in her accepting the hand of the old and profligate Duke of Belmont, which had only been tendered to her upon the rejection of less honourable offers. Throughout her subsequent conduct the same want of delicacy is perceptible; so that, notwithstanding her brilliant wit and many good qualities, we can only account for the ardent attachment with which she inspires the high-minded and sensitive O'Donnel, by adopting the doctrine, that a total contrast in mind, character, and disposition, is the most likely to create a violent passion.

Much as we admire *O'Donnel*, however, we must still confess a lurking preference for *Florence Macarthy*—perhaps from the many pleasing associations belonging to the latter. The very name brings back the happy home of our youth—the cheerful fireside around which we welcomed the arrival of the long desired volumes, scarce dry from the press—while the night flew

swiftly by as we listened to the beloved parent who read them aloud, with the keenest relish and most lively interest. Even now we cannot peruse a page of *Florence Macarthy* without in fancy hearing that full-toned and mellow voice give new point to the sarcasm—new energy to the indignant burst of national feeling. But *Florence Macarthy*, apart from these associations, may well vie with *O'Donnel* upon its own merits. The story is interesting and well managed—the incidents varied and highly dramatic,—the characters well drawn and well supported. The strong-minded, high-principled General Fitz-Walter, taught in the stern school of adversity, contrasts finely with the imaginative and honourable, though somewhat spoiled and selfish, Lord Adelm. The devoted and enthusiastic O'Leary, whose feelings draw him towards the Norman Fitz-Adelms, whilst all his pride of learning, birth, and clanship, incline him to the Milesian Macarthies, is also admirable. Owny the Rabragh, Padreen Gar, and the two Judges, are spirited sketches; but the Crawley family is the gem of the work—whether it be viewed as a series of admirable portraits, or as a most faithful representation of a class in Ireland, who long assumed to themselves the claim to exclusive loyalty, and to the loaves and fishes, which formed its appropriate reward—a class who not only were ready to sell their country, but, as one of its members frankly confessed, were “heartily glad they had a country to sell!” The acute and humorous, but vulgar and low-bred, Darby Crawley; his saintly and sentimental sister; his stupid and servile brothers; his squireen elder sons; and his pert and presumptuous younger hope, the darling of his aunt, and “janius,” half feared, half admired of his father; all these varying in character and disposition, but each alike governed by the same sordid motives,—alternately excite our laughter and disgust. The other characters demand little notice. Lady Dunore, though amusing, is a mere *rifacciamento* of the Lady Llanberis of *O'Donnel*—the same may be said of Lady Clancare with reference to the Duchess of Belmont—while the lords and ladies, dandies, and boarding-school misses, who fill up the rest of the canvass, are too insignificant to excite more than a passing smile.

Of the *O'Briens* and the *O'Flaherties*, which succeeded *Florence Macarthy*, (though at an interval of several years) we cannot speak so favourably. Although written with much power, and possessing scenes of exquisite humour, it is, as a whole, decidedly inferior to its predecessors. The story is extravagant—the incidents ill-conceived, ill put together, and improbable—the characters roughly drawn and unfinished, and what is far worse, the moral is defective. The *O'Briens* and *O'Flaherties* is the first of Lady Morgan's national tales, in

which she obtrudes those extraordinary and undigested notions of intolerant philosophy, which, without thoroughly understanding, she seems to have adopted in compliment to certain *cliques* (to use her own pet phrase) in Paris; certain worthies who would serve man by depriving him of all that elevates the mind, all that purifies the heart,—who consider love of country a weakness, and reverence for religion all but a crime. In conformity with these principles Lady Morgan has drawn her hero an enthusiast for virtue and liberty, but totally devoid of religious principle; he is brought through a variety of strange and inconsistent adventures; unnecessarily stained with crime which has not even the poor plea of passion for its excuse; condemned to death as a traitor; escaping we scarce know how; and finally presented to us as a general in the French service, sufficiently distinguished to attract the suspicion and almost the jealousy of the First Consul. The heroine, to whom he is united at the close, and who has been in the early part of the work inexplicably attached to his footsteps, (rivalling the “*ubiquitous* qualities” of Sir Boyle Roache’s bird) is represented as a miracle of beauty, genius and virtue, and is at once an accomplished hypocrite, an *esprit fort*, and a perjured nun! With such *dramatis personæ*, and the corrupt court of the Duke of Rutland as the principal scene, it is not wonderful that the *O’Briens* and *O’Flaherties* should contain much that is offensive both in dialogue and detail. There are, however, many redeeming passages, where our authoress, forgetting awhile her repulsive creed, is once more herself—ardent, enthusiastic, and Irish. Such, for instance, is the spirit-stirring Review of the Irish Volunteers in the Park—such the private meeting of the United Irishmen. She has also happily lashed the follies and vices of the vice-regal court of the day; while some of her broadest humour (perhaps sometimes bordering upon caricature), is displayed in the characters of O’Mealy and of the Miss Mac Taafs, with the scenes in which they figure. Of these the “Jug Day” is incomparably the best, and presents a most attractive, though somewhat homely picture, of Connaught hospitality in the good old times.

We cannot consider our notice of the national works of Lady Morgan complete, without bestowing a few words upon the fragment entitled *Manor Sackville*, which forms the first of what she has chosen to call *Dramatic Sketches*. It possesses a great deal of her peculiar power, has much truth, and much good feeling, alloyed with some angry prejudice. There are some scenes inimitable for their racy humour, and the characters of Gallagher the orange-agent, his ally the housekeeper, and Father Phil, are worthy the hand that sketched M’Rory and the Crawley family;

but Lady Emily and her friends are too childishly frivolous, Mr. Sackville tiresome to a degree, and the Whiteboy scenes, though forcibly drawn, are perhaps too melodramatic; and there is certainly a gross anachronism in placing them subsequent to the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill. This is not, however, the only misrepresentation of which we have to complain; and we cannot help expressing our regret, that Lady Morgan should, throughout this story, have lent herself to the then fashionable outcry against the Repealers—against men who, supposing them to have been mistaken, were yet only carrying into action principles and opinions of which she had long been the advocate. We feel, we say, naturally indignant that she should have maligned them as the inciters to outrages, which she must have been well aware it was their *interest*, as well as their constant and successful endeavour, to prevent.

We trust that Lady Morgan will believe that these remarks are made in no spirit of bitterness—nothing but a regard for truth could have drawn them from us; and acknowledging as we do that she had many a great example to plead in her justification during the short madness of those days of *declarations*, we gladly extend to her the olive branch—and recollecting with a glow of gratitude her many services, willingly bury this solitary back-sliding in eternal oblivion!

For a considerable period the field of Irish literature of which we treat, remained in undisputed possession of the two distinguished women whose works we have just glanced over. At length a competitor arose in the person of John Banim, a name now familiar to the British public, but which, in 1825, when he published the first series of *Tales by the O'Hara Family*, was scarcely known beyond the precincts of Dublin, and there only as that of a young and promising dramatic writer. No note of preparation was sounded—no skilful puff heralded the *O'Hara Tales* to public notice; but their own intrinsic merit speedily obtained for them a popularity which the succeeding works of their author have deservedly retained. Without possessing the polished correctness of Miss Edgeworth, or the epigrammatic brilliancy of Lady Morgan, Mr. Banim surpasses both in vigour of conception, in depth and energy of feeling, and in the power of working up incidents to a pitch of intense and overwhelming interest. There is a truth and verisimilitude in his occasional sketches of the interior of a lowly Irish family, the fire-side of a snug farmer or industrious “cottier,” not easily to be met with, and which proves him one that has mingled much and familiarly with the class he describes. He shows, indeed, on all occasions, that he considers himself *of* the people, and that he feels *with*

and *for* them. His love of country breaks forth in almost every page of his writings. He has vehement indignation for her wrongs, deep sympathy with her sufferings, nor does he shrink from entering into what are sometimes painful and revolting details, when it is necessary to expose the ill-doings of her oppressors.

To balance his many striking perfections, our author is not without some glaring defects. He elaborates a subject too much, and occasionally destroys the effect of a striking passage or a fine situation, by overworking the details. But his chief defect is the want of humour. Of this, in our opinion, he does not possess one particle; and yet, by some unhappy perversion of judgment, comic scenes and comic characters hold a most prominent place in all his tales; although the latter are, without exception, bores of the first magnitude, and the former excite no feeling but that of utter weariness. In his hands the wit and humour of the Irish peasant evaporate, and are replaced by low buffoonery, couched in a jargon meant for the Irish dialect, but more resembling the slang heard in the suburbs of a great city, or the purlieu of a provincial town, than the genuine language of the unsophisticated peasantry.

Gladly turning from the unpleasant task of censure, we shall proceed to a closer examination of the first series of the *O'Hara Tales*, consisting of three stories, "*Crohoore of the Billhook*," "*The Fetches*," and "*John Doe*." Of these, the first is the most perfect; the story is artfully constructed, the characters well drawn, the incidents highly exciting, and the interest admirably sustained throughout, to the *denouement*, which is well brought about, and worthy of what comes before. We shall give a few extracts, and first one of those home scenes in which, as we have already stated, Mr. Banini is peculiarly happy, and which also skilfully introduces some of the principal characters, while "coming events cast their shadows before." We should be tempted to extract, in the first place, the chapter which commences the volume, as forming a fine contrast to the scene of great enjoyment in question, but being pressed for space, we must choose between them, and have made the best selection we could under the circumstances.

"It was Christmas Eve, in the year 17—, that Anthony Dooling and his family were seated round the kitchen fire. He was a substantial farmer, renting a large and fertile tract of land; one of the good old times, who, except his broad-brimmed felt hat, his buckled shoes for Sunday and market-days, and his brogues for tramping round the farm, wore everything of his own manufacture. Little money went out, either for what Tony ate or drank; he killed his cow at

Christmas and Easter; he bred his own mutton, his bacon, his fowls; he baked his own bread, brewed his own ale, and altogether was vain of applying to himself the old song, 'I rear my own lamb, my own chickens and ham, and I shear my own sheep, and I wear it.' Plenty was in his house; he had a ready hand to relieve the poor; and the stranger never turned from his hearth without amply experiencing its hospitality. Yet with all these perfections, Anthony had his dark side. He was of a violent temper, and would fall into paroxysms of passion with his workmen, and sometimes ill-treat them, for the purpose, it almost seemed, of making it up with them when he became cool, and all was over.

"A turf fire blazed in the large open chimney, of which the red light glittered among the bright pewter plates and dishes and the burnished copper vessels that decked the opposite dresser, and showed the vast store of bacon hanging within and without the chimney, at the same time that it lit up the figures and countenances of as merry a group as ever blessed the comforts of a warm fire after a day's labour.

"At one side of the fire, and within the wide canopy of the chimney, in his stationary two-armed chair, one leg crossed above the other, his short pipe rested on his projected under-lip, which he frequently withdrew in a hurry, to partake of the merry laugh that was passing him, there, and so, sat the master of the house, Anthony Dooling. Opposite to him was the *vanithee*, an orderly, innocent, and even-tempered dame, her character in her face—mild, peaceable, and happy—as, in a low tone, she chaunted the ancient ditty of *Colloch a thusa*, which the busy hum of the spinning-wheel confined within the circumference of her own immediate atmosphere. At one side stood a long deal table, off which master and workmen, mistress and maids, ate their meals, except when a guest of distinction was entertained in the boarded and well-furnished parlour at the back of the kitchen; and in front, appertaining to the table, was a form, occupied at their ease by five or six workmen, who enjoyed the full lustre of the merry blaze, and the familiar and venerable jokes of their kind-hearted master. . . . The handsome daughter of the old couple had not yet taken her accustomed seat by her mother's side; she was employed, or seemingly employed, in some trivial house concerns; but conscious expectation appeared in the glance of her eye towards the door, and she frequently paused and started a little, as she tripped across the floor, and bent her head, as if attentively listening. By and bye, the latch was lifted, and the cordial smile she gave the new comer, who entered with the usual salutation of 'God save all here,' showed he was no unwelcome visitor; and another smile of a different character, with which she answered his whisper as he passed, told that they pretty well understood each other. In fact it was Pierce Shea who came in, the son of a neighbouring farmer, and the young girl's betrothed admirer. . . . When to his general salutation, 'God save all here,' Pierce had received the usual answer, 'God save you kindly,' and that he had particularly saluted the *vanithee* and the man of the house, he then stood leaning on the

back of the old woman's chair, as it occurred to him that although Alley might be shy of coming to sit next him, if he took his place *first*, he would feel no such squeamishness when she should be seated. And, 'well a-vanithe, how goes on everything with you?' he said, addressing Cauth Dooling. 'Why, in troth, Pierce a-roon, and praise be to God for it, there's nothing wrong or astray; if it wasn't for that thief of a fox that come last night, an' out of ten as fine geese as ever you laid an eye on—' But here the simple old woman stopt short, as she discovered that Pierce had left her in the middle of her tale of grievance, and taken his place by his comely mistress, who, with a complicated knitting apparatus in hand, was now seated. The mother smiled knowingly, and shook her head.

"'Oh, then, musha, it's little he cares about myself or my geese,' she whispered, again taking up her old ditty, and plying her wheel with increased industry, and the young couple entertained each other without farther interruption. In a little time a respectful though resolute hand raised the latch, and Andrew Muldowney, the district piper, made his appearance. The insinuating servility of this man's voice, and the broad sycophancy of his grin, as he gave his salutation, '*Go dthogah dingh uluig shey an agus sunus duiv*,' 'God send luck, and a plentiful Christmas to all here,' bespoke his partly mendicant profession, and plainly told, at the same time, his determination to make himself agreeable and delightful, in lieu of the shelter and good cheer, of which he made no question. . . . The music inspired a general passion for dancing, and the young light hearts did not demur, nor the old ones disapprove; so Pierce led out his Alley, and Paudge Dermody did his best bow to Chevaun Darlduck, by whom he was blushing accepted, and the dance went on. Old Anthony relished the sport, furnishing himself with a foaming can of his best home-brewed ale, with which he plied the piper, the dancers, and, including the vanithe and himself, the lookers-on; and the night wore apace in mirth and joviality. There was but one person present, the quick and resolute glance of whose red eye, as it shot from one to another of the dancers, showed no sympathy with the happy scene. This was a young man, in the prime of life, as to years, but with little else of the charm of youth about him. An exuberance of bristling fiery-red hair stared around a head of unusual size; his knobby forehead projected much, and terminated in strongly marked sinuses, with brows of bushy thickness, the colour of his hair; his eyes fell far into their sockets, and his cheek-bones pushed out proportionably with his forehead, so that his eyes glared as from a recess; his cheeks were pale, hollow, and retiring, his nose, of the old Milesian mould—long, broad-backed, and hooked; his jaws came unusually forward, which caused his teeth to start out from his face; and his lips, that without effort never closed on those disagreeable teeth, were large, fleshy, and bloodless—the upper one wearing, in common with the chin, a red beard, just changed from the down of youth to the bristliness of manhood, and as yet unshaven. These features, all large to disproportion, conveyed, along with the unpleasantness deformity inspires, the

expression of a bold and decided character; and something else besides, which was malignity or mystery, according to the observation or mood of a curious observer. . . . Having said this young person was very short in stature, it should be added that he was not at all deformed. Across his shoulders and breast, indeed, was a breadth that told more for strength than proportion, and his arms were long and of Herculean sinew; but the lower part of the figure, hips, thighs, and legs, bespoke vigour and elasticity, rather than clumsiness; and it was known that, strange-looking as the creature might be, he could run, leap, or wrestle with a swiftness and dexterity seldom matched amongst men of more perfect shape and more promising appearance. He took no share in the diversions of the evening, but seated, far back on the hob, so far that the blaze of the fire shone between him and the others, and gave occasion to Paudge Dermody to remark that 'he looked like the ould buchal himself, in the middle of his own place;' he seemed busily employed in whetting a rusty bill-hook, while from under the shade of an old broad-leaved hat . . . the fiery eyes glanced around, and were clandestinely and sternly fixed now on one—now on another—with a dangerous or hidden meaning: . . . 'What are you grinding that for?' asked Anthony Dooling, in an angry tone of Crohoore, the name of the person we have just described; but a surly look was the only answer.

"'Did you hear me spakin' to you a *vehoon grauna* (ugly wretch)?' Anthony went on; and subdued resentment at the disgraceful and stinging term applied to him, knitted Crohoore's brow as he slowly raised his head to answer. 'What am I grindin' it for? I know now that it's myself you mane,' the man replied 'I thought afore, you were discoorsin' the piper.'

"'You didn't,' retorted Anthony, springing up in wrath at the buck tone of his insignificant cow-boy, 'no you thought no such thing, a *vick na streepeen* (son of a jade)'. Another savage look was given in exchange for this opprobrious epithet.

"'None o' your dog's looks!' continued Tony, replying to it, 'take yourself to bed out o' that, since your black heart won't let you share in the innocent diversion.' The *vagithee* here interfered in a mild beseeching tone, and said to her husband, 'Never mind him Tony, a *roon*; he's doin' no harm, poor cratur.'

"'No harm, woman! augh, bad end to me, but his black looks 'ud turn the may-day into winther—go to your bed I say!' roared Tony.

"Crohoore rose from the hob to go; he slowly laid the bill-hook, where he had been sitting; his brows were knit closer than ever, his teeth clenched, and his eyes rolling.

"'And, do you hear me, bull-head!' the angry master continued, 'don't let it be wid you as it was this morning; have the cows in the bawn at the first light, or I'll break every bone in your lazy skin.' The dwarf, as he may be called, was passing his harsh master while these words ended, and he fixed the full meaning of his look on Anthony, and said, 'That same 'ud be nothing new, for tryin' at laste; it's an ould trick you have.'

"What's that you say, there, you *shingawn* (dwarf) you?' questioned Tony, his passion raised to the utmost at the thought of a saucy answer from a creature so contemptible.

"An' it's well you know I am a *shingawn*, or you wouldn't be so ready with your bone breaking,' still retorted Crohoore. This was past bearing. 'Take that for a pattern!' cried Anthony, the moment the speech was uttered, raising his clenched and ponderous hand, and dealing the miserable offender a violent blow with the whole force of his arm. Crohoore spun round and fell; his head as he went down, striking against a chair, so smartly as to draw the blood in some profusion. The piper stopped suddenly, and the dance ceased; and Pierce Shea was the first to raise and support the senseless Crohoore, while Alley, trembling and weeping, gave him a handkerchief to bind the wretch's temples, and staunch the welling blood. Cauth Dooling, with eyes of pity, looked at her husband, fully comprehending his feelings, as he stood the picture of shame, sorrow, and repentance. Indeed, the blow had scarcely been given, when, from the bottom of his heart, he blamed and hated himself for it; and in his present mood he would have offered half his little wealth in atonement.

"Crohoore, suddenly recovering, sprung on his legs, and freed himself from his supporter, with a force that made him reel, and a manner that seemed to scorn all obligation; his face was horribly pale, covered with blood, and every hideous feature rigid in checked passion. Without opening his lips, he dropped his head upon his breast, and trying to walk, but staggering, crossed the apartment to an opposite door, that opened into a passage, through which he should go to the loft where he slept. While the whole group looked on with wonder and alarm, Anthony called after him, and, in a crying voice, said, can in hand, 'Crohoore, *a vich na chree*, come back, an' make it up; drink to me, an' be friends.' But there was no reply to this pacific and penitent overture; Crohoore only turned round his ghastly face on his master, as he held the door in his hand, gave him one parting look, and then banged the door after him. That look was afterwards well remembered, and often commented upon.

"Anthony set himself down without speaking. He felt a return of dudgeon at the manner in which his advances had been received, and this, in some measure, served to reconcile his conscience to the cruelty he had been guilty of. But a general damp fell over the whole party, and its effects soon became visible; the workmen silently, or in whispers, withdrew to an outhouse, where they slept, and the now superfluous piper as silently plodded after them. Pierce Shea took his leave, but not without his parting kiss from Alley, and the renewal of an understanding with her and the old people to call for them next morning, at a very early hour, when all were to set off to the chapel, for the six o'clock mass; it being the practice throughout Ireland, whenever it can possibly be done, to assemble at devotion before day-break on the Christmas morning."—Vol. i. pp. 5-7, 9-14, 15-25.

We shall only give one more extract from this tale. It is the speech of an unfortunate Irish peasant, ground to the earth by exactions, at a meeting of Whiteboys, in reply to the well-meant remonstrances of Pierce Shea, as to the little good their resistance to the laws could do. It embodies, we think, in a few words a very sufficient explanation of the feelings which have so often impelled the Irish peasant to desperate and useless outrages.

"His (Pierce's) attention was here rivetted by the miserable man opposite to him, who, at once, with that violence of action and furious contortion of countenance, for which the Irish peasant is remarkable, poured out a speech in his native tongue, adopting it instinctively as the most ready and powerful medium of expressing his feelings; for one who boggles and stammers, and is ridiculous in English, becomes eloquent in Irish. . . . 'Who talks of the *good* we can do?—we look not to do good—we are not able nor fit to do good—we only want our revenge!—And that, while we are men, and have strong hands, and broken hearts, and brains on fire with the memory of our sufferings—that we can take. Your father, young man, never writhed in the proctor's gripe; he has riches, and they bring peace and plenty, so that the robber's visit was not heeded,—but look at me!' With the fingers of one hand he pressed violently his sallow and withered cheek, and with the other tore open the scanty vesture, that leaving him uncovered from the shoulders to the ribs, exhibited a gaunt skeleton of the human form. 'I have nothing to eat, no house to sleep in; my starved body is without covering, and those I loved and that loved me, the pulses of my heart, are gone;—how gone and how am I as you see me? Twelve months ago I had a home, and covering, and food, and the young wife, the mother of my children, with me at our fire-side; but the plunderer came on a sudden; I was in his debt; he has a public-house, and he saw me sitting in another in the village; he took my cow, and he took my horse; he took them to himself; I saw them—and may ill luck attend his ill got riches!—I saw them grazing on his own lands; I was mad; every thing went wrong with me; my landlord came, and swept the walls and the floor of my cabin; my wife died in her labour—who was to stand up for me? where had I a friend, or a great man to help me?—No one;—no where; there is no friend, no help, no mercy, no law, for the poor Irishman;—he may be robbed—stripped—insulted—set mad—but he has no earthly friend but himself.'"

"The wretch sprung from his seat—seized a drinking vessel—and with the look and manner of a maniac indeed, added, 'And here let every man pledge me! May his heart wither, and his children and name perish! • May the grass grow on his hearth-stone, and no kin follow his corpse to the grave, who will refuse to wreck on the hard-hearted proctors the revenge they provoke by the sorrows they inflict!'"

—vol. i. pp. 197-99.

Of *The Fetches*, the second tale in this series, we shall only say, that it is in many parts powerfully written, and excites a

degree of interest in the perusal, of which, considering the fantastic nature of the story, the sober reader is afterwards inclined to be ashamed. As it is emphatically with the *National Tales* of Ireland we have to do, and *The Fatches* can scarcely be ranked amongst them,—as, although founded on a popular Irish superstition, it is quite as much like a German legend as it is to any thing else, we shall pass on to the third and last tale, *John Doe*, which demands a more extended notice. In the management of the story, the working up of the incidents, and the delineation of character, it is certainly equal to *Crohoore na Vilhoige*; whilst, in one respect, the almost total absence of the buffoonery which disfigures the latter, it has a decided superiority. The character of O'Clery, by which name the celebrated Father Arthur O'Leary is designated, is admirably drawn, and kept up with great spirit throughout, and the fidelity of the portrait has been acknowledged by the few cotemporaries of the great original who still remain. As it is highly characteristic, we shall here extract the passage in which O'Clery is first introduced, and is mistaken by a pragmatical, prejudiced English officer and his orderly for the formidable *John Doe*.

"The appearance, almost immediately, of a man from the bosheen, was not calculated, all circumstances of time, place, and prepossession, considered, to allay the fears of our travellers. He was well mounted on a strong, active, though not handsome horse; his figure seemed over large, enveloped from the chin to the boot-heels in a dark top-coat; on his head appeared a white mass of something, which the imperfect light did not allow Graham to discriminate or assign to any known class of head gear; and upon this again was placed a hat, with a remarkably broad brim, and a low, round crown. As he emerged on the main road, this apparition still continued his voluminous chaunt, and was only interrupted by the challenge 'Who goes there?—stand!' of Graham, and its instant echo by the mechanical old soldier. 'Stand yourself then,' answered the stranger, in an easy, unembarrassed, but by no means hostile, tone; and continuing, rather jocosely, he repeated an old school-boy rhyme,—

'If you're a man, stand';
If you're a woman, go;
If you're an evil spirit, sink down low.'

"'Did you say, fire, sir?' asked Evans, in an aside to Graham, and levelling his piece.

"'No!' said Graham, aloud; 'hold!—and you, sir, I ask again, who or what are you? friend or foe?'

"'A friend to all honest men, and a foe, when I can help myself, to no man at all,' was the answer."

"'That's no answer,' whispered Evans.

"'You speak in untimely and silly riddles, sir,' said Graham; 'advance and declare yourself.'

“ ‘giving your pardon,’ continued the stranger, still in a good-humoured tone, ‘I see no prudent reason why I should advance at the invitation of two persons armed and unknown to me.’

“ ‘We are the king’s soldiers,’ said Evans, rather precipitately.

“ ‘Silence, man,’ interrupted Graham. ‘I am an officer in the king’s service, sir, and my attendant is a soldier.’

“ ‘O ho !’ quoth the stranger, ‘an officer, but no soldier.’

“ ‘What, sir !’ exclaimed Graham, raising his pistol, while Evans had recourse to his musket.

“ ‘Hold ! and for shame, gentlemen !’ cried the other, seriously altering his tone. ‘What ! on a defenceless and peaceable poor man, who has given you no provocation ? Upon my life, now, but this is unceremonious treatment, just at the end of one of my own bosheens. In the king’s name, forbear ; if, indeed, ye are the king’s soldiers, as you say, though I can discover no outward badges of it ;’ for Graham rode in a plain dress, and Evans had disguised, under a great coat, all appearance of uniform, a foraging-cap alone intimating, to an experienced eye, his military character.

“ ‘I pledge my honour to the fact,’ said Graham, in answer to the stranger’s last observation.

“ ‘Recover arms !’ cried Graham, ‘and fall back, Evans, and keep yourself quiet.’

“ ‘God bless you, sir, and do manage him now,’ continued the stranger, as Evans obeyed orders. ‘I will hold out my arms, I say, as they are at present, and we’ll lave the rest to my horse. Come, Pod-herreen, right about face, and march.’

“ The obedient animal moved accordingly, and a few paces brought his master and Graham face to face. ‘And now, sir,’ continued this person, ‘I suppose you are satisfied, and I may just lift the baste’s rein, as before.’

“ To this Graham assented, rather because he saw no reasonable ground for refusal, than because he was perfectly satisfied ; while Evans, from behind, whispered, ‘Search him first, your honour ; ’tis Doe, I’ll take my oath of it, in one of his disguises ; look at him.’

“ Graham did look, and, in truth, if his moral certainty was not so strong as Evans’s, he still had misgivings, in common with the crafty old campaigner. The white protuberance on the stranger’s head he could now ascertain to be some species of wig, bloated out over his ears and the back of his neck, to an immoderate compass, and lying close to his forehead and the side of his face in a rigid, unbroken line, while it peaked down in the middle of the forehead, much like, in this respect, the professional head disguise of the gentleman of the long robe. The broad-leafed, round-topped thing on the pinnacle of this, still seemed to be a hat, and the dark loose coat hid all detail of the figure. By his face, the stranger was between forty and fifty, exactly Doe’s age ; and his heavy, depressed eye-brows, broad-backed nose, well-defined and expressive mouth, together with the self-assured twinkle of his eyes, that gleamed on Graham like illuminated jets, and a certain mixed

character of severity and humour that ran through his whole visage, indicated a person of no ordinary cast, at least.

* * * * *

"The object of his admiration again broke silence. 'And I suppose I may go my road, too, without any farther question, captain?'

"'May I ask which road you travel, sir?' asked Graham, with an obvious meaning.

"'Hoot, toot, now,' said the other, 'that's too Irish a way of answering a gentleman's question on the king's high-way. Danger has often come of such odd answers. You see I am unarmed, and I see that you have the power, that is, if you liked it, to strip me of my old wig and hat in a moment, and no friend of mine the wiser. In fact, sir, you now give me sufficient cause to look after my own personal safety. I have no wish to offend any gentleman; but you must excuse me for saying I cannot be quite sure who or what *you* are: you may be Captain John Doe as well as any other captain, for aught I know.'

"This was said with much gravity; and Graham hastened, in some simplicity, to make the most solemn and earnest declarations of his loyalty, and professional character and services.

"'Well sir,' continued the stranger, who had now turned the tables, and become catechist accordingly, 'all this may be very true, and from your appearance and manners I am inclined to think the best of you; but if you are not he how can I be so sure of that suspicious-looking person at your back?'

"Evans, shocked to the bottom of his soul, as well as displeased, that under any circumstances, he could be confounded with a traitor, rebel and desperado, shouted out at this observation, and was with some difficulty restrained by Graham from taking instant vengeance for the insult. When he was restored to order, Graham assured the stranger, with emphasis equal to what he had used on his own account, of Evans's real character."—pp. 72-79.

After some farther conversation, and some ludicrous incidents, the stranger and Graham travel on in company:—

"The day was now fully up, and the thick vapour that had slept out the night on the bosom of Slievenamon, whitened in the returning light, and lazily obeying the summons of the breeze, began to crawl towards the peak of the mountain, and there once more deposit itself, as if to take another slothful nap. Graham remarked on the picturesque effect: and his companion replied, 'Yes, it is odd enough that ould Slievenamon should put on his night-cap just as all the rest of the world was throwing off that appendage.'

"Graham, too proper and systematic in the arrangement of his ideas to like this trope, did not notice it, but proceeded, with a little vanity of his travelled lore, to allude to the superiority of Italian, over our island scenery.

"'Superiority is a general word,' said the traveller, 'in the way you use it. I presume you do not mean mere height, as applied to such mountain scenery as surrounds us; in other respects, the Italian

landscape, principally owing of course to the influence of atmosphere, is more beautiful than the English one, and from the scarcity of trees in Ireland, much more so than the Irish one; but among the mist and shadow of our island hills, as you call them, particularly in Kerry, I have always felt a fuller sense of the sublime, at least, than I ever did in the presence of continental scenery, either in Italy or in Spain; Switzerland, alone, to my eye, first equals us, and then surpasses us.'

"This speech gave intimation of rather more acquaintance with the distinctions, in a knowledge of which Graham took it for granted he might shine, than it seemed practicable to turn to advantage, so he avoided the general subject; and taking up only a minor division of it, protested he could not understand why, unless it was attributable to the indolence of its people, Ireland should be so 'shamefully deficient in trees!' 'Indeed!' his companion replied in an indefinite tone; then after a pause, added, that 'he thought so too;' but Graham did not notice—it was not intended he should—the scrutinizing, and, afterwards, rather contemptuous look, and, finally, the severe waggery of face, that filled up the seeming *hintus*. So having to his own mind hit on a fruitful theme, Graham diverged into all the ramifications of Irish indolence; obstinacy was his next word; Irish indolence and obstinacy; they would neither do, nor learn how to do anything, he said; they would not even submit to be educated out of the very ignorance and bad spirit that produced all this Whiteboyism. There was a national establishment, he was well assured, in Dublin, with ample means, that proposed the blessings of education on the most liberal plan; yet the very ministers of the religion of the country would not suffer their ragged and benighted flock to take advantage of so desirable an opportunity; the bigotted rustic pastors actually forbade all parents to send their children to the schools of this institution.

"'Yes,' the stranger said, 'the parish priests, the bigotted parish priests; and all because a certain course of reading was prescribed in these schools.'

"'Precisely, sir,' said Graham.

"'The bigotry of the priests is intolerable,' said the stranger, 'nothing can bring them to consent to the proposed terms, because, forsooth, they plead a conscientious scruple; because, they say, their approval would be a breach of their religious duty; as if we had anything to do with the private conscience and creed of such people.'

"'Or as if the body of respectable gentlemen who framed the regulations, should accede, by rescinding their law, to the superstitious prejudices of such people,' echoed Graham,

"'Very true, sir; the Medes and Persians, I am given to understand, never repealed a law, and why should the gentlemen you speak of? Besides, there is so little necessity for the concession, the liberal and wise association can so easily accomplish their professed object without it.'

"'Pardon me, sir, there we differ: the object proposed is the education of the poor of this country, and I cannot exactly see how they

are to be educated, if—as is on all hands undeniable—the parish priests have sufficient influence to keep them now and for ever out of the school-houses.’

“‘Oh, sir, nothing can be easier. But first let me see that we understand each other. You and I, suppose, are now riding to the same point; well, a pit, an inundation, or a fallen mountain, occurs a little way on, rendering impassable the road we had conceived to be perfectly easy, so that we cannot gain our journey’s end by this road. If you please, the place we want to reach shall stand for the education of the poor Irish, the object professed; *we* may personify the educating society, taking our own road; and the bigotted priests are represented by the monstrous impediment. Well, sir, we reach that insurmountable obstacle to our progress, and now, would it not be most humiliating and inconsistent, and all that is unworthy, if we did not instantly stop and declare we would not proceed a foot farther, by any other road, till one favourite one, that never can, be cleared, *is* cleared for us; so far I understand you, sir.’

“‘Then I protest you have an advantage I do not possess over you, sir,’ said Graham.

“‘All will be distinct in a moment,’ resumed his companion. ‘I say we are both exactly of opinion that the society should not, with ample means and professions, take a single step towards their end, unless by their own blockaded way; that, in dignified consistency, they should not vouchsafe to teach one chattering urchin how to read or write, or cast up accounts, unless they can at the same time teach him theology; in other words, till they see the mountain shoved aside, or the deluge drained, or the bottomless pit filled up: in other words again, till the bigotted popish priests consent to sacrifice their conscience, whatever it may be; though, meantime, the swarming population remain innocent of any essential difference between B and a bull’s foot, or between A and the gable-end of a cabin. We are agreed, I say, sir!’

“‘Upon my word, whatever may be your real drift, I must admit you have substantially defined, though in your own strange way, the very thing that I but just now endeavoured to distinguish. And I must now repeat, from what we have both said, that the main object of the society still seems shut out of attainment. This, however, was what you appeared to deny, I think; I should be glad to hear your remedy.’

“‘We come to it at once, sir; by no means look out for another road, but try to get rid of the irremovable barrier.’

“‘I protest, sir, you rather puzzle me.’

“‘That’s the way, sir,’ continued the stranger, running on in his wonted delight and bitterness, ‘no time can be lost, nor no common sense and consistency compromised in the hopeful experiment; that’s the way.’

“‘What, sir? what do you mean?’

“‘Convert the parish priests; there is nothing easier.’—pp. 86-92.

We must now bid farewell to *John Doe*, although strongly tempted to delay by various passages of great power and beauty, amongst which we need only particularize the description of Mary Grace at her prayers, and the scene between Paroel and the wretched Cathleen; but we must resist, as our time and space are both limited, and in consequence we can merely glance over the remaining works of Mr. Banim, the principal of which, *The Nowlans*, has been made so familiar by frequent criticisms, as to call for few observations on our part. It is a work strongly marked by the defects and beauties of our author, the latter, however, predominant—the interest is intense—the descriptions true to nature—and although the story is an unpleasant one, and there are scenes and passages too warmly coloured, (while vice, though made abundantly “hateful,” is, perhaps, too plainly unveiled,) yet the moral tendency of the whole is undeniable and irreproachable. Of the *Boyne Water* and the *Croppy* we do not think so highly, although they abound in passages of deep feeling and strong interest; but we think they want originality of plan and design, and the incidents are overstrained and improbable. The *Ghost Hunter* we consider the most perfect of Mr. Banim’s later productions, and we regret much that time at present does not permit us to analyse it as closely as its merits would demand. Perhaps at some future period we may be able to do so,—meanwhile we will take leave of Mr. Banim, sincerely rejoicing that he is once more a dweller amongst us, and earnestly hoping that his native air, and the scenes of his youth, may not only restore his health, but renovate his genius, and inspire new works to emulate the fame of their predecessors.

The next to appear before the public was Mr. Griffin, whose first work, *The Aylmers*, although full of promise, did not attract much attention. This was quickly succeeded by the first series of *Tales of the Munster Festivals*, in which a very striking improvement in style, as well as in management of plot, was already visible, and which soon obtained very considerable reputation. *Card Drawing*, the first of these tales, is highly interesting, and the characters, though, with but one exception, slight sketches, are true to nature. That exception, the character of Pryce Kavanagh, is a highly finished and masterly portrait. His cold sullen vindictive nature, brooding for years over fancied injuries, till time brings a fitting opportunity for revenge without danger to himself, seems at first sight to fit him to be not only the chief actor in a scene of blood, and the cunning contriver of a scheme to throw suspicion on another, but also the unmoved spectator of that other’s death for a crime of which he alone was guilty. On a closer inspection, however, we find that the worst

are not *all* bad—two principles of good still lurked within the breast of Pryce—the one, strong filial piety—the other, undoubting faith in the truths of Christianity. Nor can anything be better drawn than the gradual workings of remorse, suggested by those virtuous principles, and finding fresh aliment in every incident, however trifling; until after violent conflicts of feeling, he takes the better part, and surrenders himself to save the innocent. The *Half-Sir*, though not equal as a story to *Card Drawing*, still displays considerable talent, and it is impossible not to feel interested for the wayward lovers, Hammond and Emily, although at the same time provoked with both for the pride and captiousness which makes their prime of life miserable. The humours of Remmy O'Lone are but little exaggerated, and highly amusing; while the scenes amongst the peasantry of the south, during the prevalence of typhus fever, are but too painfully true. *Suil Dhuv, the Coiner*, the last tale in the series, is also the best. There are some slight anachronisms and some inconsistencies in the plot, but these are but trifling blemishes, and do not detract from its intrinsic merits. The characters of the robbers who compose the coiner's gang, are admirably discriminated, and possess a wonderful variety. The stern and wily, but high-spirited and courageous Suil Dhuv—the ferocious Red Rory, trembling on the brink of the grave, yet still thirsting for blood—the stupidly cunning Manus—the sharp, quick-witted Awney Farrell—the gentle and fair-spoken Jerry,—and the vacillating M'Mahon, constant neither to good nor evil,—each possesses an individuality which makes itself distinctly felt. There are two scenes in this tale which are equal to anything the genius of Scott has produced—the first is the introduction of Kumba among the robbers—the other the sacrilegious attempt of Suil Dhuv to rob the Mountain Chapel. We are only deterred from extracting both these passages by our anxiety to come at once to the master-piece of our author—to *The Collegians*. It is a domestic tragedy of the deepest interest—an original work of the very highest order. *Original*, we say emphatically—for although a real occurrence in the south of Ireland (the murder of a young female by the connivance of her lover, a young man of good family) has furnished its groundwork, it has done no more—the perfect and beautiful story erected upon that groundwork—its characters so truly and delicately drawn—so admirably grouped—so finely contrasted—its incidents so animated—so varied—its quaint humour—its deep pathos, and its pure morality—are all alike the original creations of our author's genius. The scene is laid in Munster some sixty years since, and the manners of that day are delineated with much humour,

and, we believe, considerable accuracy. The characters are drawn from all classes—the hard-drinking, fox-hunting, fire-eating squire—the much maligned middle-man—the country parish priest—the rich tradesman—the strong farmer—and the poor cottier—each has his representative, and all are faithfully portrayed. Among the female characters Eily O'Connor claims the first place. In all the range of romantic fiction we do not remember so sweet a being; there is a simplicity, a gentleness, a power of loving in her disposition, which, brought out as they are by a thousand delicate touches (for she appears but seldom, and as seldom acts a prominent part) win our utmost sympathy for her sorrows—our deepest pity and horror for her deplorable fate. It is, indeed, the highest triumph of our author's genius—the strongest proof of his skill—that while such a feeling is excited for Eily, we still preserve an interest for the faithless husband who deserts and destroys her; yet so strong are his temptations, and so terrible his remorse, that we cannot help looking on him more in sorrow than in anger. But instead of dilating farther on the merits of the *Collagians* (which very ill-chosen and inappropriate title is, by the way, almost the sole blemish of the work), we shall proceed to give a few extracts from its pages, although where all is so good it is hard to make a choice. Opening the first volume, however, almost at random, we have chanced upon the scene where Myles Murphy pleads the cause of his impounded ponies, and we give it as a fair specimen of the lighter portions of the work:—

“The door opened, and the uncommissioned master of horse made his appearance. His figure was at once strikingly majestic and prepossessing; and the natural ease and dignity with which he entered the room, might almost have become a peer of the realm, coming to solicit the *interest* of the family for an electioneering candidate. A broad and sunny forehead, light and wavy hair, a blue cheerful eye, a nose that in Persia might have won him a throne, healthful cheeks, a mouth that was full of character, and a well knit and almost gigantic person, constituted his external claims to attention; of which his lofty and confident, although most unassuming carriage, showed him to be in some degree conscious. He wore a complete suit of brown frieze, with a gay-coloured cotton handkerchief around his neck, blue worsted stockings, and brogues carefully greased, while he held in his right hand an immaculate felt hat, the purchase of the preceding day's fair. In the left he held a straight-handled whip and a wooden rattle, which he used for the purpose of collecting his ponies when they happened to straggle. . . . The mountaineer now commenced a series of most profound obeisances to every individual of the company, beginning with the ladies, and ending with the officer. After which he remained glancing from one to another, with a smile of mingled sadness and

courtesy, as if waiting, like an evoked spirit, the spell word of the enchantress, who had called him up. 'Tisn't manners to speak first before quollity,' was the answer he would have been prepared to render, in case any one had enquired the motive of his conduct.

" 'Well, Myles, what wind has brought you to this part of the country?' said Mr. Barney Cregan. 'The ould wind always, then, Mr. Cregan,' said Myles, with another deep obeisance, 'seeing would I get a *few* o' the ponies off. Long life to you, sir; I was proud to hear you wor above stairs, for it isn't the first time you stood my friend in trouble. My father (the heavens be his bed this day!) was a fosterer o' your uncle Mik's, an' a first an' second cousin, be the mother's side, to ould Mrs. O'Leary, your honour's aunt, westwards. So 'tis kind for your honour to have a leaning towards uz.'

" 'A clear case, Myles; but what have you to say to Mrs. Chute about the trespass?'

" 'What have I to say to her? Why, then, a deal. It's a long time since I see her now, an' she wears finely, the Lord bless her! Ah, Miss Anne!—oych, murther! murther! sure I'd know that face all over the world, your own liven image, ma'am, (turning to Mrs. Chute) an' a little dawney touch o' the masher (heaven rest his soul!) about the chin; you'd think my grandmother an' himself wor third cousins. Oh, vo! vo!'

" 'He has made out three relations in the company already,' said Anne to Kyrle; 'could any courtier make interest more skilfully?'

" 'Well, Myles, about the ponies.'

" 'Poor cratures, true for you, sir. There's Mr. Creagh there, long life to him, knows how well I airn 'em for ponies. You seen what trouble I had wid 'em, Mr. Creagh, the day you fought the *jewel* with young M'Farlane from the north. They went skelping like mad, over the hills, down to Glena, when they heard the shots. Ah, indeed, Mr. Creagh, you *cowed* the north countryman that morning fairly.' 'My honour is satisfied,' says he, 'if Mr. Creagh will apologize.' 'I didn't come to the ground to apologize,' says Mr. Creagh. 'It's what I never done to any man,' says he, 'an' it 'll be long from me to do it to you.' 'Well, my honour is satisfied any way,' says the other, when he heard the pistols cocking for a second shot. I thought I'd split laughing. 'Pook! pooh! nonsense, man,' said Creagh, endeavouring to hide a smile of gratified vanity, 'your unfortunate ponies will starve, while you stay inventing wild stories.' 'He has gained another friend since,' whispered Miss Chute.

" 'Invent!' echoed the mountaineer. 'There's Dr. Leake was on the spot the same time, an' he knows if I invent. An' you did a good job, too, that time, Doctor,' he continued, turning to the latter. 'Old Kegs, the piper, gives it up to you of all the doctors going, for curing his eye sighth, and he has a great leaning to you; moreover, you are such a fine *Irishman*.'

" 'Another,' said Miss Chute, apart.

" 'Yourself an' ould Mr. Daly,' he continued; 'I hope the master is well in his health, sir? (turning towards Kyrle, with another pro-

found *congé*) may the Lord fasten the life on you and him! That's a gentleman that wouldn't see a poor boy in want of his supper or a bed to sleep in, an' he far from his own people, nor persecute him in regard of a little trespass that was done *unknownst*.'

" 'This fellow is irresistible,' said Kyrle. 'A perfect Ulysses.'

" 'And have you nothing to say to the Captain, Myles? Is he no relation of yours?'

" 'The Captain, Mr. Cregan? Except in so far as we are all servants of the Almighty, and children of Adam, I know of none. But I have a *feeling* for the red coat, for all. I have three brothers in the army, serving in America. One of 'em was made a corporal, or an admiral, or some *ral*, or another, for behavin' well at Quaybec the time of Woulfe's death. The English showed themselves a great people that day, surely.'

" 'Having thus secured to himself what lawyers call 'the ear of the court,' the mountaineer proceeded to plead the cause of his ponies with much force and pathos; dwelling on their distance from home, their wild habits of life, which left them ignorant of the common rules of boundaries, enclosures, and field-gates; setting forth, with equal emphasis, the length of road they had travelled, their hungry condition, and the barrenness of the common on which they had been turned out; and finally, urging in mitigation of penalty, the circumstance of this being a first offence, and the improbability of its being ever renewed in future.

" 'The surly old steward, Dan Dawley, was accordingly summoned for the purpose of ordering the discharge of the prisoners, a commission which he received with a face as black as winter. Miss Anne might 'folly her liking,' he said, 'but it was the last time he'd ever trouble himself about damage or trespass any more. What affair was it of his, if all the horses in the barony were turned loose into the kitchen garden itself?'

" 'Horses do you call 'em,' exclaimed Myles, bending on the old man a frown of dark remonstrance; 'a parcel of little ponies, not the heighth o' that chair.'

" 'What signifies it?' snarled the steward; 'they'd eat as much, and more, than a racer.'

" 'Is it they, the craturs? They'd hardly injure a plate of stirabout if it was put before them.'

" 'Aych!—hugh!'

" 'And 'tisn't what I'd expect from you, Mr. Dawley, to be going again a relation of your own in this manner.'

" 'A relation of mine!' growled Dawley, scarce deigning to cast a glance back over his shoulder, as he hobbled out of the room.

" 'Yea, then, of your's.'

" Dawley paused at the door and looked back.

" 'Will you deny it to me, if you can, continued Myles, fixing his eye on him, 'that Biddy Nale, your own gossip, an' Larey Foley, wor-second cousins? Deny that to me, if you can?'

" 'For what would I deny it?'

" 'Well, why!—and Larrey Foley was uncle to my father's first wife (the angels spread her bed this night!) And I tell you another thing, the Dawleys would cut a poor figure in many a fair westwards, if they hadn't the Murphys to back them, so they would. But what hurt! sure you can folly your own pleasure.'"

"The old steward muttered something which nobody could hear, and left the room. Myles of the ponies, after many profound bows to all his relations, and a profusion of thanks to the ladies, followed him, and was observed a few minutes after in the avenue."—vol. i. pp. 184-194.

Passing over with some difficulty many admirable scenes, (amongst which the death of the old huntsman, Dalton, stands conspicuous for power and originality) we come to the *last* interview, as it turned out, of Hardress and Eily.

" 'Hardress,' she said to him one morning when he was preparing to depart, after an interval of gloomy silence, long unbroken, 'I won't let you go among those fine ladies any more, if you be thinking of them always when you come to me again.'"

"Her husband started like one conscience-stricken, and looked sharply round upon her.

" 'What do you mean?' he said, with a slight contraction of the brows.

" 'Just what I say then,' said Eily, smiling and nodding her head, with a petty affectation of authority; 'those fine ladies must not take you from Eily. And I'll tell you another thing, Hardress; whisper!' she laid her hand on his shoulder, raised herself on tiptoe, and murmured in his ear, 'I'll not let you among the fine gentlemen either, if that's the teaching they give you.'"

" 'What teaching?'

" 'Oh, you know yourself,' Eily continued, nodding and smiling; 'it is a teaching that you'd never learn from Eily if you spent the evenings with her as you used to do in the beginning. Do you know is there ever a priest living in this neighbourhood?'

" 'Why do you ask?'

" 'Because I have something to tell him that lies upon my conscience.'

" 'And would you not confess your failings to an affectionate friend, Eily, as well as to a holier director?'

" 'I would,' said Eily, bending on him a look of piercing sweetness, 'if I thought he would forgive me afterwards as readily.'

" 'Provided always that you are a true penitent,' returned Hardress, reaching her his hand.

" 'There is little fear of that,' said Eily. 'It would be well for me, Hardress, if I could as easily be penitent for heavier sins.' After a moment's deep thought, Eily resumed her playful manner, and placing both her hands in the still expanded one of her husband, she continued: 'Well, then, sir, I'll tell you what's troubling me. I'm afraid I'm going wrong entirely this time back. I got married, sir, a couple of months ago, to one Mr. Hardress Cregan, a very nice gentleman, that I'm very fond of.'

“ ‘Too fond, perhaps?’

“ ‘I’m afraid so, rightly speaking, although I hope he doesn’t think so. But he told me, when he brought me down to Kilmoney, that he was going to speak to his friends,’ (the brow of the listener darkened) ‘and to ask their forgiveness for himself and Eily; and there’s, nearly two months now since I came, and what I have to charge myself with, sir, is, that I am too fond of my husband, and that I don’t like to vex him by speaking about it, as maybe it would be my duty to do. And, besides, I don’t keep my husband to proper order at all. I let him stop out sometimes for many days together, and then I’m very angry with him: but when he comes, I’m so foolish and so glad to see him, that I can’t look cross, or speak a hard word, if I was to get all Ireland for it. And more than that again, I’m not at all sure how he spends his time while he is out, and I don’t question him properly about it. I know there are a great many handsome young ladies where he goes, and a deal of gentlemen that are very pleasant company after dinner; for, indeed, my husband is often more merry than wise, when he comes home late at night, and still Eily says nothing. And besides all this, I think my husband has something weighing upon his mind, and I don’t make him tell it to me, as a good wife ought to do; and I’d like to have a friend’s advice, as you’re good enough to offer it, sir, to know what I’d do. What do you think about him, sir? Do you think any of the ladies has taken his fancy? or do you think he’s growing tired of Eily? or that he doesn’t think so much of her, now that he knows her better? What would you advise me to do?’

“ ‘I am rather at a loss,’ said Hardress, with some bitterness in his accent; ‘it is so difficult to advise a *jealous* person.’

“ ‘Jealous!’ exclaimed Eily, with a slight blush; ‘ah, now I’m sorry I came to you at all; for I see you know nothing about me, since you think that’s the way. I see now that you don’t know how to advise me at all, and I’ll leave you there. What would I be jealous of?’

“ ‘Why, of those handsome young ladies that your husband visits.’

“ ‘Ah, if I was jealous that way,’ said Eily, with a keen and serious smile, ‘that isn’t the way I’d show it.’

“ ‘How, then, Eily?’

“ ‘Why, first of all, I wouldn’t as much as think of such a thing, without the greatest reason in the world, without being downright sure of it; and if I got that reason, nobody would ever know it, for I wouldn’t say a word, only walk into that room there, and stretch upon the bed, and die.’

“ ‘Why, that’s what many a brutal husband, in such a case, would exactly desire.’

“ ‘So itself,’ said Eily, with a flushed and kindling cheek; ‘so itself. I wouldn’t be long in his way, I’ll engage.’

“ ‘Well, then,’ Hardress said, rising and addressing her with a severe solemnity of manner, ‘my advice to you is this. As long as you live, never presume to inquire into your husband’s secrets, nor affect an influence which he never will admit. And if you wish to avoid that great reason for jealousy of which you stand in fear, avoid suffering the

slightest suspicion to appear; for men are stubborn beings, and when such suspicions are wantonly set afloat, they find the temptation to furnish them with a cause almost irresistible.

" 'Well, Hardress,' said Eily, 'you are angry with me, after all. Didn't you say you would forgive me? Oh, then, I'll engage I'd be very sorry to say any thing, if I thought you'd be this way.'

" 'I am not angry,' said Hardress, in a tone of vexation. 'I *do* forgive you,' he added, in an accent of sharp reproof; 'I spoke entirely for your own sake.'

" 'And wouldn't Hardress allow his own Eily her little joke?'

" 'Joke!' exclaimed Hardress, bursting into a sudden passion, which made his eyes water, and his limbs shake, as if they would have sunk beneath him. 'Am I become the subject of your mirth! Day after day my brain is verging nearer and nearer to utter madness, and do you jest on that? Do you see this cheek?—you count more hollows there than when I met you first, and does that make you merry? Give me your hand! Do you feel how that heart beats? Is that a subject, Eily, for joke or jest? Do you think this face turns thin or yellow for nothing? There are a thousand and a thousand horrid thoughts and temptations burning within me daily, and eating my flesh away by inches. The devil is laughing at me, and Eily joins him!'

" 'Oh, Hardress—Hardress!'

" 'Yes!—you have the best right to laugh, for you are the gainer! Curse on you!—Curse on your beauty—curse on my own folly—for I have been undone by both! Let go my arm! I hate you! Take the truth, I'll not be poisoned with it. I am sick of you—you have disgusted me! I will ease my heart by telling you the whole. If I seek the society of other women, it is because I find not among them your meanness and vulgarity. If I get drunk, and make myself the beast you say, it is in the hope to forget the iron chain that binds me to you!'

" 'Oh, Hardress!' shrieked the affrighted girl, 'you are not in earnest now?'

" 'I am! I *do not* joke!' her husband exclaimed, with a hoarse vehemence. 'Let go my knees!—you are sure enough of me. I am bound to you too firmly.'

" 'Oh, my dear Hardress! Oh, my own husband, listen to me! Hear your own Eily for one moment! Oh, my poor father!'

" 'Ha!'

" 'It slipped from me! Forgive me! I know I am to blame,—I am greatly to blame, dear Hardress; but forgive me! I left my home and all for you—oh, do not cast me off! I will do anything to please you—I never will open my lips again—only say you did not mean all that! Oh, Heaven!' she continued, throwing her head back, and looking upward with expanded mouth and eyes, while she maintained her kneeling posture, and clasped her husband's feet. 'Merciful Heaven, direct him! Oh, Hardress, think how far I am from home!—think of all you promised me, and how I believed you! Stay with me for a while, at any rate. Do not—'

"On a sudden, while Hardress was still struggling to free himself from her arms, without doing her a violence—Eily felt a swimming in her head, and a cloud upon her sight. The next instant she was motionless."—vol. ii. pp. 140-50.

Our next extract is one of a less painful nature, and quite equal to the last in power and beauty. It is the visit of the unhappy Eily to her uncle, the parish priest, upon Christmas morning.

"After a sharp and frosty morning, the cold sun of the Christmas noon found Father Edward O'Connor seated in his little parlour, before a cheerful turf fire. A small table was laid before it, and decorated with a plain breakfast, which the fatigues of the forenoon rendered not a little acceptable. The sun shone directly in the window, dissolving slowly away the fantastic foliage of frost-work upon the window-panes, and flinging its shadow on the boarded floor. The reverend host himself sat in a meditative posture near the fire, awaiting the arrival of some fresh eggs, over the cookery of which, Jim, the clerk, presided in the kitchen. His head was drooped a little,—his eyes fixed upon the burning fuel,—his nether lip a little protruded,—his feet stretched out and crossed,—and the small bulky volume, in which he had been reading his daily office, half-closed in his right hand, with a finger left between the leaves to mark the place. No longer a pale and secluded student, Father Edward now presented the appearance of a healthy man, with a face hardened by frequent exposure to the winds of midnight and of morn, and with a frame made firm and vigorous by unceasing exercise. His eye, moreover, had acquired a certain character of severity, which was more than qualified by a nature of the tenderest benevolence. On the table, close to the small tray which held his simple tea-equipage, was placed a linen bag, containing, in silver, the amount of his Christmas offerings. They had been paid him on that morning, in crowns, half-crowns, and shillings, at the parish chapel. And Father Edward, on this occasion, had returned thanks to his parishioners for their liberality,—the half-yearly compensation for all his toils and exertions, his sleepless nights and restless days, amounting to no less a sum than thirteen pounds, fourteen shillings.

"'Tis an admiration, sir,' said Jim, the clerk, as he entered, clad in a suit of Father Edward's rusty black, laid the eggs upon the tray, and moved back to a decorous distance from the table. 'Tis an admiration what a sight of people is abroad in the kitchen, money-hunting.'

"'Didn't I tell them the last time, that I never would pay a bill upon a Christmas day again.'

"'That's the very thing I said to 'em, sir. • But 'tis the answer they made me, that they come a long distance, and it would cost 'em a day more if they were obliged to be coming again to-morrow.'

"Father Edward, with a countenance of perplexity and chagrin, removed the top of the egg, while he cast a glance alternately at the bag, and at his clerk. 'It is a hard case, Jim,' he said at last, 'that they will not allow a man even the satisfaction of retaining so much money

in his possession for a single day, and amusing himself by fancying it his own. I suspect I am doomed to be no more than a mere agent to this thirteen pound fourteen, after all ; to receive and pay it away in a breath.'

" 'Just what I was thinking myself, sir,' said Jim.

" 'Well, I suppose I must not cost the poor fellows a day's work, however, Jim, if they have come such a distance. That would be a little Pharaical, I fear.'

" Jim did not understand this word, but he bowed, as if he would say, 'Whatever your reverence says, must be correct.' * * *

" Father Edward emptied the bag of silver, and counted into several sums the amount of all the bills. When he had done so, he took in one hand the few shillings that remained, threw them into the empty bag, jingled them a little, smiled, and tossed his head. Jim, the clerk, smiled, and tossed his head in sympathy.

" 'It's aisier emptied than filled, please your reverence,' said Jim, with a short sigh.

" 'If it were not for the honour and dignity of it,' thought Father Edward, after his clerk had once more left the room, 'my humble curacy at St. John's were preferable to this extensive charge, in so dreary a peopled wilderness. Quiet lodgings, a civil landlady, regular hours of discipline, and the society of my oldest friends ; what was there in these that could be less desirable than a cold small house, on a mountain-side, total seclusion from the company of my equals, and a fearful increase of responsibility ? Did the cause of preference lie in the distinction between the letters *V.P.* and *P.P.*, and the pleasure of paying away thirteen pounds fourteen shillings at Christmas ? Oh, world ! world ! world ! you are a great stage-coach, with fools for outside passengers ; a huge round lump of earth, on the surface of which men seek for peace, but find it only when they sink beneath ! Would I not give the whole thirteen pounds fourteen at this moment, to sit once more in my accustomed chair, in that small room, with the noise of the streets just dying away as the evening fell, and my poor little Eily reading to me from the window as of old, as innocent, as happy, and as dutiful as then ? Indeed I would, and more, if I had it. Poor Mihil ! Ah, Eily, Eily ! you deceived me ! Well, well ! Old Mihil says I am too ready to preach patience to him. I must try and practise it myself.'

" At this moment the parlour-door opened again, and Jim once more thrust in his head.

" 'A girl, sir, that's abroad, and would want to see you, if you please.'

" Jim went out, and presently returned, ushering in, with many curious and distrustful glances, the young female of whom he had spoken. * * * When the clerk had left the room, Father Edward indulged in a preliminary examination of the person of his visitor. She was young and well-formed, and clothed in a blue cloak and bonnet, which were so disposed as she sat, as to conceal altogether both her person and features.

" 'Well, my good girl,' said the clergyman in an encouraging tone, 'what is your business with me ?'

"The young female remained for some moments silent, and her dress moved as if it were agitated by some strong emotion of the frame. At length, rising from her seat, and tottering towards the astonished priest, she knelt down at his feet, and exclaimed, while she uncovered her face, with a burst of tears and sobbing, 'Oh, uncle Edward, don't you know me?'

"Her uncle started from his chair. Astonishment, for some moments, held him silent, and almost breathless. He at last stooped down, gazed intently on her face, raised her, and placed her on a chair, where she remained quite passive, resumed his seat, and covered his face, in silence, with his hand. Eily, more affected by this action than she might have been by the bitterest reproaches, continued to weep aloud with increasing violence.

"'Don't cry—do not afflict yourself,' said Father Edward, in a quiet yet cold tone; 'there can be no use in that. The Lord forgive you, child! Don't cry. Ah, Eily O'Connor! I never thought it would be our fate to meet in this manner.'

"'I hope you will forgive me, uncle,' sobbed the poor girl; 'I did it for the best, indeed.'

"'Did it for the best!' said the clergyman, looking on her for the first time with some sternness. 'Now, Eily, you will vex me, if you say that again. I was in hopes that, lost as you are, you came to me, nevertheless, in penitence and in humility at least, which was the only consolation your friends could ever look for. But the first word I hear from you is an excuse, a justification of your crime. Did it for the best! Don't you remember, Eily, having ever read in that book I was accustomed to explain to you in old times, that the excuses of Saul made his repentance unaccepted? and will you imitate his example? You did it for the best, after all! I won't speak of my own sufferings, since this unhappy affair, but there is your old father (I am sorry to hurt your feelings, but it is my duty to make you know the extent of your guilt)—your old father has not enjoyed one moment's rest ever since you left him. He was here with me a week since, for the second time after your departure, and I never was so shocked in all my life. You cry; but you would cry more bitterly if you saw him. When I knew you together, he was a good father to you, and a happy father too. He is now a frightful skeleton! Was that done for the best, Eily?'

"'Oh! no, no, sir, I did not mean to say that I acted rightly, or even from a right intention. I only meant to say, that it was not quite so bad as it might appear.'

"'To judge by your own appearance, Eily,' her uncle continued, in a compassionate tone, 'one would say, that its effects have not been productive of much happiness on either side. Turn to the light; you are very thin and pale. Poor child! poor child! oh! why did you do this? What could have tempted you to throw away your health, your duty, to destroy your father's peace of mind, and your father's reputation, all in one day!'

"'Uncle,' said Eily, 'there is one point on which I fear you have

made a wrong conclusion. I have been, I know, sir, very ungrateful to you, and to my father, and very guilty in the sight of heaven, but I am not quite so abandoned a creature as you seem to think me. Disobedience, sir,' she added, with a blush of the deepest crimson, 'is the very worst offence of which I can accuse myself.'

"'What!' exclaimed Father Edward, while his eyes lit up with sudden pleasure, 'are you then married?'

"'I was married, sir, a month before I left my father.'

"The good clergyman seemed to be more deeply moved by this intelligence than by anything which had yet occurred in the scene. He winked repeatedly with his eyelids, in order to clear away the moisture which began to overspread the balls, but it would not do. The fountain had been unlocked, it gushed forth in a flood too copious to be restrained, and he gave up the contest. He reached his hand to Eily, grasped hers, shook it fervently and long, while he said, in a voice that was made hoarse and broken by emotion:—

"'Well, well, Eily, that's a great deal. 'Tis not every thing, but it is a great deal. The general supposition was, that the cause of secrecy could be no other than a shameful one. I am very glad of this, Eily! This will be some comfort to your father.' He again pressed her hand, and shook it kindly, while Eily wept upon his own like an infant!

"'And where do you stay now, Eily? Where—who is your husband?'

Eily appeared distressed at this question, and, after some embarrassment, said:—'My dear uncle, I am not at liberty to answer you those questions at present. My husband does not know of my having even taken this step: and I dare not think of telling what he commanded that I should keep secret.'

"'Secrecy still, Eily?' said the clergyman, rising from his seat, and walking up and down the room, with his hands behind his back, and a severe expression returning to his eye,—'I say again, I do not like this affair. Why should your husband affect this deep concealment? Is he poor?—your father will rejoice to find it no worse. Is he afraid of the resentment of your friends?—let him bring back our own Eily, and he will be received with open arms. What besides conscious guilt can make him thus desirous of concealment?'

"'I cannot tell you his reasons, uncle,' said Eily, timidly, 'but indeed he is nothing of what you say.'

"'Well; and how do you live, then, Eily? With his friends, or how? If you cannot tell where, you may at least tell how?'

"'It is not *will not* with me, indeed, uncle Edward, but *dare not*. My first act of disobedience cost me dearly enough, and I dare not attempt a second.'

"'Well, well,' replied her uncle, a little annoyed, 'you have more logic than I thought you had. I must not press you farther on that head. But how do you live? Where do you hear mass on Sundays? or, do you hear it regularly at all?'

Eily's drooping head and long silence gave answer in the negative. . . . 'Did you hear mass a single Sunday at all since you left home?' he asked in increasing amazement.

" 'Eily answered in a whisper, between her teeth, 'Not one.' The good Religious lifted his hands to heaven, and then suffered them to fall motionless by his side. 'O you poor child!' he exclaimed, 'May the Lord forgive you your sins! It is no wonder that you should be ashamed, and afraid, and silent.' . . . 'And what was your object in coming then, if you had it not in your power to tell me anything that could enable me to be of some assistance to you?'"

" 'I came, sir,' said Eily, "in the hope that you would, in a kinder manner than any body else, let my father know all that I have told you, and inform him, moreover, that I hope it will not be long before I am allowed to ask his pardon, with my own lips, for all the sorrow that I have caused him. I was afraid if I had asked my husband's permission to make this journey it might have been refused. I will now return, and persuade him, if I can, to come here with me again this week."

"Father Edward again paused for a considerable time, and eventually addressed his niece with a deep seriousness of voice and manner. 'Eily,' he said, a strong light has broken in upon me respecting your situation. I fear this man, in whom you trust so much and so generously, and to whose will you show so perfect an obedience, is not a person fit to be trusted nor obeyed. You are married, I think, to one who is not proud of his wife. Stay with me, Eily, I advise—I warn you! It appears by your own words that this man is a tyrant; already he loves you not, and from being despotic he may grow dangerous. Remain with me and write him a letter. I do not judge the man. I speak only from general probabilities, and these would suggest the great wisdom of your acting as I say."

" 'I dare not, I could not, would not do so,' said Eily, 'you never were more mistaken in any body's character than in his of whom you are speaking. If I did not fear, I love him far too well to treat him with so little confidence. When next we meet, uncle, you shall know the utmost of my apprehensions. At present I can say no more. And the time is passing too; I am pledged to return this evening. Well, my dear uncle, good bye! I hope to bring you back a better niece than you are parting with now. Trust all to me for three or four days more, and Eily never will have a secret again from her uncle, nor her father.'

" 'Good bye, child, good bye, Eily,' said the clergyman, much affected. 'Stop—stay—come here, Eily, an instant!' He took up the linen bag, before mentioned, and shook out into his hand the remaining silver of his dues. 'Eily,' said he with a smile, 'it is a long time since uncle Edward gave you a Christmas-box. Here is one for you. Open your hand, now, if you do not wish to offend me. Good bye, good bye, my poor darling child!' He kissed her cheek, and then, as if reproaching himself for an excess of leniency, he added in a more stern accent: 'I hope, Eily, that this may be the last time I shall have to part from my niece without being able to tell her name.'

"Eily had no other answer than her tears, which in most instances were the most persuasive arguments she could employ.

" 'She is an affectionate simple little creature after all,' said Father Edward, when his niece had left the house, 'a simple affectionate

creature—but I was in the right to be severe with her,' he added, giving himself credit for more than he deserved, 'her conduct called for some severity, and I was in the right to exercise it as I did.'—vol. ii. pp. 207-11, 213 228.

Our next extract shall be the departure of Eily from her cottage, in obedience to the commands of Hardress—a scene of the most touching pathos—enhanced by the horrors of the fate which awaits her, and which dimly “casts its shadows before.”

“It was the eve of little Christmas, and Eily was seated by the fire, still listening with the anxiety of defeated hope to every sound that approached the cottage door. She held in her hand a small prayer book, in which she was reading, from time to time, the office of the day. The sins and negligences of the courted maiden and the happy bride, came now in dread array before the memory of the forsaken wife, and she leaned forward, with her cheek supported by one finger, to contemplate the long arrear in silent penitence. They were for the most part such transgressions as might, in a more worldly soul, be considered indicative of innocence, rather than hopeless guilt; but Eily's was a young and tender conscience, that bore the burden with reluctance and with difficulty.

“Poll Naghten was arranging at a small table the three-branched candle, with which the vigil of this festival is observed in Catholic houses. While she was so occupied, a shadow fell upon the threshold, and Eily started from her chair. It was that of Danny Mann. She looked for a second figure, but it did not appear, and she returned to her chair, with a look of agony and disappointment.

“‘Where's your masher? Isn't he coming?’ asked Poll, while she applied a lighted rush to one of the branches of the candle.

“‘He isn't,’ returned Banny, in a surly tone, ‘he has something else to do.’

“He approached Eily, who observed, as he handed her the note, that he looked more pale than usual, and that his eye quivered with an uncertain and gloomy fire. She cast her eyes on the note in the hope of finding there a refuge from the fears which crowded in upon her. But it came only to confirm them in all their gloomy force. She read it word after word, and then letting her hand fall lifeless by her side, she leaned back against the wall in an attitude of utter desolation. Danny avoided contemplating her in this condition, and stooped forward, with his hands expanded over the fire. The whole took place in silence so complete, that Poll was not yet aware of the transaction, and had not even looked on Eily. Again she raised the paper to her eyes, and again she read in the same well known hand, to which her pulses had so often thrilled and quickened, the same unkind, cold and heartless, loveless words. She thought of the first time on which she had met with Hardress—she remembered the warmth, the tenderness, the respectful zeal of his young and early attachment—she recalled his favourite phrases of affection—and again she looked upon this unfeeling scrawl—and the contrast almost broke her heart. She thought, that if he were determined to renounce her, he

might at least have come and spoken a word at parting; even if he had used the same violence as in their last interview. His utmost harshness would be kinder than indifference like this. It was an irremediable affliction—one of those frightful visitations from the effects of which a feeble and unelastic character, like that of this unhappy girl, can never after be recovered. But though the character of Eily was unelastic—though, when once bowed down by a calamitous pressure, her spirits could not recoil, but took the drooping form, and retained it, even after the pressure was removed; still she possessed a heroism peculiar to herself; the noblest heroism of which humanity is capable—the heroism of endurance. The time had now arrived for the exercise of that faculty of silent sufferance, of which she had made her gentle boast to Hardress. She saw now that complaint would be in vain, that Hardress loved her not—that she was dead in his affections—and that although she might disturb the quiet of her husband, she never could restore her own. She determined, therefore, to obey him at once, and without a murmur. She thought that Hardress's unkindness had its origin in a dislike to her, and did not at all imagine the possibility of his proceeding to such a degree of perfidy as he, in point of fact, contemplated. Had she done so she would not have agreed to maintain the secrecy which she had promised.

"While this train of meditation was still passing through her mind, Danny Mann advanced towards the place where she was standing, and said, without raising his eyes from her feet:—

"'If you're agreeable to do what's in dat paper, *Miss Eily*, I have a boy below at de gap, wit a horse an' car, an' you can set off to-night if you like.'

"Eily, as if yielding to a mechanical impulse, glided into the little room, which, during the honey-moon, had been furnished and decorated for her own use. She restrained her eyes from wandering as much as possible; and commenced with hurried and trembling hands her arrangements for departure. They were few and speedily effected. Her apparel was folded into her trunk, and, for once, she tied on her bonnet and cloak without referring to the glass. It was all over now! It was a happy dream, but it was ended. Not a tear fell, not a sigh escaped her lips, during the course of these farewell occupations. The struggle within her breast was deep and terrible, but it was firmly mastered.

"A few minutes only elapsed before she again appeared at the door of the little chamber accoutred for the journey.

"'Danny,' she said, in a faint small voice, 'I am ready.'

"'Ready?' exclaimed Poll. 'Is it going you are, *d-chree?*' Nothing could be more dangerous to Eily's firmness, at this moment, than any sound of commiseration or of kindness. She felt the difficulty at once, and hurried to escape the chance of this additional trial. 'Poll,' she replied, still in the same faint tone, 'good bye to you! I am sorry I have only thanks to give you at parting, but I will not forget you, when it is in my power. I left my things within, I will send for them some other time.'

" 'And where is it you're going? Danny, what's all this about?'

" 'What business is it of your's?' replied her brother, in a peevish tone, or of mine eider? It's de master's bidding, and you can ax him why he done it, when he comes, if you want to know.'

" 'But the night will rain. It will be a bad night,' said Poll. 'I seen the clouds gatherin' for thunder, an' I comin' down the mountain.'

" Eily smiled faintly, and shook her head, as if to intimate that the change of the seasons would henceforth be to her a matter of trivial interest. 'If it is the master's bidding, it must be right, no doubt,' said Poll, still looking in wonder and perplexity on Eily's dreary and dejected face; 'but it is a queer story, that's what it is.' Without venturing to reiterate her farewell, Eily descended, with a hasty but feeble step, the broken path which led to the gap road, and was quickly followed by the little lord. Committing herself to his guidance, she soon lost sight of the mountain cottage, which she had sought in hope and joy, and which she now abandoned in despair."

Unwillingly obliged by want of space to pass over the beautiful and affecting episode of the death and funeral of Mrs. Daly we come to the most harrowing scene in the book—the discovery made at the fox-hunt given by Conolly—let it speak for itself:

"The fox was said to have earthed in the side of a hill near the river-side, which on one side was grey with lime-stone crag, and on the other covered with a quantity of close furze. Towards the water, a miry and winding path among the underwood led downward to an extensive marsh or corcass, which lay close to the shore. It was overgrown with a dwarfish rush, and intersected with numberless little creeks and channels, which were never filled, except when the spring-tide was at the full. On a green and undulating champagne above the hill, were a considerable number of gentlemen mounted, conversing in groups, or cantering their horses around the plain, while the huntsmen, whippers-in and dogs, were busy among the furze, endeavouring to make the fox break cover. A crowd of peasants, boys, and other idlers, were scattered over the green, awaiting the commencement of the sport, and amusing themselves by criticizing with much sharpness of sarcasm, the appearance of the horses, and the action and manner of their riders. The search after the fox continued for a long time without avail..... The morning, which had promised fairly, began to change and darken. It was one of those sluggish days, which frequently usher in the spring season in Ireland; on the water, on land, in air, on earth, every thing was motionless and calm. The boats slept upon the bosom of the river. A low and dingy mist concealed the distant shores and hills of Clare. Above, the eye could discern neither cloud nor sky. A heavy haze covered the face of the heavens, from one horizon to the other. The sun was wholly veiled in mist, his place in the heavens being indicated only by the radiance of the misty shroud in that direction. A thin drizzling shower, no heavier than a summer dew, descended on the party, and left a hoary

and glistening moisture on their dresses, on the manes and forelocks of the horses, and on the face of the surrounding landscape.

" 'No fox to-day, I fear,' said Mr. Cregan, riding up to one of the groups before-mentioned, which comprised his son, Hardress, and Mr. Conolly. . . . 'Hark! what is that?' said Conolly. 'What are the dogs doing now?'

" 'They have left the cover on the hill,' said a gentleman who was galloping past, 'and are trying the corcass.'

" 'Poor Dalton!' said Mr. Cregan, 'that was the man that would have had old Reynard out of cover before now.'

" 'Poor Dalton!' exclaimed Hardress, catching up the word with passionate emphasis, 'poor, poor Dalton! O days of my youth!' he added, turning aside on his saddle, that he might not be observed, and looking out upon the quiet river. 'O days—past, happy days. My merry boyhood, and my merry youth! my boat! the broad river, the rough west wind, the broken waves, and the heart at rest. O miserable wretch, what have you now to hope for? My heart will burst before I leave this field!'

" 'The dogs are chopping,' said Conolly; 'they have found him—come! come away!'

" 'Ware hare!' said the old gentleman; 'Ware hare!' was echoed by many voices. A singular hurry was observed amongst the crowd upon the brow of the hill, which overlooked the corcass, and presently all had descended to the marsh. 'There's something extraordinary going on there,' said Cregan; 'what makes all the crowd collect upon the marsh?' . . . The hounds continued to chop in concert, as if they had found a strong scent, and yet no fox appeared.

" At length, a horseman was observed riding up the miry pass before-mentioned, and galloping towards them. When he approached, they could observe that his manner was flurried and agitated, and that his countenance wore an expression of terror and compassion. He tightened the rein suddenly as he came upon the group. 'Mr. Warner,' he said, 'I believe you are a magistrate?' Mr. Warner bowed. 'Then come this way, sir, if you please. A terrible occasion makes your presence necessary on the other side of the hill.'

" 'No harm, sir, to any of our friends, I hope?' said Mr. Warner, putting spurs to his horse, and galloping away. The answer of the stranger was lost in the tramp of the hoofs, as they rode away.

" Immediately after, two other horsemen came galloping by. One of them held in his hand a straw bonnet, beaten out of shape, and dragged in the mud of the corcass. Hardress just caught the word 'horrible,' as they rode swiftly by.

" 'What's horrible?' shouted Hardress aloud, and rising in his stirrup. The two gentlemen were already out of hearing.

" 'I did not hear him,' said Conolly, 'but come down upon the corcass, and we shall learn.' They galloped in that direction. The morning was changing fast, and the rain was now descending in much greater abundance. Still, there was not a breath of wind to alter its direction, or to give the slightest animation to the general lethargic

look of nature. As they arrived on the brow of the hill, they perceived the crowd of horsemen and peasants collected into a dense mass, around one of the little channels before described. Several of those in the centre were stooping low, as if to assist a fallen person. The individuals who stood outside were raised on tiptoe, and endeavoured, by stretching their heads over the shoulders of their neighbours, to peep into the centre. The whipper-in, meanwhile, was flogging the hounds away from the crowd, while the dogs reluctantly obeyed. Mingled with the press were the horsemen, bending over their saddles, and gazing downwards on the centre.

" 'Bad manners tó ye!' Hardress heard the whipper-in exclaim, as he passed; 'what a fox ye found for us this morning! How bad ye are now, for a taste o' the Christian's flesh!' . . . Urged by an unaccountable impulse, and supported by an energy he knew not whence derived, Hardress alighted from his horse, threw the reins to a countryman, and penetrated the group with considerable violence. He dragged some by the collars from their places, pushed others aside with his shoulder, struck the refractory with his whip-handle, and in a few moments attained the centre of the ring.

" Here he paused, and gazed in motionless horror upon the picture which the crowd had previously concealed. Opposite to Hardress stood Mr. Warner, the magistrate and coroner for the county. On his right stood the person who had summoned him to the spot. At the feet of Hardress was a small pool, in which the waters now appeared disturbed and thick with mud, while the rain descending straight, gave to its surface the appearance of ebullition. On a bank at the other side, which was covered with the sea-pink and a species of short moss, an object lay, on which the eyes of all were bent, with a fearful and gloomy expression. It was for the most part concealed beneath a large blue mantle, which was drenched in wet and mire, and lay so heavy on the thing beneath as to reveal the lineaments of a human form. A pair of small feet, in Spanish leather shoes, appearing from below the end of the garment, showed that the body was that of a female; and a mass of long, fair hair, which escaped from beneath the capacious hood, demonstrated that this death, whether the effect of accident or malice, had found the victim untimely in her youth.

" The cloak, the feet, the hair, were all familiar objects to the eye of Hardress. On very slight occasions, he had often found it absolutely impossible to maintain his self-possession in the presence of others. Now, when the fell solution of all his anxieties was exposed before him,—when it became evident that the guilt of blood was upon his head,—now, when he looked upon the shattered corpse of Eily, of his chosen and once-beloved wife, murdered in her youth, almost in her girlhood, by his connivance, it astonished him to find that all emotion came upon the instant to a dead pause within his breast. Others might have told him that his face was rigid, sallow, and bloodless, as that of the corpse on which he gazed. But he himself felt nothing of this. Not a sentence that was spoken was lost upon his ear. He did not even tremble, and a slight anxiety for his personal safety was the

only sentiment of which he was perceptibly conscious. It seemed as if the great passion, like an engine embarrassed in its action, had been suddenly struck motionless, even while the impelling principle remained in active force. . . . At this moment the hounds once more opened into a chopping concert, and Hardress, starting from his posture of rigid calmness, extended his arms, and burst into a passion of wild

“ ‘The hounds! the hounds!’ he exclaimed. ‘Mr. Warner, do you hear them? Keep off the dogs! They will tear her if ye let them pass! Good sir, will you suffer the dogs to tear her? I had rather he torn myself, than look upon such a sight. Ye may stare as ye will, but I tell ye all a truth, gentlemen. A truth, I say—upon my life, a truth!’

“ ‘There is no fear,’ said Warner, fixing a keen and practised eye upon him.

“ ‘Aye, but there is, sir, by your leave,’ cried Hardress. ‘Do you hear them now? Do you hear that yell for blood? I tell you I hate that horrid cry. It is enough to make the heart of a Christian burst. Who put the hounds upon that horrid scent?—that false scent? I am going mad, I think. I say, sir, do you hear that yelling now? Will you tell me *now* there is no fear? Stand close! stand close, and hide me—*her*, I mean; stand close!’

“ ‘I think there is none whatever,’ said the coroner, probing him.

“ ‘And I tell *you*,’ cried Hardress, grasping his whip, and abandoning himself to an almost delirious excess of rage, ‘I tell *you* there is. If *this* ground should open before me, and I should hear the hounds of Satan yelling upward from the deep, it could not freeze me with a greater fear.’”

We have now given, we think, a sufficient number of extracts to justify the high praise we have bestowed on this work, in the opinion of such of our readers as may not happen to have read the work itself. To such (and we feel confident they are but few) we would recommend the perusal of the entire of *The Collegians*, as it is impossible for the most copious extracts to give a correct idea of its merits. Mr. Griffin has since published several works, all displaying much talent, but none equalling *The Collegians*. Of these, *Tracy's Ambition* is the best. *The Rivals*, though an interesting tale, is evidently written in great haste, and abounds in improbable and unnatural incidents. The characters, too, are over-strained, and the style inflated.

In *The Duke of Monmouth*, his latest production, our author has fallen much below his usual standard, and has produced a feeble and uninteresting work, solely, we believe, in consequence of being for once seduced into an imitation of the historical novels of Scott, and deserting the style he had created for himself. We trust his failure on this occasion will prove an useful lesson

to him, and that the next work he offers to the public will be in the *genre* of *The Collegians*—an original tale, illustrating, as that does, the feelings, the passions, as well as the manners and customs, of his countrymen. There is one praise, however, which the least interesting of Mr. Griffin's works may safely claim—and it is the highest of all praise—that not one of them contains a “line which dying he may wish to ‘blot;’” ~~they~~ breathe the purest morality, inculcate the highest principles, and express the deepest religious feeling. Their author is evidently a *practical*, as well as a professing, Catholic; and boldly stands forth on all occasions to avow himself as such.

We turn to the works of Mr. Carleton with strangely mingled feelings;—admiration, pity, sorrow, and indignation, alternately taking possession of our mind. We grieve to see talents of a high order, and feelings naturally kind and warm, warped and perverted, to serve the ends, and feed the foul appetite for slander, of a faction. We know nothing of the private history of Mr. Carleton, but from his writings we should gather that he is one who had left the religion in which he was brought up, from motives in which *pique* strongly predominated, and this we infer from the extreme bitterness with which, in his first works especially, he assails the Catholic faith and its ministers. We are bound to add, in justice to him, that his later works do not display this uncharitable feeling, but that while he still speaks as a Protestant, he uses no language which can be offensive to a fellow-Christian. Such being the case, we shall not dwell upon those writings of Mr. Carleton in which he has calumniated the religion and religious feelings of at least three-fourths of his countrymen, but gladly turn to those other works in which he displays brilliant talent, and strong natural feeling. Yes, wonderful as it is to ascribe such feeling to an *Irish Conservative*, Mr. Carleton is in heart and soul an Irishman,—thoroughly understands, and heartily sympathizes with, the faults, the virtues, the joys and sorrows, of his countrymen. So much is this the case, and so fearlessly does he reprobate the heartlessness of Irish landlords, that our only wonder is, that the party to which he belongs, who are noted for nothing more than their contempt and dislike of the country of their birth, and the people from whom they derive their subsistence, should so long have endured him amongst them; and we are quite sure that they would not have done so, but for the paucity of talent which their ranks present, on which account they cannot afford to lose the services of a man of undoubted genius. The earlier works of Mr. Carleton, besides the more serious faults at which we have glanced, had the minor defects of want of arrangement of story,

and of crudeness and extravagance of style. Amongst them, however, the *Three Tasks*, *Shane Fuah's Wedding*, and *Larry M'Farland's Wake*, may be noted as favourable specimens, although not undisfigured by misrepresentation, and by occasional exaggeration. Exaggeration, at least in the humorous part of his stories, is our author's besetting sin; indeed, we think he possesses but little real humour, and generally fails when he attempts to be *funny*; but to make amends for his deficiency in this respect, he is almost unequalled in the pathetic parts.—No one has so well sounded the depths of the Irish heart; no one so admirably portrays its kinder and nobler feelings. We shall give a specimen of our author's very best style, from the *Poor Scholar*, and another from *Tubber Derg*; after which we must unwillingly take our leave of Mr. Carleton, although there are several of his tales, in particular *The Donegh*, and *The Midnight Mass*, which we should have wished to examine, had time permitted. In the first of the following extracts, the Poor Scholar is about to leave his parents to endeavour to procure education for the church—his mother watches him while asleep:

“ ‘There you lie,’ she softly sobbed out in Irish, ‘the sweet pulse of your mother’s heart, the flower of our flock, the pride of our eyes, and the music of our hearth! Jemmy, avourneen machree, an’ how can I part with you, my darlin’ son! Sure, when I look at your mild face, and think that you’re taking the world on your head to rise us out of our poverty, isn’t my heart breaking! A lonely house we’ll have after you, *acushla*. Going out or coming in, at home or abroad, your voice won’t be in my ears, nor your eye smiling upon me! And then to think of what you may suffer in a strange land! If your head aches, on what tender breast will it lie, or who will bind the ribbon of comfort round it, or wipe your fair, mild brow in sickness? Oh! Blessed Mother, hunger, sickness, and sorrow, may come upon you, when you’ll be far from your own and from them that love you!’ . . . At this moment his father, who probably suspected the cause of her absence, came in, and perceived her distress. ‘Vara,’ (*Mary*) he said, in Irish also, ‘is my darling son asleep?’ She looked up with streaming eyes as he spoke, and replied to him with difficulty, whilst she involuntarily held over the candle to gratify the father’s heart with a sight of him. ‘I was keeping him before my eye,’ she said; ‘God knows but it may be the last night we’ll ever see him under our own roof. Dominick achorra, I doubt if I can part with him from my heart.’

“ ‘Then how can I, Vara,’ he replied. ‘Wasn’t he my right hand in everything? When was he from me, ever since he took a man’s work upon him? And when he’d finish his own task for the day, how kindly he’d begin and help me with mine! No, Vara, it goes to my

heart to let him go away upon such a plan, and I wish he hadn't taken the notion into his head at all.'

" 'It's not too late, may be,' said the mother. 'I think it wouldn't be hard to put him off it; the cratur's heart's failing him to leave us; he has sorrow upon his face where he lies.' The father looked at the expression of affectionate melancholy which shaded his features as he slept; and the perception of the boy's internal struggle against his own domestic attachments, powerfully touched his heart. 'Vara,' he said, 'I know the boy; he won't give it up; and 'twould be a pity—maybe a sin—to put him from it. Let the child get fair play, and try his course. If he fails, he can come back to us; and our arms and hearts will be open to welcome him! But if God prospers him, wouldn't it be a blessing that we never expected, to see him in the white robes, celebrating one mass for his parents? If these ould eyes could see that, I would be contented to close them in peace and happiness for ever!' 'And well you'd become them! avourteen machree! Well would your mild, handsome countenance look, with the long heavenly stole of innocence upon you! and although it's eating into my heart, I'll bear it for the sake of seein' the same blessed sight! Look at that face, Dominick; mightn't many a lord of the land be proud to have such a son! May the heavens shower down its blessing upon him!' The father burst into tears. 'It is, it is,' said he. 'It's the face that would make many a noble heart proud to look at it! Is it any wonder, then, it would cut our hearts to have it taken from afore our eyes? Come away, Vara, come away, or I'll not be able to part with it. It is the lovely face, and kind is the heart of my darling child!' As he spoke, he stooped down and kissed the youth's cheek, on which the warm tears of affection fell soft as the dew from heaven."—vol. i. pp. 97-100.

The Poor Scholar abounds in passages of equal, if not of superior beauty, and is a most interesting and highly finished story. We must, however, turn from it to *Tubber-Derg*, and being limited to one extract, give (at random, almost) the going forth of Owen M'Carthy and family to beg.

"Heavy and black was his heart, to use the strong expression of the people, on the bitter morning when he set out to encounter the dismal task of seeking alms in order to keep life in himself and his family. The plan was devised on the foregoing night; but to no mortal, except his wife, was it communicated. The honest pride of a man whose mind was above committing a mean action, would not permit him to reveal what he considered the first stain that was ever known to rest upon the name of M'Carthy. He, therefore, sallied out under the beating of the storm, and proceeded, without caring much whither he went, until he got considerably beyond the bounds of his own parish.

"In the meantime hunger pressed keenly upon him and them. The day had no appearance of clearing up, the heavy rain and sleet

beat into their thin worn garments, and the clamour of the children for food began to grow more and more importunate. They came to the shelter of a hedge, which enclosed on one side a remote and broken road, along which, to avoid the risk of being recognized, they had preferred travelling. Owen stood here for a few minutes to consult with his wife as to where and when they should 'make a beginning,' but on looking around he found her in tears.

"Kathleen, asthore," said he, "I can't bid you not to cry; bear up, a cushla machree, bear up: sure, as I said this morning, there's a good God above us that can still turn over the good leaf for us, if we put our hopes in him."

"Owen," said his sinking wife, "it's not altogether bekase we are brought to this that I'm cryin'. No, indeed."

"Then what ails you, Kathleen, darlin'?"

"Owen, since you must know—och! may God pity us!—it's wid hunger! *wid hunger!* I kept unknownst a little bit of bread to give the childer this morning, an' that was part of it I gave you yesterday early—I'm near two days' fastin'."

"Kathleen! Kathleen! och sure I know your worth a villich! You were too good a wife, an' too good a mother, almost, God forgive me, Kathleen. I fretted about beggin', dear, but as my Heavenly Father's above me, I'm now happier to beg with you by my side, nor if I war in the best house in the province without you! Hould up, avourneen for awhile. Come on, childer, darlins, and the first house we meet we'll ax their char—their assistance. Come on, darlins, all of you! Why my heart's asier, so it is! Sure we have your mother, childer, safe with us, an' what signifies anythin' so long as *she's* left to us? He then raised his wife tenderly, for she had been compelled to sit from weakness, and they bent their steps to a decent farm-house, about a quarter of a mile before them.

"As they approached the door, the husband hesitated a moment; his face got paler than usual, and his lip quivered, as he said:—
'Kathleen—'

"I know what you're going to say, Owen. No, *acushla*, you won't; I'll ax it myself."

"Do," said Owen, with difficulty; "I can't do it; but I'll overcome my pride before long, I hope. It's tryin' to me, Kathleen, an' you know it is, for you know how little I ever expected to be brought to this!"

"Whisht, a villich! We'll try, then, in the name of God!"

"As she spoke, the children, herself, and her husband, entered, to beg for the first time in their lives a morsel of food. Yes! timidly—with a blush of shame, red even to crimson, upon the pallid features of Kathleen—with grief acute and piercing, they entered the house together.

"For some minutes they stood and spoke not. The unhappy woman, unaccustomed to the language of supplication, scarcely knew in what terms to crave assistance." Owen, himself, stood back, uncovered; his fine but much changed features overcast with an expres-

sion of deep affliction. Kathleen cast a single glance at him as if for encouragement. Their eyes met; she saw the upright man—the last remnant of the McCarthy—himself once the friend of the poor, of the unhappy, of the afflicted, standing crushed and broken down by misfortunes which he had not deserved, waiting with patience for a morsel of charity. Owen, too, had his remembrances. He recollected the days when he sought and gained the pure and fond affections of his Kathleen; when beauty, and youth, and innocence, encircled her with their light, and their grace, as she spoke or moved; he saw her a happy wife and mother in her own house, kind and benevolent to all who required her good word, or her good office; and now she was homeless. He remembered, too, how she used to plead with himself for the afflicted. It was but for a moment; yet when their eyes met, that moment was crowded by remembrances that flashed across their minds with a keen sense of a lot so bitter and wretched as theirs. Kathleen could not speak, although she tried, her sobs denied her utterance; and Owen involuntarily sat upon a chair, and covered his face with his hand.”—pp. 406-10.

We shall conclude our review of Irish Novels with the latest in the field—the very clever tale of *Rory O'More*, by Mr. Lover. This gentleman has been long favourably known to the public as a distinguished artist, and a poet and musician of no trifling merit: but, although he had previously published some admirable comic sketches of the Irish peasantry, this is his first appearance as a novelist. We are happy to add that it is a highly successful first appearance. *Rory O'More*, although not possessing a story of very deep interest, has many passages of great power; is written in the very best spirit; and is full of amusing incident, well-drawn characters, and dialogue of great point and humour. It gives a very faithful picture of the state of Ireland just before, and immediately after, the insurrection of 1798—and it is impossible to read it without blessing Heaven that we are fallen upon happier days! The hero of the novel, Rory O'More, is an excellent impersonation of the best qualities of the Irish peasantry—so racy is his wit—so impenetrable his good humour—so fertile his invention—and so unimpeachable his honour and fidelity—that whilst he amuses, he, at the same time, fills us with affection and respect. Solomon, the tinker, is a being of a very different order, but equally well drawn; the incident of his death, frightfully revolting though it be, is, we fear, the too faithful transcript of a frequent occurrence in the guilty year ninety-eight. Phelim O'Flanagan, the school-master, is a capital character; his pedantry, though quaint, is not overcharged; and his peculiarities, never obtruded upon our notice, are, when occasion serves, brought forward with very comic effect. None of the other characters require much notice. De Lacy is a

mere outline; and the two heroines, Mary and Kathleen, very beautifully and truly drawn. But Adèle de Verbigny, and the whole episode connected with her, in our opinion disfigure the book. With the denouement we confess ourselves much pleased, though we have heard many persons condemn it; we think, under the circumstances, De Lacy acted wisely and naturally; and we lay down the book, pleased with the author's ^{conduct} having, (in contradiction to the common practice) given us, after passing through scenes of grief and horror, the comfort of leaving the most deserving characters in a fair way for happiness. The chief defect of *Rory O'More* is traceable to the author's exuberance of comic talent—his wit gets the better of, and fairly runs away with, him; and thus the action of the story is delayed whilst his fancy is sporting through pages of humorous digression, comic anecdote, and pointed repartee. We can scarcely quarrel with him for this—for it is all admirably well done, and is just the species of fault for which an Irishman is most pardonable. The following is a scene where De Lacy, still weak from severe illness, finds it necessary to confide in *Rory O'More*, and discovers that he, too, is an United Irishman.

" 'O'More,' said he at last, 'shut the door. Come close to me, I want to ask you a question, and I charge you, as you hope for salvation, to answer me truly. I know I have been out of my senses, and I suppose I talked a great deal while I was so. Now tell me honestly, did anything remarkable strike you in my raving?'

" 'Yes, there did, sir,' said *Rory*, smiling at De Lacy, and looking straight into his eyes with that honest look which honesty alone can give. There was a soothing influence to De Lacy in the expression of that smile and look, and a peculiar intelligence in them, that shewed him *Rory* knew the drift of his question, by having fathomed the circumstances of his situation.

" 'I'm sure you guess what I am,' said De Lacy.

" 'Shoulder arms—whoo!' said *Rory*, laughing.

" De Lacy smiled faintly at *Rory's* mode of illustrating his knowledge. 'You are right,' said De Lacy, 'and you know I'm not a soldier of King George.'

" *Rory* sang, in a low tone—

'Viva la, the French is coming—
Viva la, our friends is thue;
Viva la, the French is coming—
What will the poor yeomen do?'

" De Lacy nodded assent, and smiled, and, after a short pause, said, 'You're a sharp fellow, O'More.'

" 'I've been blunt enough with you, sir.'

" 'Honest as the sun,' said De Lacy. 'Now tell me, do the women know anything about this?'

" 'Not a taste; they suspect you no more nor the child unborn; only, Mary says—'

" 'What?' said De Lacy, rather alarmed.

" 'That you're in love, sir—beggin' your pardon.'

" 'Oh! that's all. Well, she's right too. Why, you're a sharp family altogether.'

" 'Divil a much sharpness in that,' said Rory. 'Sure, whin there's the last taste o' love goin', and o' the word is enough for a woman. Oh! let them ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~sure~~ ^{sure} for findin' out the soft side of a man's heart!—the ~~greatest~~ ^{greatest} fool o' them all is wise enough in such matters.'

" 'O'More,' said De Lacy, after another pause, 'you're an United Irishman?'

" Rory smiled. 'Now, it's you're turn to be sharp,' said he.

" 'You *are* an united man, then?' said De Lacy.

" 'To the core of my heart!' replied Rory, with energy.

" 'Then my mind's at ease,' said De Lacy; and he held out his hand to O'More, who gave his in return, and De Lacy shook it warmly.

" 'God be praised, sir!' said Rory; 'but how does that set your mind at ease?'

" 'Because you can fulfil a mission for me, Rory, that must otherwise have failed;—that is, if you'll undertake it.'

" 'Undhertake it!—I'd go to the four corners of the earth in a good cause.'

" 'You're a brave fellow!' said De Lacy.

" 'But will you tell me, sir,' said Rory, 'is the French 'comin' in airnest to help us?'

" 'No doubt of it, Rory—and you shall be the joyful messenger of their coming, by doing the errand I wish for.'

" 'Oh! but that'll be the proud day for me, your honour!'

" 'Well, then, there's no time to lose. To-morrow I am bound by promise to be in the town of —, where an agent from France is waiting who bears intelligence to Ireland. It is impossible for me to go;—now, will you undertake the duty, Rory?'

" 'With all the veins o' my heart,' said Rory, 'and be proud into the bargain.'

" 'Go then,' said De Lacy, 'to the town of —, and there, on the quay, there's a public house.'

" 'Faith there is—and more,' said Rory.

" 'The public house I mean bears a very odd sign.'

" 'I'll be bound I know it,' said Rory, whose national impatience could not wait for De Lacy's directions; 'I'll engage it's the Cow and Wheelbarrow.'

" 'No,' said De Lacy, who could not help smiling at the oddness of the combination in Rory's anticipated sign, 'it is not; but one quite as queer—the Cat and Bagpipes.'

" 'Oh, that's a common sign,' said Rory.

" 'There are a great many queer things common in Ireland,' said De Lacy, who, even in his present weakened state could not resist his habitual love of remark. 'You are well acquainted, I see, with the town,' he continued.

" 'Indeed, and I'm not,' said Rory, 'I never was there but waist,

and that happened to be on the quay, by the same token, where I remarked the Cow and Wheelbarrow; for it's a sign I never seen afore, and is mighty noticeable.'

" 'But that is not the sign of the house you are to go to, remember.'

" 'Oh, by no manes, sir; the Cat and Bagpipes is my mark.'

" 'Yes! and there, about the hour of six in the evening, you will see a party of three men.'

" 'But if there's two parties of three?' said Rory.

" 'You can distinguish our friends by contriving, in the most natural manner you can—I mean, so as not to excite observation from any but those who will understand and reply to your signal—to say, *one, two, three*, in their hearing, and if those whom I expect you to meet be there, you will be spoken to by them, and then you must introduce into whatever you say to them these words, *They were very fine ducks*. They will then leave the public house, and you may trust yourself to follow wherever they lead.'

" 'Now, how am I to make sure that they are right?' said Rory.

" 'You have my word for their being trusty,' said De Lacy.

" 'Oh, sir, sure it's not your word I'd be doubting; but I mane, how am I to make sure that it is the right men I spake to?'

" 'Their noticing your remark will be sufficient; but as a farther assurance, they can return you the united man's signal and grip. Give me your hand.'

" 'That's the grip,' said Rory; 'tare alive! are the French united Irishmen?'

" 'Not exactly,' said De Lacy, smiling; 'but the chosen know your signs. Now I've told you all that's requisite for your mission; when you give those signs, they whom you meet will tell you what it is requisite for me to know, and you can bring me back the intelligence.'

" 'I've no time to lose,' said Rory; 'I must be off to-morrow by the dawn.'

" 'Will your mother or sister suspect anything from your absence?'

" 'Why, sir, the thruth is, neither mother nor sither ever questioned me about my incomins or outgoins; though they have, av coorse, observed I was not always reg'lar, and women is sharp enough in sitch matters; but they suspect something is going on in the counthry—how could they help it? But they know it is a good cause, and that they have no business to meddle with it, and so the fewer questions they ask, they think it is the betther. They know men must do what becomes men; and though the mother and sither loves me as well as ever a son or a brother was loved in this wide world, they would rather see me do what a man ought to do, and die, than skulk and live undher disgrace.'"
—vol. i. pp. 163-72.

We would direct the earnest attention of our readers to the two letters addressed by De Lacy to the agent of the French Directory. They contain a most graphic picture of the comparative state of England and Ireland at *that* day, and clearly shew why, while it was useless to think of 'revolutionizing the former; the latter was ripe and ready for any change. Although there

is much improvement since, some of the leading features in the following extract from the letter which treats of Ireland, still remain.

"In Ireland, the aristocracy seem to live wholly for themselves: the poor they seem to consider utterly unworthy of being thought of. Look at the English tenantry, lived amongst by their landlords, and their comforts cared for; while the poor Irish are left to take what care they can of themselves. If the fever visits an English village, there is the manor-house to apply to, whence the hand of affluence can be stretched forth to afford the comforts which the hour of sickness demands. If typhus rage in Ireland, there is not for miles, perhaps, the hall of a proprietor to look to, and where there is, it is vacant: grass grows before its doors, and closed shutters say to the destitute, 'No help have you here. My lord spends elsewhere the gold you have paid to his agent, and his wine-cellar is not to be invaded by a pauper.' His claret flows freely midst the laugh of revelry, but may not retard the expiring sigh of some dying father of a helpless offspring. 'Draw the cask dry for riot!' cries the bacchanal, 'and let the call of charity be echoed back by the empty barrel!' What can such a landlord hope for from his neglected serf? Is it to be expected that his name will be heard with blessings, and his person looked upon with attachment, or that the wholesome link between landlord and tenant can exist under such a state of things? No—they are not beings of the same community—man and the beast of the field are not more distinct than these two classes of people, and the time will come when the Irish landlord shall bitterly lament that the only bond which held the peasant to his master was his chain." * * "The hovels of the Irish peasantry are not by any means so good as the stables of their masters' horses. The lord of the soil would not let his hunter sleep in the wretched place he suffers his tenant to dwell in; and for which he receives the rent that supports him in his wastefulness. Nor does he seek to better their condition; and if a murmur of discontent escapes these ill-used people, they are branded with the foulest names, and the guilty party seeks, by heaping abuse and calumny on those whom he injures, to justify the conduct which has produced the very state of things of which he complains."—vol. ii.

Our notice of Rory O'More would be incomplete were we to conclude it without adverting to the songs with which it is interspersed, and ornamented. They all deserve the praise due to smooth versification, grace, and playfulness—but there is one far superior to all the rest in these qualities, and in high poetical and national feeling—we allude to the *Land of the West*; and cold indeed must be the heart of the Irishman who can read it unmoved, when a wanderer in other climes than the "land of his sires!" For our own parts we confess, that (cold and stern though in our capacity of critics we may be) the perusal never fails to cause a choking sensation in the throat—an unbidden

tear-drop in the eye-lid—which all our pride and philosophy cannot wholly suppress. In short it is a song which must be admired every where; but in Ireland it should be, and we think it will be, regarded as worthy to rank with the national lyrics which constitute Moore's best claims to immortality. In our review of the works of Banim and Griffin, we omitted to state that they too contain songs of great beauty, pathos, and simplicity. We should particularize, as most worthy of admiration, the song to *Aileen*, in *John Doe*, by Banim; *The Child's Fetch*, by the same, in *The Nowlans*; *Old Times*, in *Suilb Dhur*; and *A place in thy memory*, in *The Collegians*, by Griffin.

We must now conclude this brief and imperfect survey of "Irish Novels and Novelists," feeling that we have not done justice, either to the writings of our compatriots, or to our admiration of their genius, and sympathy with their love of country. We may, however, resume this subject on some future and fitting opportunity;—in the meantime we shall rest from our task, happy in the thought that we have had so little to blame—so much to praise—and still more in the proud conviction that so much talent is the indigenous growth of

—— "the land we love best,
The land of our sires!—our own darling West!"

ART. XII.—*Summary Review of French and Italian Catholic Literature, from September 1837 to March 1838.*

THEOLOGY.

Cours complet d'Ecriture sainte et de Théologie. This useful undertaking, which we mentioned in our last summary, is to consist of six complete courses, selected from the best authors of moral, dogmatical, ascetic, and mystic theology, canon law, and Liturgy. The publishers have increased the size of the volumes from 8vo. to 4to., and in many cases have exceeded the six hundred pages originally promised; we are at a loss to conceive how the low price of 5*s.* each volume can cover the outlay incurred. The works, which are to form the course, have been selected with the greatest judgment. In the five volumes on Scripture already printed, we find the best dissertations of Huet, Calmet, Becaup, Acosta, Jahn, Ackerman, Carrières, and Cornelius à Lapidé, besides part of the Prologomèna of Walton, and an unpublished work of Renaudot on the oriental versions of the Bible, and the antiquity of the sacred books; the third volume is entirely dedicated to the geological, chronological, and other questions, connected with the Bible. In the four volumes of theology, which have appeared, we have the *Com-monorium* of St. Vincent of Lerins, the *Prescriptions* of Tertullian, &c. Supplemental to this course are several other valuable works; the *Bulla-*

rium from 1758 to 1830, the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas, Renaudot's *Perpétuité de la Foi*, the works of St. Teresa, and the *History of the Council of Trent*, by Pallavicini, &c. The three last-named works acquire new value from the addition of several unpublished MSS. collected by the editors, especially the important documents respecting the Council of Trent, which were printed in the last Roman edition.

Collectio Sanctorum Ecclesiæ Patrum. This collection is under the patronage of the French Bishops, and the direction of the Abbé Caillau and Monsig. Guillon. It contains select works from all the Fathers, and has already extended to one hundred and twenty 8vo. volumes (5fr. 50c. each.) The works of St. Augustin, St. Jerome, and St. John Chrysostom, with a few others, will be published entire; fifteen volumes of St. Augustin (6fr. each) have already issued from the press, the remainder will fill from twenty to twenty-five volumes more. Monsig. Guillon has also published a French translation of the complete works of St. Cyprian, in two volumes 8vo. (15fr.). M. Parent-Desbarres, the publisher of this collection, has received distinguished marks of approbation from his present Holiness, in a brief written with his own hand, commending his zeal in undertaking the publication of these and other works so useful to religion. M. Desbarres has secured, after a long search, and at a great expense, the materials collected by the Maurist monks, for the second volume of the works of St. Gregory Nazianzen, which they were prevented from giving to the world by the suppression of their order and the unfavourable state of the times. The first part of the second volume has lately appeared in Greek and Latin, under the revision of the Abbé Caillau. The same spirited publisher has also procured from the Medici library, at Florence, and that of Monte Cassino, a series of letters and sermons, amounting to nearly three hundred, of the great St. Augustin. The MSS. from which they have been printed, belong to the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the most satisfactory evidence of their genuineness is given in the first part of the volume, which will be issued in four parts, (each 15fr.) The editors are M. Caillau and M. St. Yves. The edition of St. Augustin and St. John Chrysostom, by Gaume Frères, proceeds with the regularity and care which distinguish them. We copy the following from a letter from Dresden, dated the 4th of December. "On examining the MS. of the homilies of St. Chrysostom, bequeathed by the collegiate Counsellor Matthæi to our royal library, and which, in the opinion of the most experienced antiquaries, belongs to the tenth century, five homilies of this great orator have been discovered, which are unpublished, and, until the present moment, have been wholly unknown. An exact copy of them has been sent to the senate of the University of Leipzig, which has commissioned Dr. Becker, a distinguished divine, and well versed in Grecian literature, to publish them, with a Latin translation on the opposite page. Persons who have read over these fine homilies, assure us that they are equal, both in substance and in composition, to the finest published works of St. Chrysostom."

Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Prédicateurs, by M. d'Assance, fifteen vols.

8vo. 60fr. The first ten volumes contain sermons on general subjects; the eleventh and twelfth, the mysteries of our Lord; the thirteenth and part of the fourteenth, sermons on the Blessed Virgin; the remainder of the fourteenth and the fifteenth, specimens, homilies, and the index to the work.

Repertoire universel et analytique de l'Ecriture Sainte, by M. de Majaène, two vols. 8vo. 25fr.; 4to. 31fr. In this work is contained the whole of the sacred text, under the heads of history, religious belief, and morals; the biography of the patriarchs, prophets, and chief personages mentioned in the Bible, with the dates of their births and deaths; the chronology of the Kings, with the concordance and parallel passages of the Old and New Testament.

Pureté du Christianisme, by F. Baltus, S. J., two vols. 8vo. 1fr. The object of this work is to show that the Christian religion is not indebted to heathen philosophy for any portion of its doctrines.

Le Christianisme démontré par les traditions Catholiques, two vols. 8vo., 10fr. This excellent work is from the pen of a young ecclesiastic, M. de la Chadenède, whose success on various occasions, in demonstrating the truths of Christianity against the attacks of infidel writers, will be increased by this effort. His object, in the present instance, has been to show, by extracts from the works of the Fathers, how the divinity of the Christian religion was established by them against the rationalists, so to speak, of former ages; and in these extracts from the writings of the early apologists are to be found refutations of the sophisms of many modern writers. The style adopted in the translation of these passages is concise and nervous, and the work will furnish weapons of attack or defence against infidelity to those whose occupations do not allow them to have recourse to the original sources.

Recherches sur la Confession auriculaire, by the Abbé Guillois, 1 vol. 18mo. The author endeavours in a series of letters to point out the traces of auricular confession amongst the people of Greece and in various parts of Asia; and contends that the Jews and Pagan nations had been accustomed to the law of confession in their old religion, and on this account were not inclined to murmur at its introduction by our Saviour, amongst the precepts of religion. He then goes on to show that by it alone remission of sins can be obtained, and demonstrates this practice to have always subsisted in the Church, and to have been recommended by all the fathers. Instances are adduced of many infidels, Diderot, Montesquieu, D'Alembert, Buffon, Voltaire, and others, who sought to confess their sins at the hour of death. The advantages of confession have been seen by the Protestants themselves, and its necessity has caused the precept of practising it to be retained in the Lutheran ritual in Norway and Sweden, and in the book of Common Prayer; and by some Protestant ministers in France obedience to this precept is still exacted. The learned author proves the necessity of keeping the seal of confession inviolate in every instance, and remarks that in no case has it ever been broken even by apostate priests. In the twelfth letter the different objections against confession are answered, and the author concludes with expressing his conviction of the solidity

of the arguments of Catholics, in favour of the divine origin of the precept of auricular confession.

Le Prédicateur, by M. Morel, 1 vol. 12mo. In this small volume M. Morel has entered into an examination of the duties and qualifications of a preacher, according to the spirit of the sacred writings, the councils, and the fathers of the church. The materials on which the work is grounded, have been taken from the works of F. Balinghem, and if we have any fault to find, it is that he has followed too closely in the footsteps of his predecessor, whose learning was more conspicuous than his perspicuity. M. Morel writes with unction and grace, and makes frequent use of the language of Scripture in the course of his examination. The author, who is Vicar-general in the diocese of Paris, has also added much from his own experience and observation on the important subject of which he treats.

Anthologie Catholique, ou Instructions dogmatiques et morales sur les Vérités de la religion, by M. l'Abbé Huet; 2f. 75c.

Lettre sur le Saint-Siège, by the Abbé Lacordaire; 1 vol. We regret that our limits do not allow us to offer any extracts from this powerful and eloquent essay. It has caused a great sensation in France and other countries; his Holiness, Gregory XVI, received the original manuscript from the talented author during his stay in Rome last year, and has, on several occasions, expressed his high approbation of it.

Episcopalis sollicitudinis enchiridion; 1 vol. 4to. Besançon The pious Abelly, Bishop of Rodez, composed this manual, drawn principally from the doctrine and practice of the great model of bishops, St. Charles Borromeo, during his retirement in the Convent of St. Lazarus, at Paris, where he resided twenty-four years after resigning his bishopric. This new and beautiful edition has been printed at the suggestion of the present Archbishop of Besançon.

Dissertatio in sextum decalogi præceptum et supplementum ad Tractatum de Matrimonio; 1 vol. 12mo.; by Monsig. Bouvier, Bishop of Mans. This work is intended to supply the deficiencies of the ordinary moral treatises on these subjects, and is meant solely for the use of confessors and students in divinity. It is printed at Malines.

Traité dogmatique et pratique des Indulgences, &c.; Tournay, 1 vol. 12mo. 1f. 75c. In this useful book, by the same author, a complete account is given of the doctrine and practice of the Church respecting indulgences, confraternities, and jubilees.

Prælectiones Theologicae Majores; 2 large vols. This book contains the lectures on the sacrament of Matrimony, by the Abbé Carrière, vicar-general in the diocese of Paris, delivered in the seminary of St. Sulpice. The series is divided into three parts; the first relates to the nature of marriage, considered as a sacrament and as a contract; in the second are examined the various questions on the three properties of matrimony, its *inviolability, unity, and indissolubility*. The third part, which is by far the most extensive, considers the *conditions preceding, accompanying, and following* the contract. This work may be considered a clear, full, and complete treatise on these important points; and although the author has been led away by too closely following the

doctrines of a particular class of theologians, he is every way entitled to commendation for the able and learned manner in which the work is written.

A new series of the religious periodical, the *Pragmologia Catholica*, began to appear in January, under the direction of the Canon Bertalozzi, assisted by a numerous body of coadjutors.

The following are the principal theological works which have appeared in Italy since our last notice.

The fifth volume of *Dogmatical Theology*, by F. Perrone, S.J.—The series of treatises, contained in this course, are:—Vol. I. *De Verâ Religione*; II. *De Deo Uno et Trino*; III. *De Deo Creatore*; IV. *De Incarnatione et Cultu Sanctorum*; V. *De Gratiâ et Sacramentis*. A reprint of this work has been commenced at Naples and at Augsburg, the latter edition being under the care of Professor Möhler, author of the *Symbolik*. Another edition is shortly to appear at Louvain. It will probably extend to about eight volumes.

L'Episcopato, by Bolgeni.—A new edition of this extensive and learned work is coming out at Rome. It has been corrected from the author's manuscripts, and may be considered almost a new work.

In the eighth volume of the *Collezione di Opere di Religione*, are contained the opinions of Leibnitz in favour of the Catholic religion; and opinions and testimonies from the lives and works of Newton, Clarke, Locke, Boyle, Linnæus, Cuvier, and others, in favour of revealed religion. In the eleventh and twelfth volumes, is republished Ditton's work, *La Religione Cristiana dimostrata col mezzo della risurrezione di Gesù Cristo*.

La Religione Cristiana dimostrata per la natura de' suoi Misteri, by Severino Fabriani, 1 vol. 8vo.

La Scienza teologica, l'eminente scienza di Gesù Cristo, by G. B. Vertua, 4 vols.

Institutiones Theologiæ Dogmaticæ, by F. Platania, D.D., published for the University of Catania. The first part of Vol. I has appeared.

Manuale Confessariorum, 1 vol. published for the clergy of the diocese of Acosta.

Tractatus de Romano Pontifice, by D. Gualco, D.D., 2 vols. 8vo.

Degli Altari e della loro consecrazione, &c., by Stancovich, 1 vol. 8vo.

Two courses of ecclesiastical history have been commenced at Rome. The first is entitled, *Institutiones Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, by Delsignore, late professor of ecclesiastical history at the Sapienza, or Roman university. The text of this work is by him, and has been published, with learned notes, by Fizzani, the present professor. The original work is divided into four periods, and extends to the Council of Trent; a fifth period, bringing the history to our own times, will be added by the editor. Each period is subdivided into the *external* history, which describes the propagation of religion, and the persecutions of the Church; and the *internal*, which treats of the government and hierarchy of the Church, the lives of the Popes, religious rites, and the practises of the faithful, matters of religious belief, and eccle-

siastical writers. The text contains a simple and short account of the historical facts; and, in the notes, the reader is enabled to pursue the examination of any particular point, by a full reference to the principal writers on the subject. The first part treats of the external history as far as Constantine.

The second work is *Prælectiones Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, by J. B. Palma, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the College of the Propaganda and the Roman Seminary. He proposes, first, to discuss various controverted points down to the present time; and his first volume will include the principal questions respecting the history of the six first centuries, such as the celebration of Easter, the time of the birth and death of our Saviour, the discipline of the Secret, &c. At the close of this course, which is to consist of four 8vo. volumes, he will publish a connected history of the leading events.

Professor Tizzati has likewise announced another work to appear in monthly parts, and to be entitled, *Thesaurus Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*. It is to resemble the splendid collections of dissertations made by Ugolini on sacred, and of Grævius and Gronovius on Grecian and Roman antiquities, &c., and will comprehend many valuable dissertations connected with the history of the Church, by Mamachi, Ballerini, Lermond, Ruinart, and others, whose works are now become extremely rare. Several unpublished works will be added to the collection, which will be divided into periods corresponding to the editor's historical course, each of which will contain about forty dissertations selected from the most approved authors.

A new edition of Cardinal Orsi's *Storia Ecclesiastica* is in course of publication at Rome, in 4to. and 8vo.

In the *eleventh* and *twelfth* volumes of the *Biblioteca di Opere di Religione*, are reprinted the *Fiori di Storia Ecclesiastica*, by Cesari, whose *Trionfo de' Martiri* is also published in a separate form.

Storia Evangelica, by F. Finetti, S.J., is just completed at Rome, in 4 vols.

Storia del Papa Pio VII., by Artaud, 2 vols.

Besides the last mentioned, several other biographical works have been announced.

Abrégé de l'Histoire de la Religion Catholique depuis la Création jusqu'à nos jours; 3 vols. 10fr. By the Countess de Semallé.

Biografia della Vita di Gesù Cristo e de' suoi Santi, in 18 vols.

Memorie intorno al martirio e culto di S. Filomena, V.M., with an account of the finding and translation of her relics, by F. Gatteschi, 1 vol. 18mo.

An Italian translation of the *Life of S. Elizabeth*, by the Comte de Montalembert, has been published at Vienna by Negrelli. Three German translations have appeared at Leipsig, Munich, and Aix-la-Chapelle.

The spiritual works are chiefly:

A complete collection of ascetic works (*Opuscoli ascetici*) is to be published at Rome. The first number of it contains the explanation of the *Our Father*, by Father Segneri, S.J. Many spiritual works,

now out of print, will be placed within the reach of all by means of this neat and useful collection, which will appear in monthly parts, at an expense of less than seven francs annually.

Anno Ecclesiastico, familiar instructions on the mysteries and feasts, by G. D. Boriglioni, 4 vols. 12mo.

Orazioni Quaresimali, by Barbieri, 8vo. and 12mo.

Prediche Quaresimali, by G. E. Bono.

Orazioni sacri, by F. Calvi, 1 vol.

Letture spirituali for every day of Lent, according to the Ambrosian rite, by E. Visconti, 8vo.

Collectio selecta Sanctorum Ecclesie Patrum. The first part of the 21st volume (8vo.) contains the works of St. John Chrysostom.

Biblioteca classica de' sacri oratori, Greci, Latini, Italiani, Francesi, antichi e recenti, 8vo.

Lettera didascalica ad un predicatore novello, on the method and composition of sermons and catechetical instructions, by A. da Faenza, 8vo.

Operette Spirituali, by Cardinal Lambruschini, Secretary of State to his present Holiness, 2 vols. 18mo.

Two volumes of poems by Silvio Pellico, attest the deep religious feelings of their author, his love towards the place of his birth, and his recollections of the friends of his captivity. The first volume contains about forty short poems; the second consists of seven longer pieces:—none of them before published.

We take this opportunity of mentioning that the Papal Government has published a plain and unvarnished account of the causes and circumstances connected with the affairs of the Archbishop of Cologne and the Catholic Church in Prussia, and corroborated by the original documents which have passed between the two Governments. We forbear entering at any length into this question at present; as we have already treated of it in a former number, we reserve our farther observations for a more convenient opportunity.*

It would be unfair to pass over two important works which do honour to the enterprising spirit and learning of their publishers. The first is the new *Antiquarian and Topographical Dictionary of the Environs of Rome*, by Professor Nibby. Besides a learned and complete account of every spot famous in the classics or in history, this work will be enriched by an extensive map of the whole territory. The other work to which we allude, is the magnificent edition of *Vitruvius*, published last year, by the Marchese Marini, in four folio volumes. The text has been restored by a careful comparison of the the most accurate editions, whose various readings are also given, and learned notes have been added. The execution and getting up of the work are admirable; and the greatest attention has been paid to its correctness. A splendid copy of it was prepared for his late Majesty William IV, but his death prevented its being forwarded to London.

* The papers announce, that the Administrator of the Diocese of Cologne; and several members of the chapter, have resigned their offices in obedience to his Holiness.

We are happy to find that the Mechitarist congregation at Venice continues its labours of translating and publishing various works in the Armenian and Turkish languages. Amongst the latter, we find Young's *Night Thoughts*, translated by Baron Erenian, interpreter to the King of Denmark at Constantinople; and amongst the former, the works of St. Ephrem, in four 8vo. volumes; *the Rules of Christian Living*, by F. Quadrupani, translated from the Italian, by Father G. B. Aucher; a *History of Russia*, by F. Aivazovsk, besides two Dictionaries, one of Armenian and English, and the other of Italian and Armenian, and *vice versâ*. Likewise, the *Preces Sti. Nersis Clajensis*, in twenty-four languages.

Cardinal Mai has in the press another volume of his *Scriptorum Veterum nova Collectio*. We understand that the very Rev. Dr. Wiseman will shortly forward for publication his answer to the Rev. Dr. Turton's attacks on his work on the Eucharist. The Rev. Dr. Baggs, Vice-Rector of the English College, is preparing for the press a course of Lectures on the Holy Week, delivered by him before an English audience in Rome. It will be published in the same form as his preceding works, viz. his *Letter to the Rev. R. Burgess*, late Protestant Chaplain at Rome, in answer to that gentleman's various publications against Catholics; and his learned *Discourse on the Supremacy of the Roman Pontiffs*, in the appendix to which he has taken an opportunity of completely and triumphantly refuting the principal objections of Mr. Blunt (Lectures on Peter) and other Protestant writers against the dogma which he so ably establishes. Of both these works, an Italian translation in one volume has been published by Garofolini.

PHILOSOPHY.

Malebranche; 2 vols. 4to. 20fr. A new edition of the works of this eminent and devout Father has been much wanted in France. The present one appears under the revision of M. de Genoude and M. de Lourdoueix, whose previous reputation induces to hope much from their talents in the present instance.

Défense de l'Ordre Social, by the Abbé Boyer. The object of this book is to establish the real principles of social order, on the basis of religion, against the attacks of modern atheists. The author points out the disorders produced by the various revolutions in France, and the evils which have resulted from the principles of irreligion and impiety infused by them into the order of society; and shows that by religion alone these disorders have been arrested, and society restored to its proper condition. We have not space to insert his ingenious comparison between the Revolutions in France and England, and between the characters of Charles I and Louis XVI.

We are glad to find that the first fruits of the Catholic University, at Louvaine, are beginning to appear, in the publications of its professors. M. Ubachs, the Professor of Philosophy, is preparing an improved edition of his *Traité de Logique*; and M. de Cock, the Vice Rector of the University, has lately published a treatise on Moral Philosophy.

Examen du Magnétisme Animal. The virtuous author of this work, the Abbé Frère, has spent twenty years in the study of natural philosophy, as connected with religion. In the present work, he undertakes to demonstrate, by philosophical arguments, how weak and destitute of foundation are all the conclusions of modern rationalists, who have so vainly endeavoured to explain away the miracles of our Saviour and the saints, and the supernatural workings of nature, by supposing them to have been produced by means of animal magnetism or artificial somnambulism. In the course of his investigation, he examines different objections raised by the adversaries of Christianity, by comparing the prophecies of our Saviour, and the saints with the prophecies of the ancient oracles.

These discussions occupy the first part of the work; in the second, M. Frère considers the advantages to morality and science which may arise from any future discoveries of magnetism, and he concludes, that, without producing any useful results in a scientific point of view, it will be highly injurious to morality, as even the greatest admirers of it are obliged to allow.

Liberté et Travail. The object of this book is to explain a system for the abolition of slavery, without exposing the slave-colonies to the consequences which might result from too sudden a transition from a state of complete subjugation of the working classes, to unfettered freedom. Its author, M. Hardy, director of the seminary of St. Esprit, has spent much of his life in America, and has already published another smaller work on the abolition of slavery in the French colonies. The present publication merits the attention of the public, on account of the long experience of the author, and his personal observations on the state of the slaves. His chief conclusions may be summed up in a few words. He is of opinion that slavery must be abolished, and that it is the duty of all to endeavour to effect this grand object; a total and immediate abolition is impossible, on account of the many disastrous and fatal consequences which would attend it. The abolition, therefore, ought to be *progressive*; before the slaves can receive their freedom, they are to be rendered worthy of possessing it. This necessary work can be performed by the Catholic religion and its ministers only. They will instruct them in the duties they owe to their families, and in the real advantages and comforts which may be derived from performing them; they will teach them how to overcome the brutal passions to which they are subject, and to stifle the ardent desire of vengeance, whose embers frequently live so long smouldering and concealed in their breasts; they will show them the infinite distance that separates freedom and licentiousness; they will make them understand that property is sacred, and that labour is a law imposed by Almighty God on all men. M. Hardy then explains the practical part of his plan, and points out the system of education and of religious instruction most suited to bring about this gradual abolition of slavery, by a previous and preparatory amelioration of their religious and social condition.

Tableau Chronologique de l'Histoire Universelle. M. Ferrand, the author of this work, has endeavoured to fix the chronology of ancient

and modern history according to a standard by which the historical records of the scripture history may be reconciled with those of profane writers. Instead of choosing the epoch of the Creation as a fixed point from which the chronology of different nations is to be calculated, he has taken the commonly received date of the birth of our Saviour, as being more generally known, and less disputed, than the former. From this epoch, he mounts by successive stages to the time of the Creation. He places the Deluge in the year 3345 B.C., and has shown that this date harmonizes better than any other with the chronology of ancient nations. His solutions of the difficulties in the chronology of China, in which he follows the list of dynasties according to Father Gaubil's treatise on Chinese chronology, and M. Panthier's history of China, are curious, and learned, though we confess that much weight cannot be attached to them. In Egyptian chronology, he has followed the general opinion, that the first fourteen dynasties reigned simultaneously; but has given the whole series of the succeeding ones from the year 2900 B.C. This list he has taken from Manetho, and has confirmed its authority by a skilful use of the recent labours of Letronne, Champollion, and Rosellini. Chronologists disagree in fixing the epochs of Assyrian history, as well as the number of kings, and the duration of their reigns. M. Ferrand hazards a new system, drawn from Julius Africanus; and by restoring the four kings who reigned before Teutames, and who are omitted by Eusebius, he fixes, with Ctesias, the downfall of Sardanapalus in the year 900 B.C. This hypothesis is supported by its happy synchronism with several epochs in other histories, and by the strong reasons adduced by M. Ferrand. Thus, for instance, Teutames reigns at the time of the Trojan war; Ninus, the contemporary of Abraham, comes about one thousand years earlier; and Belus conquers Babylon in the very year in which the traditions contained in the Chah-Nameh represent the descendants of the Djemchid to have been expelled from it. In other points, M. Ferrand adopts the chronology of preceding writers, and inserts them in his plan. The chronology of Persian history is given from the Chah-Nameh, published by Klaproth; in that of Lydia, Troy, and Phrygia, he copies the lists of Freret, but deducts ten years from them, placing the taking of Troy in 1270 instead of 1280; for that of the states of Greece, the system of Larcher, corrected from the recent discoveries of Raoul-Rochette, Petit, Radel, and others; in Roman history, he follows the *Art de vérifier les Dates*; for Armenian history, he has recourse to M. H. Martin; and for Egyptian history under the Ptolomies, Champollion and Letronne. The plates of this useful and learned work are well executed, and the work itself, in every point of view, deserves the fullest commendation.

Dictionnaire des Dates, by M.M. Rouaix and A. D'Harmonville; 1 vol. 4to. 24fr.

Histoire du Moyen Age. This is another work from the University of Louvaine, and is highly creditable to its author, M. Moeller. It embraces the history of the Middle Ages, from the fall of the Western Empire to the death of Charlemagne.

We observe with pleasure that translations have appeared of several historical works published in Germany, which have already been serviceable to the cause of religion and truth; we allude to a series of historical and biographical works written in defence of the Popes who governed the Church during the middle ages, by Protestant authors. Besides those we mention at present, the Abbé Axinger has announced a French translation of the *Life of Sylvester II*, by M. Hocke, which has been very favourably received in Germany. *Histoire du Pape Grégoire VII, et de son siècle*, by Voigt; 2 vols. 8vo. 12fr. *Histoire d'Innocent III, et de ses Contemporains*, by Hurter, translated by Haiber and St. Chéron; 2 vols. 8vo. These two works are indispensable to every one who wishes to form an impartial opinion respecting the influence of the Popes in the affairs of Europe; and the latter is particularly interesting to the English reader, as it enters fully into the history of the disputes between Innocent III and King John, and completely refutes the calumnies usually asserted, and believed, with regard to the character and designs of the former.

Histoire abrégée de la Religion Chrétienne, by Noirlieu. The author of this abridgement has published several books for the use of young persons, and the present one may be safely recommended as a short but complete account of the history of the Church from the time of our Saviour to the present century, and as written in a manner excellently calculated to impress the leading events on the mind, and instil an early interest in the study of the history of religion.

Histoire de la Mère de Dieu, by the Abbé Orsini. This work may be divided into two parts; in the first is contained the life of the Blessed Virgin, in which the learned author has supplied from the writings of the Fathers, and the apocryphal lives of the Blessed Virgin, an ideal life of the Mother of God, illustrating, by its simplicity, the affectionate devotion with which the secret and untold mysteries of her life have been contemplated in all ages; the second part contains a clear and interesting account of the history of the devotion towards the Blessed Virgin from the period of her death to the present time.

Vie de la très sainte Vierge, 1 vol. 12mo. 75c, by the Princess of Craon. This life is extracted from the Gospels alone.

Histoire de Charles-le-Bon, comte de Flandre, 1 vol. 8vo. 3f. 50c. Translated from the life of St. Charles by the Bollandists. Bruges.

Histoire des Saints d'Alsace, by M. Hunkler.

La vie d'un bon Prêtre, 1 vol. 12mo. 2f. 50c. by M. d'Amboise.

Vie du Cardinal Cheverus, Archevêque de Bourdeaux, by M. Dubourg. *Vie de quelques Bienfaiteurs de l'Humanité*. This volume is published by the *Société Bibliographique*, whose successive publications, too numerous to be always noticed, evince the decided return which has taken place, in French literature, to studies of a truly Catholic nature. The preface contains a summary of the chief motives which have, since the establishment of Christianity, guided the noble-minded men, whose lives the work contains, in their various foundations, (all of them inspired by a spirit of divine charity) to relieve and support the poor and the afflicted.

Monumens de l'Histoire de Ste. Elizabeth. The Count de Montalembert, while collecting the materials for his beautiful life of St. Elizabeth, took opportunities of selecting the most ancient as well as the best works of art, connected with the actions of the Saint. At the same time, he engaged the co-operation of the illustrious Overbeck, of Müller, and of Hatze, who have furnished a series of designs on the same subjects, worthy of the rising school of German Catholic art. M. Schwanthaler, who is at the head of the Catholic school of sculpture at Munich, has represented the life of the Saint in a series of bas-reliefs. Other drawings have been made by M. Hauser, a young German artist, who, since the age of fourteen, has, like the Count de Montalembert, devoted the chief portion of his time to the study and contemplation of the life and virtues of St. Elizabeth. The same subject occupied the pencil of the saintly Fra Angelico da Fiesole, and other ancient masters. Their paintings will be engraved in the present collection, a few parts of which have already been published. Each part contains three plates on China paper, and the collection will extend to about thirty engravings. We take this opportunity of mentioning that a correct and well-executed engraving of the portrait of the Archbishop of Cologne has been issued by the publishers of the *Univers*, (Rue du Fossé St. Jacques, Paris). They announce a series of portraits of the ecclesiastics who have been distinguished for their conscientious defence of religion.

This leads us to the late publication on the affairs of the diocese of Cologne, by the celebrated Görres. This work is entitled *Athanasius*, and it was received with such eagerness in Germany, that five thousand copies of the first edition disappeared in four days. It has been translated into French under the eyes of the author. We cannot here enter into any examination of its merits; suffice it to say, that the sensation produced by it in Germany is far from favourable to the Prussian government, which may again fear the power of that master-mind, who, thirty years ago, was styled by Buonaparte "the fifth European power," and whose productions have before now rendered him an object of dread as well as persecution to the government whose proceedings are censured in the present essay.

LITERATURE, POETRY, AND BOOKS OF DEVOTION.

Les églises Gothiques, 1 vol. 8vo. The object of this elegant work is to engage public attention and interest towards the study and preservation of the Gothic Cathedrals of France, and the venerable monuments which adorn them. A similar appeal might be made in favour of our own cathedrals, and remarks equally severe might be applied to those in both countries who suffer these memorials of ancient faith to fall to ruin by neglect, or who mar their beauty by ill-judged and unsuitable restorations and additions. At every page of this eloquent exposition of the beauty and great principles of art, displayed in the works of the middle ages, and of the wretched and tasteless changes of modern times, we are reminded of the "Contrasts" to be found at home, and are induced to hope that the exertions of men of taste and judgment will lead to happy results. We extract the following passage on sepulchral monuments:—

"The statesman ought to deplore, no-less than the churchman, the disappearance of those sepulchral monuments so full of instruction and recollections; and the destruction of those tumularly pavements, which were trodden on with pious dread. These emblems of death reminded the faithful that Christianity arose from a tomb to undertake the conquest of the universe, and that its early worship and first initiations were confined to the silence of its tombs. Every one of these monuments seemed to cry out with a voice of sadness, "Remember, man, that thou art dust!" The people, who saw beneath their feet the images of those who, in their lifetime, had walked above their heads, were better able to understand that a day approaches, when the powerful and the poor, slumbering alike in dust, shall be distinguished only by their deeds. They learned thus to bear their lot, to lay aside their hatred in this consideration, and even the richness of the lordly monuments, which were ranged beside their own humble remains, served only to render the lesson still more striking."

Les Eglises de Paris, 50c. This small publication professes to describe the churches of Paris under a religious point of view, as well as with regard to their being works of art. The latter portion of it has been composed by M. de Rouvière, a civil engineer, with the assistance, for the former department, of Mr. O'Clark, formerly professor of theology at Dublin. The profits arising from it are to be applied to the missions in China and America.

Choix de Lettres edificantes, 8 vols. 8vo. 30f.

Colonie Chrétienne, by M. Sabatier, (plates) 1 vol. 12mo. 2f. 50c.

Tableaux des Catacombes, 1 vol. 12mo. (plates) 2f. 25c., by M. Raoul-Rochette. We have spoken, in a former Number, of the accuracy of this writer on Christian art, and need not describe the merits of the present sketches of the catacombs at any greater length.

Méditations Religieuses, and *Regrets et Consolations*, by M. d'Exauvillez, each 1 vol. 18mo.

Volberg, 1 vol. 8vo. M. Pécontal traces in this poem the triumph of religion over the struggles of human passions and desires, in the mind of Volberg, who, perplexed in his searches after truth, determines to commit suicide. His rash design is prevented, and he seeks for truth amongst the philosophers of ancient and modern times. At length, he meets with an aged priest, who leads him to the knowledge of it, which he hesitates to embrace, until overcome by the entreaties of a young friend, to whom he has been strongly attached, and who implores him, when at the point of death, to follow its light: he promises, as his friend expires, to yield up his reason to the truth of Christianity.

Prismes Poétiques, by Count Jules de Rességnier. These poems are chiefly on serious subjects, and contain many beauties both in expression and sentiment, and breathe a spirit of religious feeling and devotion.

Lettres d'un Curé sur l'éducation du Peuple. M. Laurentie, the author of these letters, brings to his inquiry on the subject of education the aid of much experience, as well as of sound and enlarged views. He bases all his system on a mutual union of religion and education,

and shows that no education can be perfect which attempts to form the mind by the light of human instruction without the influence of religion. He points out many fundamental errors in the present system, and suggests the remedies best adapted for them.

Prasovie, ou la piété filiale, le Livre des Veillées, le Fermier aveugle, ou la récompense du travail, M. Daucourt et son fils, ou l'abus et le bon usage du talent, are small but useful publications, calculated to enforce, by examples, the practice of virtue by young persons.

Facsimiles of MSS. from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, of the *Pater, Ave, Credo*, &c. 2f. each. Imitation of Gothic MSS. 2f.

Amongst the books of devotion, which are very numerous, we perceive the following:—

Inspirations d'une Ame Chrétienne au sacrifice de la Messe, 2f. 50c. These prayers are taken from a MS. of a princess royal who lived in the fourteenth century. *Dévotions pratiques aux sept principaux mystères douloureux de la Mère de Dieu*, 2f. 75c. *L'imitation de Jesus Christ*, 8f. This beautiful edition is published by M. de Genoude; it has been reprinted at Malines. Another edition in seven languages has been published, with notes respecting the author, at Ratisbon; and a translation of the first book of it into Hebrew, has been published by Professor Muller of Strasbourg,—in the neighbourhood of which city many Jewish families are established, for whose use it is chiefly intended.

The *Université Catholique* for December, 1837, contains:—

1. Religion considered in its principles and in its connexion with the different branches of science. Lecture VI. By the Abbé de Salinis.

2. History of France. Lecture VIII. By M. Dumont.

3. Astronomy. Lecture III. By M. Desdouts.

4. Sacred and profane music. Lecture IX. By M. d'Ortigue.

5. Monumental history of the early Christians. Lecture X. By M. Cyprien Robert.

6. Reviews of various works republished by M. de Genoude.—On the favourable circumstances of, and on the chief obstacles to, the propagation of Christianity, by the Abbé Doellinger.—*Christ devant le siècle*, by Roselly de Lorgues.—Analysis of the Lectures on the origin of the Chaldeans, delivered at the Sorbonne, by M. le Normand.

7. Notices of new books. Index to the four first volumes.

The number for January, 1838, contains:—

1. Introduction to the study of the truths of Christianity. Lecture IX. By the Abbé Gerbet.

2. Political Economy. Continuation of Lecture XIII. By Viscount Villeneuve de Bargemant.

3. Astronomy. Lecture IV. By M. Desdouts.

4. General history of Hebrew literature. Lecture V. By M. de Cazalès.

5. Review.—*Prælectiones Theologicæ de Matrimonio*, by the Abbé Carrières.—On the present state of religious art in France, by Count de Montalembert.

6. Notices of new books.

The contents of the number for February are:

1. Political Economy. Lecture XIV.
2. Astronomy. Lecture V.
3. Monumental History of the early Christians. Lecture XI.
4. History of Christian poetry. Lecture II. By M. Douhaire.
5. Review.—The state of the Catholics in Prussia.—Mémorial on Syrian literature, by M. Eugène Boré.—Life of Balzac, by Moreau.—Announcement of a series of reviews of the principal German works connected with religion or ecclesiastical history, to be published in the *Université*.

It may not be uninteresting to many of our readers to hear of such musical publications as appear on the continent, and may be useful in religious worship. We shall, therefore, mention such as have come to our knowledge.

The *Stabat Mater*, for three voices, treble, tenor, and bass, with accompaniment for the organ or piano, by Pietro Ravalli of St. Peter's Basilica, dedicated to the Rev. Dr. Wiseman; Rome, 1837. The works of this young composer are publishing in Paris, and the composition here mentioned is full of expression, and admirably suited for small choirs.

Saggio Storico, teorico pratico del Canto Gregoriano. By Father Alfieri, 4to. Rome, 1835. The first part of this work contains a simple but complete system of the Gregorian chaunt. The second gives the tones, verses, &c., as well as the manner of singing the epistle, gospel, collects, little chapters, &c., as practised in Rome, particularly in the basilicas and papal chapel. It is much the best work we know upon this subject.

Cantus Gregorianus in Purificationis B. Mariæ Virginis, et Palmarum Processionibus, collectus et emendatus, 4to. Edited by same author.

Padre Alfieri has also ready for publication the following.

1. *Cantus Gregorianus Passionis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*. The four Passions, as sung in the office of Holy Week, arranged in three folio volumes, each containing the entire text, but the musical notes for only the part which one of the three chaunters has to sing. By this arrangement much confusion and occasional mistakes are avoided. The splendid chaunt of the Passions, which is very ancient, was reformed, with the rest of the Gregorian music, by John Guidetti, the friend of Palestrina, by command of the Holy See. Besides several unaccountable errors in the musical arrangements, this work is clogged with many superfluous notes, and has the text anterior to the two last corrections of the Missal. It is, moreover, now extremely rare. All the corrections made for the forthcoming editions, besides being based upon ancient manuscripts, and the practice of the papal chapel, have been submitted to the sound judgment of the eminent D. Giuseppe Baini, the biographer of Palestrina, and present director of the pontifical choir. A very small number of subscribers is now wanting to bring this work to press, so as to be ready for delivery in time for next Lent. Price about *ten shillings*.

2. *Directorium Chori juxta ritum S. R. Ecclesiæ a Joanne Guidetto olim edito.*

Another collection of Church music will soon appear in numbers. The first, to be published on the 2nd of November, will contain Palestrina's celebrated *Missa Papæ Marcelli*, as reduced by himself from eight to six parts. This magnificent composition saved Church music in part from total abolition, having received the perfect approbation of St. Charles Borromeo, appointed to decide on the great composer's efforts to produce music worthy of God's house. Besides this, the first number will contain the same composer's celebrated motett, "Fratres," and Burroini's "Credidi," performed in St. Peter's on that apostle's festival. The collection will present none but masterpieces, chiefly of the old school, and mostly inedited.

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE EARL MARSHALL AND THE CORONATION. •

It is not true, as currently reported, that the Office of Chief Butler at the approaching Coronation devolves, or will on any future occasion devolve, upon the Duke of Newcastle, in right of the purchase of the Property and Manor of Worksope.

The Office of *Chief Butler* is vested in the Property and Manor of *Kenning-hall*, which the Duke of Norfolk retains; and it is in right of this Office that the Dukes of Norfolk receive after the Banquet the gold cup and ewer used on that occasion, and which form the most substantial appendage and memorial of having served the office. The only privilege attached to the Manor of Worksope itself, and which has been confounded with the other, is—that the Manor of Worksope is held by the service of finding gloves for the Sovereign at any Coronation, which service and right will be transferred to the purchaser of Worksope on the completion of the sale; but will be exercised by the present owner—Bernard Edward, Duke of Norfolk, at the approaching Coronation of her Majesty Queen Victoria.

ROME.—On Sunday, the 22nd of December, in the Basilica of St. Peter's, was celebrated the beatification of the venerable servant of God, John Massias, of the order of St. Dominic. The cardinals, prelates, and consultors of the congregation of the Rites of God, was read by Monsig. Falati, secretary of the Congregation. Two miracles performed by his intercession were represented on each side of his statue, which was splendidly illuminated. A solemn high mass was sung in his honour, and in the afternoon, his Holiness, accompanied by the cardinals, proceeded to St. Peter's, where, after adoring the blessed Sacrament, he prayed for some time before the picture of the holy man.

On the following Sunday, the beatification of B. Martin de Porres was celebrated with the same pomp. On each occasion, a short address was delivered by the general of the Dominicans, to which order both of the holy men belonged.

On Christmas Day, the Pope went in procession and celebrated high mass in St. Peter's. On St. Stephen's Day, his Holiness assisted at the high mass performed in the Sistine Chapel, on which occasion a Latin discourse was pronounced by the Rev. Mr. Thompson, of the English College, to whose members the privilege of preaching in honour of the illustrious and holy protomartyr has belonged since the days when so many of its missionaries shed their blood in their native land in defence of the ancient faith.

At a late meeting of the Congregation of Rites, the preliminary questions relative to the beatification of six venerable servants of God, were examined, and it was decreed that they should be allowed to proceed. These decrees have been approved and confirmed by his Holiness.

On the 15th of February, the Pope held a public Consistory in the Vatican Palace, for the promotion of six cardinals. The cardinals elect first proceeded to the adjoining (Sixtine) chapel, to take the oath required by the apostolic constitutions. They were led back to the Consistory by the three senior cardinals of the orders of bishops, priests and deacons, and by Cardinal Pedicini, the Vice-Chancellor, and Cardinal Giustiniani, Chamberlain of the holy Roman Church, and Protector of the English College, and by them accompanied to the foot of the throne. They kissed the foot and hand of the Pope, who embraced each of them in turn. Having received the embraces of the other cardinals, they retired to their places, and afterwards returned to the throne, when the Pope placed the cardinal's hat on their heads. The Sacred College next proceeded to the chapel to assist at the *Te Deum*, at the end of which, Cardinal Pacca, Bishop of Ostia and Dean of the Sacred College, read the prayer *Super electos*, and the new cardinals were again embraced by their colleagues. When this salutation was concluded, his Holiness held a secret Consistory, in which he nominated bishops for eight different churches, one of them for Guayaquil in South America, a see just erected. The Pope then placed the ring on the fingers of the new cardinals, and nominated them to their respective titular churches in the following order:—Monsignor Mai, late Secretary of the Propaganda, Cardinal Priest of St. Anastasia; Monsig. Falconieri-Mellini, Archbishop of Ravenna, Cardinal Priest of St. Marcellus; Monsig. Orioli, Bishop of Orvieto, Cardinal Priest of Sta Maria *supra Minervam*; Monsig. Mezzofante, late Librarian of the Vatican, the celebrated linguist, Cardinal Priest of St. Onuphrius; Monsig. Ciacchi, Governor of Rome, Cardinal Deacon of St. Angelo; Monsig. Ugolini, Cardinal Deacon of St. George. In the evening, their eminences went in state to the Basilica of St. Peter, whence they proceeded to pay their respects to the Dean of the Sacred College. On the same evening, the Pope's master of the robes carried the hat to each of the new cardinals at their palaces.

The following appointments have taken place in consequence of these

promotions: Monsig. Cadolini, Archbishop of Spoleto, to be Secretary to the Congregation of Propaganda; Monsig. Laureani, to be first Librarian of the Vatican; Monsig. Molza, to be second Librarian; Monsig. Fornari, Professor of Divinity at the Roman seminary, has proceeded as nuncio to Brussels.

We regret to announce within the last year the deaths of no fewer than six cardinals; Brancadoro, Trezza, Doria, De Simone, Gonzaga, and Marisi, Archbishop of Palermo, who died a victim to his exertions during the ravages of the cholera in that city.

A charitable lottery is shortly to be drawn in Rome, the proceeds of which are to be applied to the support of the orphans left destitute by the cholera. The prizes consisting of fancy articles of every description, many of them of great value, have been sent by the most illustrious personages. His Holiness has sent upwards of fifty rich prizes; the cardinals have followed his example; other prizes have been sent by the Queen of the French, Madame Adelaide, the Princesses of Denmark and Sulmona, the Countess of Beverley, and by most of the English ladies at present in Rome. The number of prizes amounts to two thousand, and sixteen thousand tickets have been already disposed of.

The original manuscript copy of the acts of the schismatical council of Pistoja, have been lately presented to the Pope by the secretary of one of the bishops present at it.

RUSSIA.—According to the official census of 1831, the population of Prussia amounted to 13,100,000 souls, of whom nearly 5,000,000 were Catholics, 8,000,000 Protestants, 168,000 Jews, 15,000 Menonites. In the province of Aix-la-Chapelle, the Catholics were 345,000, Protestants and others 12,000. This province contains more Catholics, in comparison with other creeds, than any of the rest. After it comes Munster, containing 300,000 Catholics and 40,000 of other creeds. The same proportion exists in the regency of Trèves. In Dusseldorf and Coblenz, the majority of Catholics is considerable. In the beginning of 1837, the Catholic clergy of Prussia included, the two archbishops of Cologne and Posen, the two prince-bishops of Breslau and Ermeland, the three bishops of Munster, Paderborn and Culm, eight suffragans, twenty-five prelates, and one hundred canons. The secular clergy amounted to 3,500 curates, and 1,900 chaplains or vicars. Almost the only religious communities are those for instructing youth and visiting the sick. Most of the ecclesiastics belonging to the suppressed monasteries are dead. The clergy of Prussia is stated at 8,000 in all.—*Sion of Augsburg.*

END OF VOL. IV.

